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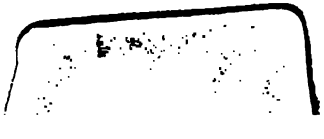

THE MISSION OF THE COMFORTER,

AND OTHER SERMONS,

WITH NOTES.

THE MISSION OF THE COMFORTER

AND OTHER SERMONS

WITH NOTES

BY JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M.A.

ARCHDEACON OF LEWES, RECTOR OF HERSTMONCEUX,
AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

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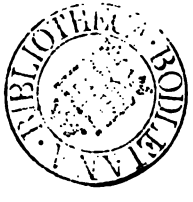

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TO THE HONOURED MEMORY

OF SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE,

THE CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER,

WHO THROUGH DARK AND WINDING PATHS OF SPECULATION

WAS LED TO THE LIGHT,

IN ORDER THAT OTHERS BY HIS GUIDANCE MIGHT REACH THAT LIGHT,

WITHOUT PASSING THROUGH THE DARKNESS,

THESE SERMONS ON THE WORK OF THE SPIRIT

ARE DEDICATED

WITH DEEP THANKFULNESS AND REVERENCE

BY ONE OF THE MANY PUPILS

WHOM HIS WRITINGS HAVE HELPT TO DISCERN

THE SACRED CONCORD AND UNITY

OF HUMAN AND DIVINE TRUTH.

PREFACE.

THE five Sermons at the beginning of this volume on the Mission of the Comforter were preacht before the University of Cambridge in March 1840. My original intention was to point out, in the concluding Sermon, how the work of the Comforter in all its parts is fulfilled by His taking of the things of Christ, and shewing them to us. But to treat this subject adequately, it would have been requisite to shew how Christ, as God manifest in the flesh, and as the Reconciler of man to God, is, and ever has been, and ever must be, the one Principle and Source of all life and of all light, both collectively and individually, in His Church; and such a theme was far too vast for a single sermon. Indeed, beside the inexhaustible fulness of this truth, when contemplated in itself ideally, and in its relations to the fallen state of man, and to the history of the Church, the exposition of it would have led to a consideration of those false notions of Christ's personality, which regard Him as the mere Founder of a system, whether moral, or philosophical, or religious, and place Him at the head of it, but leave the system to work itself out through the impulse it

originally received. This would have superinduced an examination of the most recent form of Socinianism, the Straussian, which, after denying the Son and the Spirit, has ended by denying the Father also, and has rolled out of the chaos of Pantheism into the blank abyss of Atheism. To contend against and to exterminate this primary errour, under all its forms, by the assertion of the divine personality of Christ, of the redemption and reconciliation He has wrought for mankind, and of His abiding presence in His Church through the Spirit glorifying Him, and to establish these primary truths on irrefragable grounds, philological, historical, and philosophical, as well as theological, is the great work of our age: and all who are striving for the truth are bringing their contributions of one kind or other for the erection of this heavenly temple. It would be a blessed reward if anything in these volumes may in any way forward the carrying on of this work.

The other Sermons, which follow those on the Mission of the Comforter, were preacht on various public occasions, but seemed not illsuited for a place in the same Volume, their object being to set forth some part or other of the character and office of the Church,—her destination to be the Light of the World, her Unity, her educational and missionary charge, and that which is to be the outward fulfilment and manifestation of Christ's redemption, and of the indwelling of the Spirit, the walk of good works.

To these Sermons, mainly to those on the work of the Comforter, I have appended a body of Notes, which has swelled out far beyond my expectation. Several questions

of theological and ethical interest having been toucht on in the Sermons, as alone they could be there, cursorily and generally, I wisht to support the opinions exprest by more definite arguments and by the authority of wiser men. As there is so much difficulty and obscurity in the brief pregnant verses, in which our Lord declares the threefold work of the Comforter, I thought it might be useful to give a sketch of the manner in which those verses have been interpreted by the chief divines in the various ages of the Church, and that, if this sketch were illustrated by extracts from those divines, it might aid the theological student in forming an estimate of the kind of light he is to expect from the principal periods in the history of theology. For while the revived study of the theology of earlier ages, if carried on critically, with a discernment of that which each age had to effect toward the progressive unfolding of the truth, in its world-embracing highth and depth and breadth and fulness, cannot be otherwise than beneficial; on the other hand, if, as we have seen happen in several instances, the end of this study is merely to make us repeat by rote what was said in the fourth century, or in the fourteenth, instead of becoming wiser, we shall become foolisher. Even the swallow's twitter and the sparrow's chirp are pleasanter than the finest notes of the mocking-bird. So the merest truisms of our own age are better than the truths of former ages, unless these have been duly appropriated and assimilated to the body of our thoughts. Our intellectual food also, if it is to nourish and strengthen us, must be thoroughly digested. They

who complain of this, and call it presumption if we exercise our understandings on the lessons handed down to us, and do not receive them implicitly in reliance on the wisdom of our teachers, might as reasonably call it presumption in us that we do not swallow our food, without allowing our audacious teeth to masticate it, and our gastric processes to separate the nutritive part from the excremental. For such an unseasonable spurious humility there is but one natural home. They who swallow the theology either of the Fathers, or of the middle ages, in the gross, find themselves out of place in a Protestant Church; and while they wish to revive the Church of the middle ages, and confound faith with credulity, they are just fitted for the surrender of their reason and conscience to the arbitrary mandates of the Papacy.

In the course of the Notes several occasions presented themselves for speaking on questions which have been agitated in the controversies of the day; nor have I shunned them. Above all I have felt it an especial duty to call the attention of my readers again and again to the inestimable blessings of the Reformation, as evinced in the expansion of theology, no less than in the purification of religion. There are times indeed when one may be willing to throw a veil over the faults and sins of another Church; even as in the ordinary intercourse of life one is willing, in the hope of better things, to overlook much that may have been very reprehensible in a neighbour. But if the neighbour challenges scrutiny, if he reviles his betters, if he inveigles others to join him in reviling them, he must bear the penalty which he draws down on his own head. In

like manner, now that the battle of the Reformation is renewed, now that the Reformers are attackt with unscrupulous ignorance and virulence, now that the principles which animated them are impugned and denied, now that the whole course of events previously and subsequently, as well as at the time, is strangely misrepresented and distorted, it becomes necessary to defend the truth, not only by asserting its majesty and repelling its foes, but also by carrying the war into the enemy's country. If it be put as a question still hanging on the balance, whether our Church is a true Church, or whether the Church of Rome is the only true one, we must not allow false charity to deter us from bringing forward the marks which prove the Church of Rome to be in so many of its features utterly antichristian. For the same reason I have devoted one Note (W), of inordinate bulk, to the pleasanter task of vindicating Luther from a number of misrepresentations and calumnies, with which he has recently been assailed.

Here it is right to state that the observations on the development of Christian doctrine in Note G were printed long before the publication of Mr Newman's last work. Their purpose was to help the reader in forming a correct notion on a subject, on which, it seemed to me, very erroneous opinions had been promulgated in Mr Newman's Sermon before the University of Oxford, and in the writings of some of his followers, opinions caught up somewhat hastily and superficially from certain German Romanists, without a clear perception either of their grounds or their tendencies, or even of the truth they involved; while the extraordinary inferences drawn from them made the

very word *development* a byword of alarm with the opposite party. To Mr Newman's recent work I have purposely avoided all reference, lest I should be entangled in an argument which would increase the size of these overgrown volumes. Other occasions for speaking of it will arise ere long, if indeed there be any necessity of adding to what has already been said by my brother-in-law Mr Maurice in the Preface to his Warburtonian Lectures, and by Professor Butler in the excellent series of Letters which he has inserted in the Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette.

Another object which I have kept in view more or less, while collecting the materials for the Notes, has been to furnish the theological student with a few hints or guideposts, so to say, when he enters into the region of German theology; which many are wont to regard as a vast wilderness peopled with "Gorgons and Hydras and Chimeras dire." That the views conveyed in Mr Rose's denunciation were utterly erroneous, we were taught in some measure by Dr Pusey in his answers, the most valuable theologically of his writings. Ignorance however has not been silenced, and, when it is maledicent, is sure to find a credulous auditory; and thus even Mr Dewar's worthless book is quoted and extolled as an authority. That there is an enormous mass of evil, of shallow presumption, of ostentatious folly, of wild extravagance, in the German theology of the last half century, I have no disposition to deny: but at the same time they who know what has really been going on in Germany since the publication of Kant's great work, must also know

that in Germany the mighty intellectual war of Christendom has been waged, and is now going on. If the host of evil has become subtiler and more audacious, the army of the faith has also become much stronger; and able champions of the truth are continually raised up, who defend the truth, not by shutting their eyes to its difficulties, and hooting at its adversaries, but by calmly refuting those adversaries, and solving the difficulties, with the help of weapons derived from a higher philology and philosophy. In the wish of introducing some of these better German divines to the English reader, I have availed myself of such opportunities as occurred for inserting extracts from them, many of which, I trust, will be found to justify the foregoing commendation.

Of recent English writers, the one with whose sanction I have chiefly desired, whenever I could, to strengthen my opinions, is the great religious philosopher to whom the mind of our generation in England owes more than to any other man. My gratitude to him I have endeavoured to express by dedicating the following Sermons to his memory; and the offering is so far at least appropriate, in that the main work of his life was to spiritual*ize*, not only our philosophy, but our theology, to raise them both above the empiricism into which they had long been dwindling, and to set them free from the technical trammels of logical systems. Whether he is as much studied by the genial young men of the present day, as he was twenty or thirty years ago, I have no adequate means of judging: but our theological literature teems with errours, such as could hardly have been committed

by persons whose minds had been disciplined by his philosophical method, and had rightly appropriated his principles. So far too as my observation has extended, the third and fourth volumes of his *Remains*, though they were hailed with delight by Arnold on their first appearance, have not yet produced their proper effect on the intellect of the age. It may be that the rich store of profound and beautiful thought contained in them has been weighed down, from being mixt with a few opinions on points of Biblical criticism, likely to be very offensive to persons who know nothing about the history of the Canon. Some of these opinions, to which Coleridge himself ascribed a good deal of importance, seem to me of little worth; some to be decidedly erroneous. Philological criticism, indeed all matters requiring a laborious and accurate investigation of details, were alien from the bent and habits of his mind; and his exegetical studies, such as they were, took place at a period when he had little better than the meagre Rationalism of Eichhorn and Bertholdt to help him. Of the opinions which he imbibed from them, some abode with him through life. These however, along with everything else that can justly be objected to in the *Remains*, do not form a twentieth part of the whole, and may easily be separated from the remainder. Nor do they detract in any way from the sterling sense, the clear and farsighted discernment, the power of tracing principles in their remotest operations, and of referring all things to their first principles, which are manifested in almost every page, and from which we might learn so much. There may be some indeed, who

fancy that Coleridge's day is gone by, and that we have advanced beyond him. I have seen him numbered, along with other persons who would have been no less surprised at their position and company, among the pioneers who prepared the way for our new theological school. This fathering of Tractarianism, as it is termed, upon Coleridge well deserves to rank beside the folly which would father Rationalism upon Luther. Coleridge's far-reaching vision did indeed discern the best part of the speculative truths which our new school has laid hold on and exaggerated and perverted. But in Coleridge's field of view they were comprised along with the complemental truths which limit them, and in their conjunction and coordination with which alone they retain the beneficent power of truth. He saw what our modern theologians see, though it was latent from the vulgar eye in his days; but he also saw what they do not see, what they have closed their eyes on; and he saw far beyond them, because he saw things in their universal principles and laws.

In the Sermon on the Unity of the Church, and in the Dedication prefixt to it, opinions are maintained, which are at variance with those held by a large body, perhaps by the majority, of our Church at the present day. Hence I have thought it expedient to enforce them by the authority of wisdom and of history. To have done this with anything like fulness would have taken a volume to itself: but the illustrations given, however scanty, may enable some to perceive what deplorable evils have arisen from the blind and headstrong pursuit of a false and shadowy unity and uniformity.

I know not whether I need remark that the Sermons are of course complete in themselves, and that, though the Notes are suggested by them, and are intended to illustrate them, they are not meant to be read so as to interrupt the argument of the text, but may more suitably be reserved till afterward. In putting them together I have several times found occasion to introduce observations, which had not occurred to me when the text was passing through the press. These intercalary Notes are designated by a small letter attacht to the capital which was used to designate the preceding regular Note.

WHIT-TUESDAY, June 2d, 1846.

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SERMON I.

THE EXPEDIENCY OF CHRIST'S DEPARTURE.

JOHN xvi. 7.

Nevertheless I tell you the truth: it is expedient for you that I go away. For if I go not away, the Comforter will not come to you; but if I depart, I will send Him to you.

THESE words, it will be remembered, stand in the middle of that divine discourse, in which our blessed Lord, on the eve of His crucifixion, endeavours to cheer and lift up the hearts of His disciples, opening their eyes at the same time to see further than they had ever yet lookt, into the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven. In the verses which follow, He goes on to declare what are to be the workings of the Comforter here promist. The whole passage, though it is not without difficulty, is a rich treasure of the most precious truths, bearing both on the deepest questions of doctrine, and on the practical discipline of our hearts and lives. Therefore, knowing no subject of wider and more lasting interest,—inasmuch as its interest is coextensive with the Church of Christ, and will last to the end of the world, while it comes home to the conscience of every faithful member of that Church, —I have thought that it might not be unprofitable to call your attention, during the present Course of Sermons, to this promise of the Comforter; whose coming, as it was to be so great a blessing to the immediate disciples of

our Lord, has in like manner been the source of infinite blessings through all ages in the Church; and whose work in the heart of every true believer has been the very same which is set forth in the verses immediately after the text. May He, who alone can, even the Comforter Himself, who is the Spirit of Truth, teach me to discern the mysteries of that grace, which He is ever pouring on the Church of Christ! May He open my lips to speak the truth! and may He carry that truth with power and with conviction to your hearts!

On that last evening, when the work, which the Son of God had come down from heaven to perform, was drawing to its close, He tells His disciples of the heavy sorrows and afflictions which were hanging over them. He tells them, more plainly than He had ever done before, of that greatest and heaviest sorrow, that they were to be separated from Him,—how He was about to go away from them, and how, *whither He went, they could not come*, at least not for a time. He tells them also of the tribulation and persecution which they would have to endure in the world,—how *the time was coming when whosoever killed them would think he did God service.* But He does not tell them all this to the end that their hearts should be troubled, that they should grieve and faint at the thought of the trials which awaited them. His words to His servants, who trust in Him and love Him, are never meant to give pain. Though they may be bitter in the mouth, unlike the book eaten in the apocalyptic vision, they are always medicinal, and turn to sweetness within. His purpose, in speaking to His disciples of the sufferings which were about to fall upon them, was, that, when all came to pass according to His word, they should not be offended

and startled, so as to loose their hold of the truth, but should remember how He had told them of everything beforehand, and thus even in their sufferings should only find fresh proofs of His divine wisdom; so that, having their faith in Him enlivened and strengthened more and more by every trial, they might be of good cheer, and in Him might have peace. With this purpose, in order that they might have a sure hope to lean on, when danger was gathering round and assailing them, He speaks to them again and again of a great consolation and blessing which they were to receive, of a Comforter, *another Comforter, whom the Father would give to them, and who would abide with them for ever.* This Comforter, He says to them, *is the Spirit of Truth. He is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in My name; and He will teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said to you: and He will testify of Me.* And so measureless and inestimable were the blessings which this Comforter would bestow, that our Lord assures His disciples, it was *expedient for them*, it was for their advantage, that He should go away: *for unless I go away, the Comforter will not come to you; but, if I depart, I will send Him to you.*

No other words could have exprest so strongly what a rich and gracious and peerless gift that of the Comforter was to be. For never was there any intercourse or communion upon earth between man and man, the blessedness of which could for a moment be compared with that found by the disciples in the presence of their Lord. Although Jerusalem, with her priests and her doctors,—the expounders of the Law which prepared the way for Him, and the ministers of the sacrifices which foreshewed Him,—would not listen when He wisht to gather them beneath

the wings of His love, the fishermen of Galilee had listened to His call, had come to Him, and had found shelter. As they had forsaken all for His sake, in Him they had found far more than all. They had found shelter, even as children find shelter beneath the guardian care of their parents. They had found everything that a child can receive from the wisest and most loving of fathers, only of a more perfect kind, and in a higher degree,—help in every need, relief from every anxiety and care, support under every distress, consolation under every affliction, an abundant overflowing supply for every want of body and soul, of heart and mind. They came to Him for food; and He gave them food wherewith to feed thousands; yea, destitute as they were, and although the wilderness was spread around them, He gave them spiritual food wherewith to feed the whole world through all the generations of mankind, and worldfuls over and above. They complained to Him of the fruitlessness of their labours, how they had toiled and toiled, and taken nothing; and at His word they drew in such a draught, that they were dismayed at their success, and began to sink beneath the weight of it. They cried to Him in their terrour at the storm which was raging around them; and the winds and the waves were husht by the breath of His omnipotent word. In Him they had the fulness of Truth and Grace and Wisdom and Peace and Love, yea, the fulness of God, dwelling with them, talking with them face to face, bearing patiently with all their infirmities, upholding them against their own frailties and perversities, warning them against all dangers, and, when through neglect of His warning they fell, lifting them up again, strengthening their hearts and souls, pouring His light into their understandings,

and guiding and leading them onward in the way of everlasting life. Time after time too they had been taught by grievous experience, that, safe and strong and clear-sighted as they were by the side of their Master, when away from Him they were still feeble and helpless and blind. Yet, notwithstanding all this, notwithstanding the blessings which the disciples were daily and hourly receiving from the presence of their Lord, notwithstanding the many sad proofs they had seen of their own ignorance and weakness when out of His sight, still, such was the riches of the grace which the promist Comforter was to bestow on them, that, for the sake of obtaining that grace, it was expedient for them, Jesus tells them, it was better for them, that He should go away and leave them, so that the Comforter might come to them in His stead, and might dwell with them and in them.

This must have sounded very strange in their ears. They must have been unwilling and unable to believe it. They could not but think at the moment, that no happiness would ever be like the happiness they had found in their daily communion with their Master,—that no calamity could be like the calamity of being parted from Him. Thus, when they heard His saying, *sorrow filled their hearts.* Therefore our Saviour enforces His words with an unwonted strength of assurance: *Nevertheless I tell you the truth.* He had always told them the truth. He was full of truth; and, whenever He spake, truth was in all His words. Nay, He was Himself the Truth, the eternal Truth of God. Yet on this occasion, seeing their sorrow, knowing how deep and bitter it must be, He vouchsafed to give them a special solemn assurance, that, as His words had always been

true, so were they now, and so would they who believed them find them, as they had always found them to be. Incredible as it must needs seem to them, vehemently as their hearts revolted from the thought that anything could make amends to them for the loss of their Master, still He told them the truth: it was expedient for them, it was for their good, for their great moral and spiritual good, that He should go away from them, and that they should be separated from Him.

But how could this possibly be? How could it be for the good of the disciples, that Jesus should go away from them, and leave them to themselves? He had been everything to them. He had raised them out of the ignorance, to which they were born. He had taught them to know and to worship God, as God had never been known and worshipt by man,—to know Him as the God of love, and to worship Him in spirit and in truth. He had fed them with the twofold bread of earthly and of heavenly life. He had been their Guide, their Teacher, their Guardian, their ever-present, all-sufficient Friend. All their hopes, all their trust, all their thoughts, all their affections, all their desires, were bound up in Him. How could it be for their advantage, that He should go away and leave them? Let us consider whether there is anything in the ordinary relations of human life, which can help us to understand this. If we look through those relations, the one nearest akin to that in which the disciples stood to their Master, is plainly that which was just now compared with it, between children and their parents. He had been everything to them, as parents are to their children; and they had lookt to Him, had trusted in Him, had cast all their cares upon

Him, as children, without taking thought for themselves, trustfully cast all their cares upon their parents. Now, according to the divinely constituted order of the world, the time, we know, will come for all children, when their entire dependence and reliance upon their parents must cease. The time comes, when they must pass from under the eye of their parents, and must walk alone. And it is expedient for them that this should be so. As it is expedient for children, that at first they should be carried in the arms of their mothers, and that then they should walk in leading-strings, or with some other like support, and so should learn by little and little to walk alone, and that for a long time they should do everything in strict obedience, as though they had no will of their own, according to the commands of their parents, so on the other hand, as they advance toward years of discretion, is it expedient that the human helps, on which they have been accustomed to lean wholly, should one by one be taken away from them. Constant watchfulness and directions are succeeded for a while by occasional watchfulness and directions; commands are superseded by counsel; and after a time we no longer have even the counsel of our natural monitors, but are left to the exercise of our own judgement, and to the advice of such friends as the course of life may bring across our path. Such is the order which God has appointed for the life of man: and this order is expedient (A). We know that it must be so, seeing that He has ordained it; and we can perceive moreover why it is so. Not because it is the glory of man to have a will of his own, and to walk by the light of his own understanding, beneath the supreme uncheckt sway of that will. A heathen indeed

might say this, and might alledge strong grounds in favour of his assertion; though even he, if he desired to walk rightly and stedfastly, would have subordinated his own understanding and will to the manifestations of a higher Understanding and a higher Will discernible in the institutions and belief of his countrymen. But we have a revelation of the perfect Wisdom and perfect Will of God. An atmosphere of eternal Truth compasses us about. We are born in the midst of it: we are taught to breathe it from our childhood: and the great aim and business of our lives should be to bring our understanding and our will into harmony with it, and to set them at one with it. Far assuredly is it from expedient that man should be left to the guidance of his own dimsighted understanding, and to the sway of his own headstrong will. But, as the reason why children are bound to obey their parents with a full implicit unswerving obedience is, that their parents for the time stand in the stead of God to them, — whence we further perceive what is the only rightful limit to that obedience, namely, when the parent's command is plainly contrary to an express commandment of God, — as, I say, they who know of no father but an earthly one, must obey that earthly father, as the author, supporter, and guardian of their life, — so on the other hand, when they have been taught to look up to Him who has vouchsafed to call Himself our heavenly Father, — when they have been taught to see His love, and to know His will, — it is expedient for them that they should pass from under their complete subjection to their earthly father, in order that they may live more consciously and dutifully in the presence, beneath the eye, and under the law of their heavenly Father. It

is expedient for them that they should pass from under the immediate controll of their earthly parents, not in order that they may do their own will, but in order that they may do the will of God, — in order that the shadow may give place to the substance, the earthly type to the heavenly reality, — in order that they may live more entirely by a longersighted further-reaching Faith.

Now the relation between the disciples and their Divine Master was like that between children and their parents in this among other things, that it was a relation rather of sight than of faith; or at least of faith which was wrapt up in sight, and which had not as yet unfolded itself into distinct consciousness. The faith they had hitherto been called upon to exercise, was not a faith in One who was absent, but in One who was always by their side, whom they saw with their eyes, and heard with their ears, and who was daily working visible wonders before them. Hence, their faith having never been trained to see Him when He was absent, and to trust in Him when he was far off, as soon as they were out of His sight, it failed. When He was upon the mount, they were unable through their unbelief to heal the boy who was possest by the evil spirit. When He was asleep, they were afraid lest the sea should swallow them up. And though they fancied that they loved Him above all things, though they fancied that nothing could ever tempt or drive them away from Him, that they could brave every danger, and bear every suffering, rather than forsake Him, yet, no sooner did the soldiers lay hold on Him, than they fled. Such was the weakness of their fancied strength: having never been tried, at the first trial it gave way. Moreover their relation to their Lord

was like that between children and their parents in this also, that, as they had ever found a ready present help in Him for all their wants, He stood in the place of God to them, as a father stands to his child. It is true, He also was God. This however they knew not: they did not regard Him as God, but much more as a man, like, though far superior in power and wisdom, to themselves. Hence, as it is expedient that a child should rise from a visible to an invisible Object of faith, and that his obedience to an earthly should be transfigured into obedience to a heavenly Father, so was it expedient that the love and reverence which the disciples felt for their earthly Lord, should be transfigured into love and reverence for a heavenly Lord; for the same Lord, not for a different one. For the Comforter was to testify of Jesus, was to bring all things to their remembrance whatsoever Jesus had said to them, was to glorify Jesus, was to receive and shew them the things of Jesus. Still, though, when Jesus departed from them, they were not to go to a different Master, — though He who had been their Master hitherto was to continue their only Master unto the end, yet to them, in their eyes, He was to be different. He was no longer to be Jesus of Nazareth, but Christ the Eternal Son of God.

I have been likening the change, which befell the disciples when their Lord was taken from them, to that which happens when a child passes from under the government and controll of its parents to the exercise of self-government and self-controll. This comparison, it seems to me, may help us materially in understanding how it was possible for that change to be expedient for them, and by what process it was to become so.

Therefore we will dwell a little longer upon it, more especially as it will give rise to some considerations bearing closely on our position in this place. In the case of the disciples the change was sudden and rapid, and was completed at once. In the common journey of life on the other hand, we all know, the transition is very gradual; years roll over our heads while it is going on; and there are several stages in its progress. Such is God's gracious plan for fostering and maturing the growth of His reasonable creatures. Such is the care with which He has girt us round. "Parents first season us: then Schoolmasters Deliver us to Laws." These several stages however are not, — at least they ought not to be, — removals into a different region of life. They ought not to be cut off one from another. Rather should each succeeding state be an expansion of that which went before, even as the bud expands into the blossom, and as the blossom, after shedding its robe of beauty, expands into the fruit. At each step indeed we meet with sundry temptations to reject and look back with scorn upon the past. Our vanity prompts us to do so, being flattered by the thought of our having recently achieved an emancipation from a moral and intellectual bondage, to which, through our feebleness and helplessness, we had been compelled to submit. The charms of novelty, the fascination of the present moment, of our present thoughts, of our present feelings, of our present circumstances, which acts almost overpoweringly upon weak minds, to the extinction both of the past and the future, would make us give ourselves up to that moment altogether. Yet the only way in which we can make head against the crushing tyranny of the present,

is by holding fast to the past, to that which was living and permanent in it, merely casting away what was outward and accidental. That which has been the good spirit of the past should abide with us as a guardian angel through life, manifesting itself more and more clearly to the soul, as we rise from one step to another: then alone will every change be expedient.

The first momentous change in a boy's life is that when he passes from under his father's roof to school. This is expedient and fitting in his case, in order that he may be trained betimes for the habits and duties, the energy and the endurance of active life, and in order that he may learn to look upon himself, not merely as a member of a family, but as bound by manifold ties to his fellow men; so that the idea of a state, and of himself as a member of the state, may gradually rise up within him; while the instruction he receives teaches him to connect himself in thought with all past generations, and to view himself as a member of the human race, linkt by innumerable ties of obligation to those who have gone before him, and bound to repay that obligation by labouring diligently for his own age, and for those who shall come after him. For the other sex, whose duties through life are to be mainly domestic, and who are not designed to take part in political or professional activity, such a separation from home is not desirable, unless under peculiar circumstances. But for the healthy and manly development of a boy's character, in a rightful sympathy with the nation he belongs to, it seems to be almost indispensable, so at least as that nothing short of a singular felicity of circumstances can make amends for it; not indeed unaccompanied with danger and

difficulty, but for this very reason necessary, as the training of winter is to a sapling, which is to grow into a noble tree, and to stand the blasts of centuries. Although however it is expedient for the boy to pass from his father's house to school, are not the feelings and thoughts, the affections and principles, which animated and guided him when at home, still to animate and guide him at school? Most pitiable would his lot be, if they did not. He would have no affection, no reverence. His affection for his schoolfellows can only be a transfer of a portion of that which he has learnt to feel for his brothers; his reverence for his master, a transfer of a portion of that which he feels for his parents. And woe to him, if he does not cherish that reverence, which many things will tend to impair and destroy! One part of his life at school, that which lies in his intercourse with his master, will be altogether unprofitable to him and lost, nay, will be hurtful, unfitting his soul for being a habitation of reverent feelings through life. And still more certain woe to him, if the impressions of his new companions efface those of his home! Then, and through his whole life, should the image of his parents and brethren be enshrined in the sanctuary of his heart. Woe to him also, if he forgets the principles which he imbibed at his mother's knees. If he clings to those principles, he may maintain a steady course amid the temptations that will beset him. Else he will drift along, like a fallen leaf, the sport of every casual impulse, a moral and spiritual vagrant.

The next stage in the progressive unfolding of the character, at least for the higher classes, according to the institutions of modern Europe, is, we all know, when the

boy comes forth from the strict discipline and controll of school, to complete that education which is to fit him for the duties and struggles of active life, in some place of study resembling this University. This is the stage, which you, my young friends, have now reacht. You have quitted the constant discipline of school, and that course of study every part of which was prescribed to you by your master; and you have entered on a freer mode of life; you are left more to your own judgement in the regulation both of your studies and of your conduct. And this change also has been expedient for you. On this point perhaps you would all readily agree with me: at least you would all allow and maintain that the change has been a pleasant one. Possibly however the reason why you think the change a pleasant one may not be exactly the reason why it is expedient for you to go through it. Nay, your reason for deeming it pleasant might rather, if we take a Christian point of view, be a reason for deeming it inexpedient; so far namely as that reason comes into play. For why are you glad of the change? May I not say, to express the reason in a word, you are glad, because it made you your own masters? Now this would indeed be a worthy reason for rejoicing, if you had truly become your own masters, if you had acquired a greater dominion over your thoughts and feelings and actions, — if those portions of your nature, which ought to exercise supremacy over the rest, those powers which, as belonging to the divine image within you, constitute your real selves, your reason and your conscience, were become the lords of your being. But if your ground for rejoicing is, that you have acquired greater facilities for indulging an unreasoning and

unreasonable will, for pampering every craving appetite, and following every wayward desire, then, so far as this has been the effect of the change, assuredly it has been anything but expedient. It has been necessary: it has been inevitable: but the very circumstances in your situation which you would select as motives for rejoicing, are those which you are especially called to contend against and subdue. Nor would you, by such a change, have become your own masters, but your own slaves. It would have overthrown the legitimate monarchal constitution of your being, to set up the ochlocracy within you in its stead. This however is the blessed advantage afforded you by the institutions of this place, that here you have many helps and encouragements to train you for the exercise of self-government,—that you have the guardian guidance and watchful superintendence of persons of greater wisdom and experience, anxious to steady you in the paths of good, and to preserve or call you back from evil, —and that the whole system of our daily life, while it allows you a certain degree of liberty, imposes a certain degree of salutary restraint. I am aware, there is much in the habits and spirit of the age, and of your rank in society,—and you will probably find much in some of your companions,—which has an opposite tendency, and holds out pernicious temptations to laxity and self-indulgence. But so much the more does it behove you to cleave with grateful and dutiful reverence to those protecting institutions and to that guardian authority, which God has mercifully appointed to uphold your frail strength at this critical season of your lives. Indeed this is the peculiar advantage which our universities have over those in other countries, that they form a regular step in the

progressive development of freedom, a medium between the constraint of boyhood at school and the absolute unconstraint of manhood in the world. You are here in a sheltered creek, in which you may practise yourselves in a boat of your own, before you lanch out into the broad sea of life. But the greater your advantages and privileges may be, the greater also is your responsibility. The orderly and obedient habits, which you learnt at home in your childhood from the necessities and instincts of nature, and which were imposed upon you at school by the authority of your master, you should here impose upon yourselves. This is of no little importance, even with regard to your studies. If you would render them profitable, they should be orderly, steadily pursued, and in a determinate course; which in this atomic age of literature is more difficult than ever before. But important as discipline is for a strong and sound growth of the intellect, it is still more important for that moral health and strength, whereby you may be enabled to stand hereafter amid the assailing temptations and tumult of the world. As the lessons in the various rudiments of knowledge, which you have learnt in former years, have become a substantial part of your minds, and shape and mould your thoughts, without any special act of reflexion or volition, and often without any consciousness, so should your moral habits be in like manner amalgamated with your moral nature, and should unconsciously regulate and determine your conduct on every, even the slightest occasion. Thus would the child indeed be "father of the man:" and this would be the true discipline and preparation for freedom; which none can enjoy outwardly except he who has it in himself; and which consists in

the orderly, harmonious, uncheckt, unconstrained movement of the heart and soul and mind in the path markt out for them by God.

We have been looking at several instances, in which the changes, occurring in the ordinary course of our lives, are in some measure analogous to that which befell the Apostles when our Lord departed from their sight. In each we have seen that the feelings and rules, which at first are imprest upon us by present objects, are designed to become living elements and principles in our hearts and minds; and that, when a sufficient time has elapst for the inward principle to gain some degree of strength, the outward authority, which imposed and enforced the rule, is taken away. Thus far therefore, with a view to this end, it is expedient, ideally, that these changes should come to pass. Nevertheless in very many cases, we must make the sad acknowledgement, these changes do not prove expedient in fact. That which, according to the divine purpose manifested in our institutions, was intended for our good, does not produce the good it was meant to produce. And why does it fail? It was expedient for the Apostles that Jesus should depart from them, to the end that what they had hitherto regarded with more or less of a carnal eye, should become a living spiritual presence and power in their souls. But how was this effect to be wrought? Was our Lord's departure to produce it? The very thought of their loss cast them down, and filled them with sorrow and dismay; and when they had been separated from him before, they had been taught the lesson of their own weakness. Even after His Resurrection, although they had seen that wonderful proof that the way to power and glory passes through suffering and

selfsacrifice,—although our Lord Himself had expounded the Scriptures to them, and shewn them how this had been determined and revealed from the beginning,—and although He had breathed the Holy Ghost into them, and declared at the same time that the Kingdom which He had come from the Father to establish, and which He now sent them to establish, was one the great ordinance of which was to lie in the remission of sins, and which was only to be spread thereby,—still these things do not seem to have accomplisht any decisive alteration in the frame and temper of their spirits. On the day when our Lord was taken up into heaven, they had not ceast to look for the restoration of the visible kingdom of Israel. Nor can we in the least assume that the change was to be brought about by any act of their own will, or by any process of their own understanding. For it was their will and their understanding that required to be changed and enlarged and set free: and so far were they from being able to effect this work by themselves, that they had withstood every attempt to effect it, and had continued blind beneath the light of those blessed words, which have since opened the eyes of mankind. Assuredly, if the disciples had been left to themselves, our Lord's departure would not have been expedient for them. Rather would it have been like the departure of the living soul, after which the body is motionless and powerless, and decay and dissolution soon commence. The reason, our Lord tells the disciples, why it was expedient for them that He should go away, was, that, when He was gone, He would send the Comforter to them, He would send them the Holy Spirit of God, who would bring back to their remembrance whatever He had said to them, and

would lead them to all the truth (B). For this reason, and for this alone, His departure was expedient, which otherwise would have been the greatest of calamities. Hence, my friends, we may perceive the reason why the changes in the course of our ordinary life, although designed and fitted to be expedient, are so often the contrary. The removal of the boy to school, that of the youth to the university, will not be beneficial, but very injurious, unless the things which he had heard before are brought to his remembrance and dwell in him; unless, when the rule, and the authority which enforced it, are taken away from over his head, the principle, which was the spirit of that rule, comes forth as a living law in his heart. No institutions and ordinances, however wise the end contemplated in them, and however judiciously they may be adapted as preparatives to that end, will work any good of themselves. They are only means whereby the Spirit of God works good in those who yield their hearts and wills to them. Great and precious as are the benefits which the institutions of this place are designed and fitted to bestow on you, you will lose the most precious part of these benefits, the part which would be the most lastingly salutary to your character, unless you look upon them as a gift of God, as an ordinance of God,—as one of the means whereby the Spirit of God would bring back to your remembrance the truths which you were taught in your childhood, — as one of the steps whereby He would gradually lead you to all the truth.

Through His mighty operation, we know, it was soon proved that in this, as in all other things, Jesus did indeed tell His disciples the truth, and that it was most expedient for them that He should go away. The Book of Acts

is the proof that it was so; and no proof was ever completer. Terrible as the blow was, overwhelming and irreparable as the loss could not but seem to the natural eye, that very loss was soon turned by the power of the Spirit into their endless and inestimable gain. The Master, whom they had lost, they found anew: but they found Him, not as a mere man, with the infirmities of the flesh, having no form or comeliness, to make men desire Him: they found Him as God, as the Eternal Onlybegotten Son of God, sitting at the right hand of the Father, governing all things with the power of the Father, and at the same time as their Saviour and Redeemer, and as the Redeemer of all mankind: they found Him, whom the Jews had crucified, made by God both Lord and Christ (c). And greatly as their Master was changed and glorified in their eyes, scarcely less great was the change which took place in their own hearts and souls, in the bent and strength of their characters, and in all their feelings and desires, when the promist Comforter had come to them. The firy baptism of the day of Pentecost consumed and purged away the dross and weaknesses of their nature; and they came out as silver refined and purified seven times by the fire. Out of fearfulness, they were made bold: out of blindness, they were enabled to see. Instead of being frightened and shrinking and hiding themselves, they now came forward in the eye of day, and openly preacht Him whom the Jews had crucified; and they rejoiced with exceeding joy that they were counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus.

Therefore was it expedient for the disciples that Jesus should go away from them. And as it was expedient for them, so through them has it been for mankind, and

in divers ways. For as it was by the coming of the Comforter that the Apostles were led to the whole truth, thereby were they enabled to lay up those treasures of truth, which have been the riches of all subsequent generations. Through the coming of the Comforter were they seated on their thrones, where they have been the examples, the teachers, the guides of the Church for all ages (D). Nay, if Jesus had not gone away from them, we see not how the Gentiles would have been called into the Church. So long as He remained upon earth, the earnest desire of His disciples must needs have been to abide continually within hearing of His blessed words. At the utmost they would have gone forth from Him for a brief while, to return anon into His presence; and thus their preaching would have been confined, as it was during His life, to Judea. Not till He was taken away from them, did they learn to feel that He was with them, not merely in Judea, but in every part of the world. So long as He was living upon earth, He might give light to the country round, like a beacon upon a hill. But it was only from His sunlike throne in the heavens, that He could pour light over every quarter of the globe. It was only from thence that His voice could go forth throughout all the earth, and His words to the end of the world. It was only when He was lifted up, that He was to draw all men to His feet. Then alone could the foundations of His Church be laid so deep and wide, that all nations could be gathered into it (E).

Thus there are several arguments, which, even when we are judging by the light of our own understanding, guided by the analogies of human life, and by the actual events which ensued, may fully satisfy us that it was indeed expedient for the disciples that Christ should go

away from them. It was expedient for them, because it is expedient that men's hearts should be trained and disciplined by hardships and sufferings and afflictions; because it is expedient that they should learn to live by faith in Him who is unseen (F); because moreover it was expedient, in order to their fulfilling the counsel of God, and spreading the glory of His salvation, that they should not be confined to a single country, but should go abroad among the nations, branching, like the river which flowed out of Paradise, and compassing all lands. Thus much we may easily discern. We can discern too that the power, whereby the great loss sustained by the Apostles was turned into their greater gain, did not lie in themselves, but came to them from a higher source, even from the Comforter whom Jesus sent to them. Through the working of that Comforter, the manifold afflictions, which would otherwise have stunned and crusht them, became the means of purifying and elevating their hearts. Through the working of that Comforter, they lived thenceforward a higher life, by faith in Him, whom they had *seen with their eyes*, whom they had *lookt upon*, and *their hands had handled*, and whom they now knew to have sat down at the right hand of God. Through the working of that Comforter, they received boldness and wisdom to go forth over the earth, preaching with tongues of fire, kindling the hearts of the nations, confounding the wise and the mighty, and bringing to nought whatever was then establisht on the thrones of power and knowledge. But our Lord's words are, *For, if I go not away, the Comforter will not come to you; but, if I depart, I will send Him to you.* In these words there is a depth of meaning far beyond what we have yet attained to: but they are words which

we must not approach, except with humble and reverent awe, taking off the shoes in which we are wont to walk along the highways and byways of human thought. For they relate to the mysteries hidden in the bosom of the Godhead, to the part which the several Persons in the ever-blessed Trinity bear in the gracious work of our redemption. From other passages of Scripture, as well as from the text, we learn that the gift of the Holy Ghost was connected in some mysterious manner with the completion of Christ's work upon earth. Thus St John, in a former chapter (vii. 39), says, with reference to the promise that the Spirit should be given to such as believe in Christ, *the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified:* which agrees exactly with what we read in our text, that, if Jesus had not gone away, the Comforter would not have come. If we endeavour to understand the whole process of our Redemption, so far as it is set forth in Scripture, it would seem to have been ordained in the eternal counsels of God, manifested as they are, and must needs be, to us under an order of succession, that the sacrifice of Christ should be offered up,—that the full victory over sin, under every form of assailing temptation, should be gained by Christ in behalf, and as the Head and Representative, of all mankind,—before those special gifts of the Holy Ghost, which were to be the glory and the blessing of the New Dispensation, were poured out of the treasury of heaven. Such appears to have been the order appointed in the counsels of God: for such, we know, was the order in which the events took place: such too was the order of the prophetic announcement. The Messiah was to *go up on high*, and to *lead captivity captive*, and then to *receive gifts for men, that the Lord God*

should dwell among them. Accordingly, when the fulfilment was come, St Peter in his sermon declared that *Jesus, being exalted by the right hand of God, and having received from the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, had shed forth* what the people on the day of Pentecost *saw and heard.* Moreover we find, in the verses immediately after the text, that a main part of the lessons which the Comforter was to teach, related to facts which did not receive their full accomplishment, until our Lord ascended into heaven. Indeed the great purpose of the mission of the Comforter, it would appear from those verses, was to declare the whole scheme of salvation to mankind, to reveal it in all its fulness to their understandings, and to graft this knowledge as a living sanctifying reality in their hearts; so that, were it only on this account, the completion of Christ's work would be an indispensable preliminary to the mission of the Paraclete: and throughout this passage He is spoken of as proceeding, not from the Father only, but from the Father and the Son (G).

Many gifts of the Holy Ghost had indeed been already bestowed on man, even under the old Covenant; above all, the gift of prophecy, whereby *holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost* (2 Pet. i. 21). So too it was declared of John the Baptist, that *he should be filled with the Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb.* And our Saviour Himself, in one of the passages above referred to, says to the disciples, *I will pray to the Father; and He will give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him; but ye know Him; for He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.* The disciples are here told that they already knew the

Comforter. He was already dwelling with them; for they had already received several gifts, which none can receive except from the Holy Ghost. But the gifts they had hitherto received, like the gifts which had proceeded from Him during the earlier dispensation, were in the main external, such as the power of working miracles (H). The higher gifts of the Holy Ghost,—that transforming power of faith, which nothing can awaken except a lively insight into the sacrifice and mediation of the Saviour,—and those spiritual graces whereby the life of Christ is fashioned in our souls,—had not yet been vouchsafed to them. The Holy Ghost from that time forward was to come down, as He came down at the baptism of Jesus, like a dove, and to abide upon the souls of those who believe in Christ. He was to come to them and to dwell in them, converting their earthly tabernacles into living temples of God (I).

At all events such, we know, is the order in which the work of our regeneration must now take place. We must be buried by baptism into the death of Christ, before we can rise again in newness of life. We must be justified through faith in the death of Christ, before we can be sanctified by the indwelling of His Spirit. The Spirit of sanctification is only given to those who have already been washt from their sins in the all-purifying blood of the Lamb.

Hence even at this day there are many, for whom it is expedient that Jesus should go away from them, and for the selfsame reason for which it was expedient that He should go away from His disciples. Perhaps I might say that even at this day there is no one for whom this is not expedient, or at least for whom it has not been so at some period or other of his life. For we are all of us,

even those who have been brought up with the greatest wisdom and the most diligent culture of their religious affections, far too apt to look at Jesus Christ in the first instance, in the same light in which the disciples mostly lookt upon Him, while He was with them in the body, as a man like ourselves, a perfect man indeed, but still a mere man, who came to teach us about God, and the things of heaven, and the way of attaining to them, and to leave us an example, that we might follow His steps. We read the story of His life in the Gospels; and even our natural hearts are struck and charmed by the surpassing beauty of His character, by His purity, His meekness, His patience, His unweariable self-forgetting activity in every work of love. In our better and more serious moments, when the Bible is in our hands, or when we have been stirred by some eloquent picture of the graces manifested in His life, we wish to be like Him, to do as He did, to obey His commandments, at least a part of them, the part which requires the least selfsacrifice and self-denial. All the time indeed we may be in the habit of acknowledging with our lips that Christ is God, not merely in the public profession of the Creed, but whenever our conversation turns upon religion, and whenever we bring the question distinctly before our own minds. Yet we scarcely think of Him as God: we little think what that acknowledgement means or implies. Our thoughts are solely fixt on the excellence of His human character: and inasmuch as we admire Him, and wish to be like Him, we fancy we may take rank among His true disciples; nay, we even begin to fancy that we have something in common with Him, that our admiration renders us like Him. Thus we glorify human nature for Christ's

sake; and we glorify ourselves as sharing the same nature with Christ. Meanwhile we think little of His death, except on account of the virtues which He manifested before His judges and on the cross. Now he who thinks of Christ in this manner, if he happens by nature to be of a kindly disposition, may at times really try to imitate Him, even as he might try to imitate any other good or great man in history. At times, when brought more immediately and consciously into Christ's presence, by hearing or reading about Him, such persons may be kindled to a longing, and even to an effort, to resemble Him. There are many such persons in the world: there are many assuredly in this congregation. Among the young, especially in the educated classes, this, or something like it, is the ordinary state of feeling with regard to our Saviour. Yes, my young friends, I feel confident that there are many, very many amongst you, who think of our blessed Lord after this fashion, who admire and revere and love the peerless graces of His character, who would rejoice at times to enrich your own character with a portion of those graces, but who have no lively consciousness that Christ is your God, that He is your Saviour, that He died for your sins to bring you to God,—who do not feel that you need His help, who never seek to enter into a living communion with Him, nay, who have no sort of conception what can be meant by such a communion. Accustomed as you are to contemplate the noblest and fairest examples of humanity, that History and Poetry have set up for the admiration of mankind,—accustomed to meditate on the brightest intuitions wherewith Philosophy has solaced her journey through the wilderness of logical speculation,—you are wont to think of

the virtues exhibited in the life of Jesus of Nazareth, as of the same kind, only superior in degree, purer and more perfect. Now this fair ideal of excellent humanity may indeed be a blessing to you for a time, a light to your understandings, and a joy to your hearts,—as the contemplation of all virtue, of whatsoever is lovely and noble, will ever be to a genial and generous spirit. Were you living in a happy island, in an Elysium, where Sin was not, and did not cast her shadow, Death,—were there no evil spirit lurking in your own hearts, and ever and anon rising and shaking himself, and shattering the brittle crust with which amiable feelings and conventional morality may have covered them over,—were there no herd of evil spirits howling and prowling on every side around you, tearing the vitals of society, mangling every soul they can seize, while others more craftily put on the mask of pleasure and gain and honour, and use every art in fawning on our self-love,—in a word, had you no immortal souls slumbering beneath the painted sepulcre of mortality, were you not made in the image of God, and fallen from that image, were you the mere insects of time,—then indeed it might be sufficient for you to bask in the light of an earthly sun. But the light of that sun will pass away from you: the vapours of sin will hide it from your sight: the glaring lights of the world will draw you afar from it: and ere long you will find a night of thick impenetrable darkness spread over you and around you, unless you have a living faith in the Sun of Righteousness, whom neither light nor darkness can conceal, and who shines all the brighter upon the soul when everything else seems cheerless and hopeless.

For all such persons as have no other knowledge of

Christ, no other faith in Him, than that which I have just been describing, it is most expedient that Jesus should go away from them. It is expedient for them that the man Jesus, the fair ideal which they have formed of perfect wisdom and virtue, which has shone as an example before them, and which they have fancied themselves able to follow, should pass away from their minds,—that they should feel its inadequateness to strengthen what is weak in them, and to supply what is wanting,—in order that, by the teaching of the Spirit, opening their eyes to behold their own wants and those of all mankind, they may be led to seek Jesus and to find Him, no longer as a mere Teacher and Example, but transfigured into their God and Saviour and Redeemer. It is expedient for them that some great calamity, be it what it may, — some crack, through which they may look into their own souls, and into the soul of the world,—should befall them,—if so be they may learn thereby that no human virtue can uphold them, no human wisdom comfort them, and may thus be brought to seek a divine Saviour and a divine Comforter (J). So long as they regard Jesus, whether consciously or unconsciously, as a mere man, they will fancy that something approaching at least to His excellence will be attainable by man. Hence they will be content to walk by their own light, to lean on their own arm, to trust in their own strength; and they will not open their hearts to receive the true comfort of the Holy Ghost. We must feel our need of a Comforter, as the Apostles did when bereft of their Lord, before the Comforter Himself can be a Comforter to us. We must be brought to acknowledge our weakness, our helplessness, our sinfulness,—not merely our own personally, which, if others

have surmounted theirs, might also be surmounted by us,—but that of our nature, of our whole fallen race, which, as such, we shall understand to be irremediable by any exertions of our own,—before we can pray earnestly for strength and help and purity from above. That is to say, we must lose Christ as a man, to regain Him as God. We must turn from His life to His death, and to the meaning and purpose of that death, not merely as exhibiting the consummation of human patience and meekness, but as fore-ordained by God from the beginning to be the central act in the history of mankind. We must learn to know and feel how that death was borne for our sakes, and for the sake of all mankind, to deliver us from the bondage of sin, to bring us out of the dark dungeon of our carnal selfish nature, into the light and joy and peace and love, which flow for ever from the face of God. We must learn to perceive how totally different Jesus, even in His human nature, as the Son of man, was from all the rest of mankind; how He alone was pure and holy and without sin; how in Him alone the fulness of the Godhead dwelt. In a word, we must seek through faith to be justified by the blood of Christ, and, casting off all pretensions to any righteousness of our own, to put on His perfect righteousness: and then the Spirit of God, the Comforter, who is the Spirit of Truth, will come and dwell in our hearts, and purify and sanctify them, so that they shall become living temples of God.

SERMON II.

THE CONVICTION OF SIN.

JOHN xvii. 8, 9.

When the Comforter is come, He will convince the world of Sin, and of Righteousness, and of Judgement; of Sin, because they believe not in Me.

IN my former sermon I began to speak to you concerning the mission of the Comforter, whom our Lord, on the evening before His crucifixion, promist to send to His disciples, and whose coming was to be so great a blessing, that it was for their advantage that He should leave them, in order that the Comforter might come to them in His stead. We considered how it was possible that this should be; and we found that, according to the divinely constituted order of human life, it is wisely and beneficently appointed that the outward helps and supports, by which in the first instance we are guided and upheld, should be taken away from us one by one, to the end that we may learn to live more and more by faith in that which is invisible, trusting and leaning, not on our own strength of understanding or of will, but on the wisdom and power of the Spirit of God. We then endeavoured to discern, so far as we may by the light of Scripture, how and why, according to the counsel of God, the sending of the Spirit was ordained to be consequent upon the departure of the Son, so that the Son should return to His heavenly throne

at the right hand of the Father, before the Holy Ghost came down in that special, more abundant outpouring, which was to be the power and the glory of the Christian dispensation. And we were led in conclusion to mark how the same evangelical order still prevails in the spiritual life of individuals, how we are still over-apt in the first instance to fix our thoughts on the mere humanity of our Lord, and how in such cases it is still expedient and necessary that we should lose the Man Jesus, so that we may be led by the Spirit to acknowledge and worship Christ the living God. As it is necessary that the trust in human righteousness, in human virtue, in human strength, not merely in our own, but in that of our whole fallen race, should be stript from the soul, before it can be clothed anew in the divine righteousness of Christ,—and as no man is sanctified by the Spirit of Christ, until he has been justified by the righteousness of Christ,—in like manner it was the will of God that Christ should die for our sins, should rise again for our justification, and should go up into heaven, before our souls could be lifted up by His Spirit from earthly things to heavenly, and enabled to enter with Him into the presence of the Almighty Father.

Thus do all the Persons of the Ever-blessed Trinity vouchsafe to take part in the gracious and glorious work of our Salvation. The Father sent the Son to die for us. The Son became Incarnate in the Form of a Man, to deliver man from his sins, and to bring him to God. He, the Firstborn of the whole Creation, became the Firstborn of His Church, and went up into heaven to be the Head and Ruler of that Church: and to that Church He, in the unity of the Father, gave, and evermore gives His Spirit, to be the Source of her life and power, of

her faith and wisdom and holiness. Upon that Church the Spirit bestows all the graces of the Kingdom of Heaven, sanctifying that blessed Communion of the Faithful, who have found the forgiveness of their sins through the Atoning Sacrifice of the Saviour. But the Spirit is not merely the Spirit of Holiness to those who are in the Church; He is also the Spirit of Power, whereby the Church is strengthened for her warfare against the world: and only through the help of the Spirit has the Church been enabled to carry on that warfare, and to bring the world to the obedience of faith. Indeed it is only through the power of the Spirit, that the power of the world has been overcome in any single soul. It is only through the working of the Spirit, that any one has ever been brought to the knowledge of Christ as his Saviour. As none can come to the Father except through the Son, so none can own in his heart that Jesus Christ is God, except through the conviction wrought in him by the Spirit of God, the Comforter.

The manner in which this conviction was, and still is to be wrought, and the several steps in the process by which the Gospel was to confute the wisdom and to cast down the pride of the world, are declared by our Lord in the verses which follow immediately after His promise, that, when He had departed, He would send the Comforter to His disciples. *And when He is come, He will convince the world of Sin, and of Righteousness, and of Judgement; of Sin, because they believe not in Me; of Righteousness, because I go to my Father, and ye see Me no more; of Judgement, because the Prince of this world is judged.* These words are not indeed designed to set forth the whole working of the Spirit in the Church. They do

not speak of the gifts which are bestowed on all such as come in sincerity of heart to Christ. They do not speak of that holiness, which is the peculiar gift of the Spirit of Holiness. They do not speak of those excellent fruits of the Spirit, which are enumerated by St Paul,—of that love and joy and peace and longsuffering and gentleness and kindness and good faith and meekness and temperance, which are the sure growth of all such trees as are planted by the Spirit of God. Our Lord is speaking mainly with reference to the help which the disciples were to receive from the Comforter in their warfare against the world. Having told them of the violent opposition and persecution they would have to encounter, He goes on to tell them of the assistance they were to receive from the Paraclete, who was to be their Comforter, their Advocate, their Patron and Guardian and Protector, who was to speak through their mouths, and with whose living sword they were to conquer the world, as the commanders of the great army of faith: *When He is come, He will convince the world of Sin, and of Righteousness, and of Judgement.* Thus these words declare the threefold operation by which the Church was to subdue the world, to cast down the strongholds of its enmity to God, and to prepare it for receiving the adoption of grace. But inasmuch as we are all born in the world, inasmuch as by nature we all have that carnal heart, which is enmity against God, which needs to be subdued in every one of us, and which, even when subdued, is never wholly eradicated, hence the warfare of the Church against the world was not to be transient, but permanent, was not to be carried on merely against those who lie beyond her limits, but was to be waging perpetually, more or less,

against the spirit of the world in the hearts of all her own members. Nor has any man ever been brought to a thorough reception of the grace of the Gospel, until he has been convinced of Sin and of Righteousness and of Judgement by the Spirit of God. Nay, so long as the world retains any hold on our hearts, so long as there is any evil root of carnalmindedness in them, so long do we need the aid of the Spirit, to convince us again and again of Sin and of Righteousness and of Judgement.

In these words, by which our Saviour describes the operation of the promist Comforter, I have thought it advisable to adopt the reading given in the margin of our Version, supported as that reading is by the general consent of commentators on the passage (K). In the received text, you will remember, the work of the Comforter is said to be *to reprove the world of Sin and of Righteousness and of Judgement.* The reason which induced our translators to prefer this rendering to the other, may perhaps have been, that they thought the declaration, that the Spirit should *convince* the world of Sin and of Righteousness and of Judgement, is too widely at variance with the fact; seeing that the chief part of the world is still without the pale of the Church, and that, even within the Church, the number of those in whom a living spiritual conviction of Sin and Righteousness and Judgement has been wrought, is by no means the largest (L). The meaning of the verb *reprove* however falls far short of the original verb ἐλέγχειν, which in a very remarkable passage of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, where it is used in the same sense, and almost in the same relation, as in the text, we translate by *convince.* *If all prophesy,* we there read (xiv. 24), *and there come in an unbeliever*

or an ignorant man, he is convinced by all, he is searcht by all (M). The words which follow prove, that the conviction here spoken of, as being wrought by the power of preaching in the heart of an unbeliever, or an ignorant beginner in Christianity, who happened to come into a Christian congregation, is the very same which in the text is ascribed to the operation of the Comforter, and for the producing of which, prophesying or preaching is ever one of the chief instruments employed by the Spirit. *And thus*, St Paul continues, *the secrets of his heart are made manifest; and so, falling down on his face, he will worship God, and declare that God is truly in you.*

Besides, *reproving the world of sin* is a most inadequate description of the working of the Spirit. We did not need that the Spirit of God should come down from heaven, to reprove the world of sin. The words of men, the thoughts of men, the eloquence of men, would have been sufficient to do this. Every preacher of righteousness, from the days of Noah down to the present day, has gone about reproving the world of sin. Everybody who in any age has led a just and holy life, not merely one positively and absolutely so, but one in any way markt in comparison with his neighbours, has reproved the world of sin, at least by his deeds, even though he may never have felt called to do so by his words, though he should never have lifted up his voice against sin, in the ears of the world. Nay, it is not necessary that a man should himself be holy and righteous, in order that he should cry out against sin. The unholy may do so: the unrighteous may do so: the greatest and chiefest of sinners may be the loudest in sending forth their voice through their hollow mask in reproof of their neighbours. Poetry had

reproved the world of sin: indeed this is the special business of two of its branches, comedy and satire. Philosophy had reproved the world of sin: and at the time when the Spirit of God began His great work of convincing the world of sin, the reproofs of Philosophy had become severer and more clamorous, yet also vainer than ever, as she sat on her stately throne in the Porch. But what is the world the better for all this laborious reproving? How much does the world heed it, or care for it? No more than the crater of Etna cares for the roaring and lashing of the waves at its feet. The smoke of sin will still rise up, and stain the face of heaven,— the flames will still burst forth, and spread desolation far and wide,— although the waves of reproof should roll around it unceasingly for century after century. In fact the whole history of man has shewn that reproof, when there is no gentler and more penetrative power working along with it, instead of producing conviction, rather provokes the heart to resist it. *To reprove the world of sin* therefore is a task no way worthy of the Spirit of God; seeing that it is a work which may easily be wrought without His special help, and which has been wrought in all ages without it; seeing too that it is a work, which, when it is accomplisht, is of little avail, but passes over men's hearts, like the wind over a bare rock, scarcely stirring so much as a grain of dust from it, and which has so past for age after age from the beginning of the world until now.

Moreover, while this first part of the operation of the Spirit is thus imperfectly exprest by the words, *reproving the world of Sin*, it is not easy to connect any definite meaning with the latter clauses of the sentence, which,

according to our Version, would declare that the office of the Comforter is *to reprove the world of Righteousness*, and *to reprove the world of Judgement* (N). If the first clause of the sentence stood by itself, the word in our language, which would answer the closeliest to the original, would perhaps be *to convict: the Comforter will convict the world of Sin.* Yet even this would not give the full meaning of the passage: for the conviction was not to be wrought in the minds of others, whether as judges or as mere lookers on, but in the mind and heart of the world itself. The Comforter also did not come to condemn the world, but to save the world. When however we take the second and the third part of the operation of the Spirit into account, I cannot find any word in our language so well fitted for embracing the three cases, as that which our Translators have put in the margin: *the Comforter will convince the world of Sin, and of Righteousness, and of Judgement.* Only the Greek word implies, more distinctly than the English does according to modern usage, that the persons in whom the conviction is to be wrought have resisted it. This however is always an adjunct of the sense in the scriptural use of the word, as where St Paul says that a bishop should *be able to convince the gainsayers* (O). Further we must bear in mind that in this, as in many other of our Lord's promises, a thousand years are regarded as one day. That which was to be effected by His Spirit in the Church during the whole course of ages down to the end of the world, He concentrates, as it were, into a single point of space, and a single moment of time; even as our eye, with the help of distance, concentrates a world into a star (P). For it was not the Tempter alone, who shewed Jesus all the kingdoms of the earth,

and their glory, with the promise of giving them to Him. God also shewed them to Him always. His Father shewed Him how the kingdoms of this world were to become the kingdoms of God and of His Christ, over which He should reign for ever and ever. And this was the joy and the glory for the sake of which He endured the Cross, despising both the shame and the glory of this world, for the joy and the glory He was to bestow on the saints who shall reign with Him for ever.

To reprove the world of sin, I have said, is a work by no means worthy of the Spirit of God. But *to convince the world of Sin*,—to produce a living and lively conviction of it,—to teach mankind what sin is,—to lay it bare under all its masks,—to trace it through all the mazes of its web, and to light on it sitting in the midst thereof, —to shew it to man, not merely as it flashes forth ever and anon in the overt actions of his neighbours, but as it lies smouldering inextinguishably within his own bosom, —to give him a torch wherewith he may explore the dark chambers of his own heart,—to lead him into them, and to open his eyes so that he shall behold some of Sin's countless brood crouching or gamboling in every corner, —to convince a man of sin in this way, by proving to him that it lies at the bottom of all his feelings, and blends with all his thoughts, that the bright-coloured stones, with which he is so fond of decking himself out, and which he takes such delight in gazing at, are only so many bits of brittle worthless glass, and that what he deems to be stars are earthborn meteors, which merely glimmer for the moment they are falling;—to convince the world of sin, by shewing it how sin has tainted its heart, and flows through all its veins, and is mixt up

with its lifeblood;—this is a work which no earthly power can accomplish. No human teacher can do it. Conscience cannot do it. Law, in none of its forms, human or divine, can do it. Nay, the Gospel itself cannot do it. Although the word of God is the sword of the Spirit, yet, unless the Spirit of God draws forth that sword, it lies powerless in its sheath. Only when the Spirit of God wields it, is it *quick and powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword, piercing to the dividing asunder of the soul and spirit, a discerner of the thoughts and purposes of the heart.* Therefore, as the work of convincing the world of sin is one which nothing less than the Spirit of God can effect,—and which yet must be effected thoroughly, if sin is to be driven out from the world,—our Saviour was mercifully pleased to send the Comforter to produce this conviction in mankind.

At first thought indeed, when we hear that the Comforter was sent to convince the world of sin, we can hardly refrain from exclaiming, Of sin? What! can there ever have been a time in the history of the world, when the world needed that the Holy Spirit of God should come down from heaven, in order that it should be convinced of sin? Was there ever a time when man could cast his eyes east or west or north or south, without seeing hosts of sins swarming and buzzing around him in every quarter? when he could look at what his neighbours were doing, when he could look into his own heart, and not behold the very sight, which we read that God saw in the days of Noah, *that the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth?* Was there ever a time when man needed a light from heaven, wherewith to discern that this world, which was made to be the house of God, and in which man was set to minister as the highpriest, by

offering up continual sacrifices of devout thanksgiving and a reasonable obedience, had been converted by him, its apostate highpriest, into a den of thieves, in which Covetousness, and Lust, and Ambition, and Pride, and Gluttony, and Drunkenness, and Falsehood, and Envy, and Malice, and Cruelty, and Revenge, are ever holding their hellish revels? So at first thought one might exclaim: but a moment's reflexion will teach us that there has indeed been such a time. Most true though it be, that never and nowhere has God left Himself without a Witness, to convince the world of sin, yet too often has that Witness been utterly unheeded; too often has its voice been drowned, as the song of a lark would be by the roar of a millstream. The waters that are whirled round by the millwheel, cannot hear the lark singing to them from the heavens: nor can we, when we are tost and dasht about by the world's never-resting wheel, hear the voice of the Witness that God has set for Himself in our hearts. Therefore did God come and speak in the thunders of the Law from Sinai. He came and set up another Witness for Himself, to convince the world of sin, an outward Witness, a Witness that could not be paltered or tampered with, that could not be bribed or drugged or lulled, a Witness that spake in a voice plain, cold, mighty, all-pervading, and unquenchable as Death. Its voice was like the voice of Death; and death was its sanction and its penalty. Yet, although God had sent this great Witness, to convince the world of sin, the world still continued unconvinced. For why? Because the Law forbids the outward act, whereas the seat of sin is in the secret places of the heart. The Law says, *Thou shalt not kill:* but man will still hate. The Law says, *Thou shalt not*

commit adultery: but man will still lust. The Law says, *Thou shalt not steal*: but man will still covet. The Law says, *Thou shalt not bear false witness*: but man will still lie and deceive. The Law, from its very nature, can hardly take cognizance of those evil desires, that concupiscence in the heart, of which outward acts of sin are merely the issue and manifestations: and so long as the Law stands alone, so long as there is no heartsearching prophetic Witness to work along with it in convincing the world of sin, men will easily beguile themselves into believing that, what the Law does not expressly forbid, it allows. Moreover the Law works by fear; not by that fear, which is a part of love, and which cannot be separated from it, the reverential fear of offending and paining Him whom we love,—the fear which would endure any hardship, any suffering, rather than offend Him: not by this fear does the Law work, but by that base and cowardly fear, which is a part of selfishness, the fear of being punisht by Him, of whom we take no thought, except in that we fear Him. The Law therefore could not convince the world of sin, as sin, as a thing to be abhorred and shunned on account of its own hatefulness and godlessness, but merely as a thing to be dreaded and avoided on account of the punishments attacht to it. So that, even after the Law had been delivered, there was still great need of another Witness, a Witness that could search the heart, and turn it inside out, and bring forward all the abominations contained in it,—a Witness too that should appeal, not to its selfish fears, but to every germ of good left in it, to its love, to its gratitude, to its pity, to its hope, to its more generous desires and aspirations,—a Witness that should pick up every little fragment of God's image

still remaining in it, and should piece them all together, and make a new whole of them. Such was the Witness that the world needed; and such was the Witness that God in His infinite mercy sent, to convince the world of sin.

I was asking just now, Can there ever have been a time in the history of the world, when it was needful that the Spirit of God should come down from Heaven to convince the world of sin? But may we not with better reason reverse the question, and ask, Has there ever been a time in the history of the world, when it was not needful that the Spirit of God should come down from heaven to convince the world of sin? a time when the world has been, or could have been, convinced of sin by any lesser power? Nay, has there ever been a single man, from the days of Adam until now, who has not needed that the Spirit of God should come to him to convince him of sin? Has there ever been a single man, who has been able to find out the sinfulness of sin by himself, of his own accord, at his own prompting, with no other guide than his own heart and understanding? Or,—to bring the question home to ourselves,—are there any of you, my brethren, who have been convinced of sin? I trust in God, there are many, very many. For, unless you have been convinced of sin, you can never have entered beyond the outskirts of the Kingdom of Heaven. If you have not experienced that conviction, if you do not feel it now, the Gospel, it is most certain, cannot to you be the wisdom and the power of God unto salvation; Christ Jesus cannot have been made your Wisdom and Righteousness and Sanctification and Redemption. A man who had been born in a prison, and had spent his whole life in it, might not be aware that there was anything

peculiarly dismal in his lot: but should he be delivered from his prison, he could never forget that he had once been a captive, and now is free. Therefore he who knows not that he once was in bonds, must still be in them. At all events how many soever there may be among you, who have indeed been convinced of sin,—and God grant that there may be very many, and that their conviction may daily become deeper, and that their number may continually increase!—you however that have been so already, by whom were you convinced? Not by yourselves assuredly: you rather fought against the conviction, at one time struggled to refute it, at another tried to evade it by all manner of excuses, often, it may be for years, have driven it from your thoughts. Not by your own consciences: if they ever flattered, you listened to them gladly; if they reproved, you turned away. Not by any teachers or monitors with whom this world has supplied you: the pride and shame of the natural man revolts against the thought of a human eye spying into the dark places of his heart; and since in some things such monitors must needs be mistaken, in others will ever be too harsh, comforts itself with the persuasion that the partial errour in the indictment vitiates it altogether. Nor have you been convinced of sin even by the Word of Life, full of life and truth and warning and admonition as it is, which has been stored up for us in the Bible. Any one of these witnesses may indeed have been the means employed in working the conviction in you: but none of them can have wrought it, any more than a hammer can strike, without a living hand to wield it. Only when wielded by the arm of the Comforter, is the word of God indeed like a hammer, that breaks the stony crust of the natural

heart in pieces. If your conviction has been effectual,—if it has pierced through the depths of your soul,—if it has laid hold on your Will, and stript off its tough scales, and made it bow its stiff neck, and taught it to shrink from the sin of which it has been convinced, and to love and to seek after the beauty of holiness,—that conviction must have come to you from above; it must have been wrought in you by the Spirit of God.

Yet we too have still the same witnesses to convince us of sin, that were abiding among mankind in ages of yore, before the coming of the Saviour. We have the voice of Conscience sighing through every fresh crack that we make in God's image in our hearts, and conspiring with our Reason and Imagination, and every other nobler faculty, to admonish us that we are betraying our duty, that we are outraging our better feelings, that we are marring our true aboriginal nature, — to admonish us that we are polluting our souls, and withering and rotting our hearts. But is this enough to convince a man of sin? Is it enough to produce that strong living practical persuasion of the hatefulness of sin, and of our being in its hateful bondage, which alone can be called conviction? Alas! Conscience is so wasted by yearlong neglect, and crusht by reiterated violation, that it scarcely ever utters its warnings and reproofs, except against fresh overt acts of sin. It seldom takes notice of our habitual sins: still less does it rouse us to contend against that sinfulness, which is inwrought in the natural heart. And what is the power of Conscience, even against open outbursts of sin? Does not the drunkard know, if he will but consider, that he is degrading himself below the beasts of the field? Does not he know that he is quenching his reason, that he is blinding the

light of his understanding, that he is cankering all his better feelings, that he is giving up the reins of his will to any fierce passion which may chance to seize on them, that he is sowing the seeds of all manner of disease, and provoking Death to come and reap the crop? And yet, certain and indubitable as this is, the knowledge may not improbably never have constrained him to drink a single glass the less: nay, he is just as likely to drink the more for it, that he may smother, and harden himself against the qualms it gives him. Does not the libertine and the adulterer know, that he is defiling himself, and defiling the partner in his crime,—that he is defiling her whom he pretends, and may perchance believe that he loves, with the foulest and most ignominious impurity? Does not he know that he is snapping the holy bond, by which alone the families of mankind are held together in peace and happiness? Does not he know that he is rudely tearing off the blossoms of that one fair plant, which our first parents brought with them out of Paradise, the sacred plant of pure conjugal love? And yet, the more atrocious the crime, the purer the happiness he is blasting, the more innocent the victim, the greedier, the more impetuous, the more sin-thirsty he will be. What avails it that Conscience should tell her beads? he goes on sinning all the while. No, my brethren; Conscience assuredly has no power to convince sinners of sin. When she is uttering her most righteous words, she often is only casting pearls before swine. The passions of the carnal mind are fretted and irritated by the sight of what is so unlike themselves, and trample them impatiently in the mire.

Thus powerless is Conscience for the warfare against sin. It will indeed lift itself up for a while, if it has

been rightly trained, to resist the first encroaches of sin. As the waters gather around, and begin to heave and swell, it struggles for a while to keep its head above them: but the struggles become fainter and fainter, while the waters rush on more fiercely and tumultuously, until at length it sinks beneath them. Whatever strength it may have, independently of Christianity, is confined to a very few choice spirits: in the great body of mankind it is all but extinct: and where it is not so, it does not speak of sin and sinfulness, but rather of virtue and the dignity of human nature. In all too it greatly needs guidance, instruction, illumination: for its voice is merely a kind of tribunician veto, forbidding that which is recognized to be wrong: but it has no vote in the council of the mind, no discernment in itself to determine what is wrong. For this knowledge it is dependent on our other faculties, intellectual and moral: and they, although they were all designed to be servants and witnesses of Righteousness, and though they cannot fulfill their constitutive idea, unless they are so, yet are too easily perverted and depraved into the servants and witnesses of Unrighteousness. The Imagination, which ought to purify our affections, and to raise us up above the narrownesses of the Understanding, and the debasement of our carnal nature, may too easily become the inflamer of our passions. Being the chief connective link between the visible world and the invisible, ordained "to glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven," it still too often turns away from its appointed task of spiritualizing the senses, and stoops to the ignoble drudgery of sensualizing the spirit. And that the Understanding is over-ready to quit the straight road, and riggle along the crooked paths of evil,

we learn from the example of the serpent, that was more subtile than any beast of the field; an example which has had such hosts of followers, that they who especially profest to be teachers of wisdom, became Sophists.

Or shall we say that the Law at all events must needs be sufficient to convince the world of sin? For we too have the Law, speaking to us in divers ways, and by divers voices. We have the Law of God, the very same Law which was delivered to Moses on the mount. We have the Law of God, as written in the ordinances of Nature, according to which almost every sin is sure to be visited sooner or later by some sort of punishment even in this world. We have the Law of the land. We have the Law of public opinion, by which many sins are doomed to shame, by which many sinners are branded and become outcasts. We have the Law of human affection and esteem, whereby love and friendship and honour are awarded to the amiable and the deserving, and are forfeited by the unamiable and the reprobate. We have the purest and holiest of all Laws, the Law of the Gospel, with all its comfortable assurances, and all its blessed promises, the Law delivered on that Mount, which spake better things than Sinai of old. But is any of these Laws sufficient to convince the world of sin? No... nor all of them put together. They may convince the world of some sins: they may make some persons abstain from some sins: but they will never convince the world of sin, nor make any one abstain from it altogether. One reason of this is, that all these laws, except the last, set their face only against certain sins,—it may be graver or lighter ones, more definite, or more comprehensive,—it may be against a greater or a less number of them. But

they do not set their face against sin itself, as an indwelling disease in the heart, altogether distinct from every outward act and manifestation. They do not attempt to grub up the root of sin, and to clear away the multitudinous fibres of that root spreading on every side, and curling and twining about every feeling and every desire. They are content, some of them, with lopping off the branches, others with hewing down the stem. But sin is not like a fir, which has but one stem, and which, if you cut it down, never shoots up again. You cannot destroy it, as the Asiatic king threatened to destroy Lampsacus, πίτυος τρόπον, at once, summarily, by an outward act, by the axe or the sword. On the contrary, if you merely cut it down, new suckers are sure to spring from it, and it gets many stems instead of one: if you merely prune the branches, it will soon become more luxuriant than ever. So long as the evil spirit is cast out by any other power than the Spirit of God,—so long as the house from which he is cast out remains empty, and the Spirit of God does not come to take up His abode in it,—so long as it is merely swept and garnisht, priding itself on its own cleanness and neatness,—so long is the casting out of no avail. The evil spirit will assuredly come back anon, with other spirits worse than himself. In spite of all that Law can do, when destitute of the higher sanctions of Religion, the vices of a nation in the decrepitude of its civilization will be far worse than those which stained it when first emerging from barbarism.

The Law of Moses, as set forth in the Old Testament, we have already seen, cannot convince mankind of sin. It forbids certain sinful acts: it may withhold us from

committing those acts by the punishments it threatens. Or it enjoins certain observances, which however, as enjoined by Law, can only be outward. But a man might keep all the commandments of Moses; so far as the letter goes, he might stick to the letter of the whole Law; and yet he might wholly neglect the weightier matters of it, justice and mercy. We are not told that the Pharisee said what was not true, when he boasted of his legal righteousness: we are not told that he had broken any one of the commandments: the Publican no doubt had: and yet the Pharisee in God's eyes was a sight more offensive than the Publican. For in the Pharisee, as in his whole sect, we see the tendency of the Law, not to produce the conviction of sin in those who conformed to it, but to puff them up with a vain persuasion of righteousness,—a tendency akin to that of the Stoical philosophy, and shared by every kind of righteousness, except that of faith. It is true that St Paul speaks of the Law as a schoolmaster to lead us to Christ, and that the way in which it leads us to Him, is by convincing us of sin, through our inability to fulfill it. But this is only when the length and breadth and depth of the Law is set before us by the Spirit of God, whereby we learn how incapable we are of fulfilling it: St Paul himself, until he received the conviction of the Spirit, believed himself to be *blameless in regard to legal righteousness* (Phil. iii. 6). When speaking a while back of the commandments, I stopt short of the tenth; and it may perhaps have struck you that the tenth commandment, even according to the mere letter, does go further than the outward act, and lifts up its voice against the sinful desire in the heart. Nevertheless the tenth commandment is far from enough to convince the

heart of sin. At the utmost it will condemn our evil desires at the time when they are grown to a head, and are tempting us to wrong others. So long as they are pent up in our own bosoms, so long as they do not amount to a wish of depriving our neighbour of that which is his, our hearts will readily believe that there is no harm in their evil desires,—that they may indulge in lust, so that it be not after a neighbour's wife,—that they may indulge in covetousness, so that it be not after a neighbour's property. The world swarms with the servants of Mammon and of Ashtaroth, who do not feel that there is any condemnation of their practices in the letter of this commandment.

But if the Law of the Old Testament,—that Law by which man gained so much clearer, distincter, and fuller a knowledge of sin,—is insufficient to convince the world of sin, much more must the same hold with regard to every form of human Law. All such Law deals solely with outward acts, with those outward acts which are hurtful to society, its end being the preservation of social order, and the repression of whatever would infringe it: such acts Law forbids under threat of punishment. This is its only sanction, its only way of enforcing its commands. If a man however be withheld from breaking the Law, if he be kept out of prison, by no higher motive than the fear of punishment, he may be quite as bad, we well know, if not far worse, than many of those who are cast into it. And although the hatred of God against sin be manifested in divers ways in the order of nature, in the framework of society, in the principles whereby men are guided in their dealings and feelings toward each other,—though some sins are punisht almost infallibly

by the loss of health and strength, some by public shame and reproach, some by the forfeiture of those joys which spring up under the steps of such as walk along the path of life in unity,—still all this is very far from enough to convince the world of sin. The various voices of the world, which I have just mentioned, merely condemn some sins, but take no count of others. Pain follows some sins: shame follows some sins; but some are almost held in honour: affection, in the present irregular condition of men's hearts, is seldom meted out with much regard to worth. In fact all these Laws, and even the pure and holy Law of the Gospel, may sound year after year through the hollow caverns of our hearts, without awakening one spiritual feeling in them, without stirring the waters so that they shall rise through the network of weeds spread over them, without arousing anything like genuine shame and lively contrition and repentance. In that beautiful poem, which I have already cited, by one of the meekest and holiest spirits who ever adorned the Church of Christ upon earth, we have an enumeration of the many graces wherewith God surrounds and guards us in a Christian land; and at the same time we are admonisht how vain they all are to convince us effectually of sin.

> Lord, with what care hast Thou begirt us round!
> Parents first season us; then Schoolmasters
> Deliver us to Laws; they send us bound
> To Rules of Reason, holy Messengers,
> Pulpits and Sundays; Sorrow dogging Sin,
> Afflictions sorted, Anguish of all sizes;
> Fine nets and stratagems to catch us in;
> Bibles laid open; millions of Surprises;
> Blessings beforehand, ties of Gratefulness;
> The sound of Glory ringing in our ears;

Without, our Shame; within, our Consciences;
Angels and Grace; eternal Hopes and Fears.
Yet all these fences, and their whole array,
One cunning bosom sin blows quite away.

It would take me too long,—though the time might not be ill spent,—to go minutely through this rich list of the graces and blessings, with which God encompasses us from our cradle to our grave, for the sake of convincing us of sin, and of drawing us away from it, from its slavery and its punishment, from sin and death and hell, to the path of life and the glories of heaven. Parents, with their ever-watchful love, sheltering us under their wings until we have strength to quit our native nest,—Teachers, who train us in the way wherein we are to walk, and fit us for discerning it,—Laws, that set the mark of death upon sin,—Reason, that would deliver us from the bondage of Law, and make the service of duty a free and willing service,—the messengers of the Gospel sent into every corner of the land to call us to the knowledge of God, and to the grace of Christ,—the word of God proclaimed to His people, when they are gathered together in His house,—Sundays, with their holy rest and peace, their many heavenly voices, their prayers and sacraments,—the sorrow and abject misery which follow at the heels of sin,—the afflictions with which God visits His children, sorted to suit their special needs, and to unravel the cords with which the world holds them down,—anguish, greater or less, according as we require it and have strength to bear it,—the delicate network of human order and earthly motives, which offer a kind of counterpart to the order and motives of heaven, and which check us against our will in manifold unthought of ways when we should

otherwise rush into sin,— the Bible laid open in every house, and meeting our eyes at every turn,—the millions, yes, the millions of surprises, showered like stars over the face of life, and evermore reminding us of God's wondrous goodness and mercy, and warning us to think of death, and teaching us the ruin of sin,—the blessings which are poured out upon us beforehand, as a foretaste of the joys of heaven, long ere we have learnt to love God and to serve Him, blessings of love and innocent gladness and a peaceful conscience, bestowed so bountifully even on childhood,—the ties of gratefulness, as well as of duty, whereby God makes the voice of nature herself declare that we must love Him who has so loved us,—the song of the angels ringing in our ears, *Glory to God in the highest*, and telling us of the glory in store for those who have found peace through the goodwill of the Eternal Father,— the shame which pursues sin without,— the stings of Conscience within,—the many servants of God that are sent to comfort us with their timely ministrations,—the Grace bestowed on us in baptism, and which the Holy Spirit, if we hinder not His purpose, would ever increase and strengthen in our souls,— and finally, in order that we may not be dazzled or crusht by the fleeting hopes and fears of this present life, the hopes and fears of eternity,—these are the cherubim wherewith God has surrounded our Eden, to keep the Tempter from approaching it:

> Yet all these fences, and their whole array,
> One cunning bosom sin blows quite away.

Seeing therefore how utterly powerless everything human is, how powerless every Law is, even the holy Law of God, to convince mankind effectually of sin,—that is,

to open our eyes, so that we shall see all its loathsomeness, and all its snares, so that we shall see its power over us and in us, and the living death which that power brings upon all such as yield themselves to it, and may thus be led to flee from it as from a pestilence, and to guard against it as we should if a plague were creeping and sweeping through the land,—it is a work by no means unworthy of the Spirit of God,—for it is a work which nothing but the Spirit of God can accomplish,—to convince the world of sin. For, although even in the natural man there is a spirit that lusteth against the flesh, yet the flesh in the natural man is from the first far more powerful than the spirit, and is always lusting against it; and the flesh is daily fed and fattened by the world, which affords slender nourishment to the spirit; and every victory it gains makes it stronger and prouder, so that the spirit at length is almost extinguisht within us, even as a glowworm would be extinguisht by falling into a muddy pool. Yet, unless man were convinced of sin, the salvation wrought by Christ would be of no effect. Without this conviction by the Spirit, in vain would the Son of God have come in the flesh; in vain would He have died on the cross for the sins of mankind: mankind would not, could not have been saved. They could not, because they would not. Unless a man be well aware that he is labouring under a disease, he will not think of asking for the remedies which might cure him; nor will he take them, although you hold them out to him, and although their efficacy may have been proved in a multitude of cases, more especially if they happen to be distasteful to his vitiated palate. If he mistakes the convulsive fits of a fever for the vigour of health, he

will not consent to practise that abstinence by which his fever might be subdued. Nor, unless we are fully convinced that our souls are tormented by a deadly clinging disease, and that no earthly power or skill can heal them, shall we think of applying earnestly for health to the only Physician of souls.

This brings me to consider, though it must needs be briefly and very imperfectly, in what manner the Spirit convinces the man of his disease, in what manner He convinces the world of sin. If a man is a prey to a mortal disease, which breaks out in blotches and sores, there is no use in merely plastering over the sores: you must go to the root of the disease, and attack it in its strongholds. Else, being checkt from venting itself outwardly, it will rage the fiercelier within. Just so is it with sin. There is little profit in telling a man, who is walking after the lusts of the flesh, that such or such an act is wrong. Unless you go to the root of sin within him, from which all these wrong acts spring, even though you should persuade him to break off some bad practices and habits, you will do him little real lasting essential good. Notwithstanding this reformation, as he will deem it, he may continue just as sinful, just as thorough a slave of sin as ever. Nay, his case may be still more hopeless: for his having overcome a bad habit or two may beguile him into fancying that he is the master of his own heart, can sway it which way he chooses, and has only to will, in order to become a paragon of virtue. Therefore, when the Spirit of God came to convince the world of sin, what was the sin he began with convincing men of? If any of us had to convince a person of the sinfulness of the world, how should we set about it? We should talk,—

should we not?—of the intemperance, and licentiousness, and dishonesty, and fraud, and falsehood, and envy, and ill-nature, and cruelty, and avarice, and ambition, whereby man has turned God's earth into a place of weeping and gnashing of teeth. These however are not the sins, of which the Spirit of God convinces the world: because all these might be swept away; and yet, unless far more was done, the world would still continue just as sinful as before. All these sins, this whole terrible brood of sin, were indeed to be found in every quarter of the earth, so far as it was then peopled, in our Lord's days, no less plentifully than they are now. They had swollen themselves out, and rose up on every side in the face of heaven, like huge mountains: they flowed from country to country, from clime to clime, like rivers: they spread themselves abroad like lakes and seas, lakes of brimstone and dead seas, within the exhalations of which no soul could come and live. Whithersoever the eye turned, it saw one sin riding on the back, or starting from the womb of another. This was the Babel which all nations were busied in building,—and the confusion of tongues did not hinder them,—a Babel underground: they went on digging deeper and deeper, until its nethermost story wellnigh reacht to hell, and was only separated from it by a thin crumbling crust. Nevertheless the Spirit of God, when He came to convince the world of sin, and to bring that conviction home to the hearts of mankind, did not choose out any of these open glaring sins, to taunt and confound them with. He went straight to that sin, which is the root and source of all others, want of faith, the evil heart of unbelief. *When the Comforter is come, He will convince the world of sin, because they believe not in Me.*

Now this is a sin that the world till then had never dreamt of as such: and even at this day few take much thought about it, except those who have been convinced of it by the Spirit, and who therefore have been in great measure delivered from it. For they who have spent their whole lives in thick spiritual blindness, and whose eye is still dark, cannot know what the blessing of sight is, and therefore cannot grieve at their want: they alone, who have emerged into light, can appreciate the misery of the gloom under which they have been lying. Thus, until we have begun to believe, we cannot know what unbelief is, its misery, its sin, its curse. Want of faith is a sin of which no law accuses us: conscience does not accuse us of it. Even among those who desire that the confession of their sins shall not be an empty form, but a reality, and who, with this purpose, are wont to review their conduct, that they may seek forgiveness for their recent misdeeds, very few, I am afraid, take much account of their want of faith. The chief part look solely to their sins of commission, mainly to the evil deeds they may have done, then to the evil words they may have spoken, sometimes, it may be, to the evil thoughts and feelings they may have harboured in their hearts. If a person can tax himself with any act of intemperance or impurity,—if he remembers that he has given way to his anger,—that he has swerved from truth,—if he is distinctly conscious of having indulged in proud or vain or envious imaginations,—he will feel that he has something for which he specially needs forgiveness. If he has no such definite charge to bring against himself, he will fancy his score is clear. Yet our excellent Confession should make us equally mindful of our sins of omission,

of the things which we ought to have done, and which we have left undone. This latter half of our sins, it is to be feared, very many think little or nothing of: and these are far the larger and more numerous half of the two, and no less deadly than the other, even as hunger, if unfed, is no less deadly than sickness. Nor can they be overcome by any one without unceasing watchfulness and prayer: indeed they need this all the more from our aptness to leave them unnoticed. They are the more numerous half, numerous in the very best of us; and as for those, who are not endeavouring earnestly to walk in the law of God, and seeking the help of His Spirit that they may be enabled to walk therein, their sins of omission eat up the whole of their lives. The whole of their lives is one black blot, one vast sin of omission, broken here and there by sins of commission flashing through it. Now these sins of omission do not merely comprise, as at first thought we might incline to suppose, the many things which, if we had made a right use of our time and opportunities, we might have done, but which, through indolence, from giving up our hearts to worldly things, from lukewarmness or self-indulgence, we have failed to do; although even this would be an appalling list. For when did a day pass over the head of any one of us, in looking back on which with a searching eye he would not have found manifold reason to say?—*I might have shewn kindness to such a person today; and I did not;—I might have relieved the wants of such another; and I did not;—I might have softened anger by mild words; and I did not;—I might have upheld the cause of the opprest; I might have defended those who were evil spoken of; and I did not;—I might have encouraged such a person in good; I might have laboured to withhold*

or withdraw another from evil; and I did not;—I might have been more diligent, more obedient, more zealous of good works; I might have shewn more reverence to those above me, more indulgence to those below me: I might have done all this; and therefore I ought to have done all this. For whatever we can do in the service of God, and for the good of our brethren, according to the discreetest economy of our time, with due regard to the various claims upon it, we ought to do. The only way in which we can shew our thankfulness to God for His inestimable goodness in preparing good works for us to walk in, is by striving to walk in them with all our might. Yet this is not all. As in positive sins, in sins of commission, we sin in deed and word and thought, so in negative sins, in sins of omission, do we likewise sin, not only in deed and word, but also in thought. And this last head of sins, the sins of omission in thought, contains the great prime sin, of which the Comforter came to convince mankind, the sin of unbelief, the sin of want of faith, the sin of living without God in the world. Laws, inasmuch as by their nature they deal only with that which manifests itself outwardly, in deed or in word, take no cognizance of this sin. Conscience, which only sounds when some positive sin is trampling upon it, is silent about this. Therefore, if we were to be convinced of it at all, pressing was our need that the Spirit of God should graciously vouchsafe to convince us.

But how comes this to be the great prime sin, the mother sin of all sins? Think, brethren, a moment where we are: think what our business is here. We are in God's world: we are God's creatures: but yet we are cut off from God: we are, as it were, outcasts from God, shut up in the prison of the body, and bound heart and soul

and mind with the chains of the senses. The walls of this our prison hide Him from us. We can neither see Him with our eyes, nor hear Him with our ears: still less can our smell or taste or touch bring us into His presence. Therefore our great business here on earth is to live by faith; for only through faith can we live in the presence of God. When we look through the chambers of this our prison, we find that in it, however stunted and pining with long confinement in an alien atmosphere, there is still an understanding which has some faint power of discerning the ways of God, and a heart which may be brought to feel some faint motion of love for God. If we believed in Him, we should be better able to discern Him, and far better able to love Him. But inasmuch as we cannot perceive Him with our senses, we need the eye of faith. Faith should lift us out of the prison of the body, and free us from the bondage of the senses, and bear us up into the presence of Him, whom no eye hath seen, or can see. Moreover, as God alone is good in Himself, as He is the only Fountain of all good, so that nothing is good except what comes from God, and is received and held in communion with Him, it is plain that, where there is no faith, there can be nothing truly good. The bond of union with God is snapt: the one channel, through which good can flow into our hearts, is cut off: hence we must be like members severed from their body: everything about us must have the taint of death, must partake more or less of the nature of sin. Now what is the state of the world with regard to faith? Surely the world is without faith. Until our hearts have been renewed by the Spirit of God, faith, in this its highest relation, as faith in God, is very weak in most of us, in many almost an utter

blank. Therefore do we give up our mind to dig in the quarries of the body, and our heart to work in the hulks of the senses. We clothe ourselves in the convict-dress of the lusts of the flesh, and put out the eyes of the reason, and tie a clog to the heels of the understanding, and clip the wings of the imagination, and muzzle the will, and tar and feather our feelings with the dust and dirt of the earth. If we had faith in its full life and strength,—if our faith were indeed the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen,—if it gave a body to the future and invisible, so that we could see it as with our eyes,—if our understandings were opened to behold heaven and hell, with the same clearness with which we behold the sky over our heads, and the earth under our feet,—if we could feel the blessedness of communion with God, the unutterable woe of separation from Him, as livelily and intensely as we feel the pleasures and pains of the senses,—it would be impossible for us to sin. As it is declared that the *pure in heart shall see God*, so, if we had that faith which would enable us to see God ever standing at our right hand, and compassing us about with the arms of His power and love, how could we be otherwise than pure in heart? For impurity, of whatsoever kind, sin, of whatsoever kind, is the turning away from God. It is turning our thoughts away from God, and fixing them ever on other objects than God. It is turning our heart away from God, and giving it up to something apart from God,—to something that we love, not in God and through God, as His creature, and His gift, in humble thankfulness to the Giver, but without God, and against God, and in despite of God, without a thought of Him, against His will, in despite of His commandment. It is taking our faith away from God,

and placing it in something else, — the believing that there is anything real, anything true, anything lasting, anything good and worthy and lovely, except God, and that into which He is pleased to pour out from the riches of His surpassing excellencies,—the believing that happiness may be found in something beside communion with God, and dutiful obedience to His will. For this is the curse of unbelief. We will not believe the truth; and therefore God has given us up to believe all manner of lies. There is nothing too gross, too senseless, too wild and extravagant for us to believe. We believe that the fleeting pleasures of the flesh are more substantial and precious than the enduring joys of the spirit,—that the fitful admiration and favour of feeble man are more to be desired than the grace and love of Almighty God,—that earth is truer and more real than heaven,—that a life of a few years is longer and of more importance than a life through eternity,—that the scarred and bloated carcase of sin, with its death's head, and its stinging snakes coiling restlessly around it, is lovelier and more to be desired than the pure and radiant beauty of holiness. Yes, alas, we assuredly do believe these lies: we believe them, all of us, more or less: the natural man believes them wholly; and we never get so far quit of the natural man, as to escape from the last maze of this never-ending labyrinth of falsehood. By our conduct we shew almost daily, in one way or other, that we do believe these lies. Yet, if we had faith, this would be impossible. For faith, while it taught us that God is to be loved above all things, and that a union with God is to be desired above all things, would at the same time teach us that whatever draws us away and separates us from God, is to be shunned and

cast out and abhorred. Thus faith takes the sting out of every temptation, and turns its sweetness into bitterness, its honey into gall. Were a cup of pleasant wine put into your hands, and you knew for certain that a deadly poison was mixt up with the wine, which would rack you with the fiercest pains, and ere long tear soul and body in sunder, — who would drink it? who would not dash it from him forthwith? Yet, if we had but faith, we should know and feel that sin is deadlier than the deadliest poison, that it racks us with fiercer pains, and gives us over to a more terrible dissolution. For it cuts us off from God, from Him who is the only Source of all blessing and peace and joy.

Hence it is, because our want of faith, and the consequent estrangement from God, is our prime original misery and sin,—because it is the curse, through which man's heart only brings forth thorns and thistles,—because it is the occasion, if not the cause, of every other sin, from all which faith would infallibly preserve us, — and because, if we continued without faith, even though every other sin were thoroughly purged from the earth, a fresh brood would immediately spring forth, — therefore it was that, when the Spirit of God came to convince the world of sin, the sin He chose out to be the special object of His conviction, was want of faith. Our Lord's words however, I may be reminded, are not, that the Comforter will convince the world of sin, because they believe not in God, but *because they believe not in Me* (Q); so that this was the great sin of the world, the sin of which it was to be convinced, that it did not believe in Christ. That is to say, it did not believe Him to be the Incarnate Onlybegotten Son of God, the appointed King and Saviour of mankind,

and did not believe in Him as such, as God manifest in the flesh. For God, as He is in Himself, in the mystery of His own unapproachable being, as He dwells in the bright abyss of His own timeless eternity,—He before the glory of whose face the archangels veil their eyes, —He whom none has known or can know, except the Onlybegotten Son, and the Spirit who is One with the Father and the Son,—can hardly become a distinct object even of faith to man. It is only when He vouchsafes to come forth out of His absolute Godhood, in the Person of His Son and Spirit,—when He spreads out His mantle through space, and bids world after world start forth from it, and blossom in unfading light,—when He gathers together the waters of His Eternity into the channel of Time, and commands the days and the years to ripple and roll along them, — it is only when He shews forth His eternal power and lordship in the beauty and order of the universe, in the manner in which matter is made to bow its stubborn neck to law, and to become instinct with motion, and to yield to the transforming powers of life, — in the manner in which worlds, and systems of worlds, and countless systems of beings in each world, are made to work harmoniously together, revealing an unfathomable Unity as the groundwork of infinite diversity,—it is only as He declares Himself to man by the Law written in his heart, and comes to him amid the desert of this sensual life in the still small voice of Conscience, —it is only as God has been pleased to make Himself known by these manifold witnesses, whom He has set up for the manifestation of His glory, that man, without some more special revelation, could know anything or believe anything of God. Nor could all these revelations, wonderful

and glorious as they were, avail to produce a living faith in any child of man. For a living faith implies an immediate conscious personal relation: but all the above-mentioned revelations, except the last, are universal, in which every finite being is swallowed up in the Infinite, like the stars in the Milky-way. On the other hand, God's revelation of Himself, when He stampt His own image on the soul of man, became so marred and faint after the Fall, that man entirely lost sight of its heavenly Original, and regarded it as the creature of his own mind. Therefore, when God was pleased to reveal Himself more especially to man, He revealed Himself at once as standing in a direct relation to man, the God of a chosen family, of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and the God of a chosen people, and at the same time as the Author and Giver of a Law, to which the Law in the heart gave answer, and wherein it recognized its original. And at length, in the fulness of time, He revealed Himself in the person of His Only-begotten Son, taking our nature upon Him, entering into the communion of all our sorrows and infirmities, and placing Himself in the most immediate personal relation to all mankind as their Teacher and King, and to each individual child of man as his Redeemer and Saviour. Moreover, in order that all things might be reconciled to God and to each other by His great Atonement, He declared Love to be the living principle of the Law; thereby setting all the affections of the heart at one with the ordinances of duty, and teaching us that every act of obedience to God's Law is not merely enforced on us by the fear of His power and wrath, but is exactly what, even without any positive injunction, our own hearts, if duly enlightened and purified, would have imposed upon themselves.

Here a difficulty comes across us. In referring just now to our Lord's declaration, that *the pure in heart shall see God*, I remarkt that the converse also is true, and that they who see God must be pure in heart. In fact every impurity is like a thick cloud, spreading before our spiritual eye, and blotting out God from our sight. Thus it is only by purity of heart, that we can attain to seeing God; while it is only through faith, whereby we are enabled to see God, that our hearts can be purified. This is one of the dilemmas of perpetual occurrence, when an idea is subjected to the operations of the understanding, which breaks it up into parts, and contemplates the parts under the category of succession, whereas in themselves they are one, without a before and after. Unless God dwells in our hearts, and hallows them with His presence, they cannot be otherwise than impure; yet, unless they are pure, God cannot dwell in them. For this reason, when the Comforter came to convince the world of sin, the sin, of which He convinced the world, was not that they did not believe in God: for in God, the Unknown God, the Absolute, Infinite, Self-existent Author of all being, cut off and shut out from Him as they were, they could not have any lively faith. Wherefore, after having manifested Himself to mankind in divers ways, in the fulness of time, when the world by a multitude of contrary and often conflicting processes had been ripened for the reception of a reconciling faith, God sent forth His Onlybegotten Son, who was the Express Image of His Person, that in Him men might believe, and through Him in the Father. Hereby He left our unbelief utterly without excuse. Seeing that we were so totally estranged from Him, that the narrowness of our minds could not

recognize Him as God, nor the feebleness of our hearts lift themselves up to Him as such, He sent His Son to dwell amongst us in the form of a Man, that we might know Him in whom we were to believe. Seeing that we shrank in awe from the contemplation of His Infinitude and Omniscience, or lost ourselves in stargazing thereat, Christ came to us in the form of a servant, to prove to our unbelieving carnal minds that what is most godlike in God is not His power. To wean our hearts from the love of the world, to teach us the worthlessness of its pomps and vanities, He came, not as a King, according to the earthly notion of royalty, setting up His throne on the necks of prostrate nations, wafted aloft by their admiring shouts, and clothed either in outward riches and grandeur, or in the riches and grandeur of a commanding intellect and an imperious will, but in a lowly estate, without form or comeliness, the Son of a carpenter, poorer than the poorest person in this congregation, a Wanderer on the face of the earth, not having where to lay His head. Thus came He who was the Son of God. That the justice and holiness of God might not scare us, He came as the Messenger of pardon and peace. That the burthen and shame of our sins might not keep us away, He called on us to cast the burthen upon Him, and Himself bore the shame on the Cross. He came to reconcile us to God, to teach us what God is, and how we may become like God, and live as becomes His children. He shewed us that God is Mercy and Love, that we are to become like God by living a life of mercy and love, that we are to behave ourselves as the children of God by a dutiful ready obedience to the will of our Heavenly Father. Perfect God, He was also Perfect

Man, the Image of His Father, and a Pattern for all who desire to become the children of His Father.

This therefore, since the coming of Christ, is the great, the inexcusable sin of the world, that they will not believe in Christ. Faith in God, we have seen, is the source of all spiritual life, which can only flow from communion with Him; and the want of that faith is the barrenness, out of which all sin springs. Without that faith we have nothing to stand on, nothing to hold by: our reason has no assurance of an all-controlling Law, our life no heavenly Archetype, our heart no eternal Home. From that faith however we have departed so far, that of ourselves we can never regain it. We can no more bring ourselves to believe in God, than we can mount after the eagle up the crystal stairs of the sky. We may indeed be borne up by the wind, but only into a cloud, from which the next moment we may fall plumb down into the bottomless pit. In Christ, on the other hand, we may believe. That is to say, the Godhead is brought down to us in Christ in a manner that does not surpass the reach of our hearts and minds. Nor is there anything in Christ to frighten us away from Him: all His words are full of mercy and love; and He is for ever calling us to come to Him. Although we are sinners, the shame of our sins need not make us fear to approach Him: for it was to sinners He especially came, to call them to repentance and newness of life. Therefore, if we will not believe in Christ, there must be some deeprooted power of sin within us, that keeps us away from Him. It must be, that we love our sins, and will not forsake them. It must be, that we shun God, and will not allow the dew of His love to refresh us, — that we will not be won by His

mercy, that we make light of His pardon, and scorn His peace.

Among those who stay away from Christ, who will not believe in Him, who will not come to Him, the motive of the chief part has ever been, that they are destitute of the consciousness of sin, and of all thoughts and wishes that rise above the objects of the senses, or else that they love their sins, and are determined to cleave to them, in despite of all that God can do to draw them away. Others there are, who will not believe in Christ through pride and selfrighteousness: others have involved themselves inextricably in the labyrinthine abstractions of a sceptical understanding. Some will say, in their high-swelling imaginations, that they need no Redeemer, no Ransom, no Reconciler, no Atonement, no Pardon,—that they can find the way to God by themselves,—that they can build up a tower of their own virtues, a grand and gorgeous tower, virtue above virtue, the top of which shall reach to heaven. Such men there have been more or less in all ages; and the way their devices have been baffled has ever been the same, by the confusion of tongues. They have been unable to understand one another's language. When one of them has askt for bread, his neighbour has given him a stone; when askt for a fish, he has given a serpent; indifference and scorn, instead of sympathy and encouragement. The hand of each has been against his brother. There has been no unity of spirit amongst them, but variance and strife and railing: they have never entered into the bond of peace. This is the other form of sin, by which men are kept away from Christ. The great mass stay away, because their hearts are paralysed and crumbled by carelessness and selfindulgence, or rotted by the

cankering pleasures of sin; the few, because their hearts are hardened and stiffened by pride. The former cannot believe in Christ, the latter will not. Of both these sins, and of every other form of sin by which men are withheld from believing in Christ, the Comforter came to convince the world. The Comforter! Does it seem a strange name to any of you, my brethren, for Him who came on such an errand? Does it seem to you that, in convincing you of your sins, instead of comforting you, He must needs cover you with shame and confusion, and make you sink to the ground in unutterable anguish and dismay? No, dear brethren, it is not so. Those among you whom the Spirit has indeed convinced of sin, will avouch that it is not. They will avouch that, in convincing them of sin, He has proved that He is indeed the Comforter (R). If the conviction and consciousness of sin arises from any other source, then indeed it is enough to crush us with shame, and to harrow us with unimaginable fears. But when it comes from the Spirit of God, it comes with healing and comfort on its wings. Remember what the sin is, of which He convinces us,—that we believe not in Christ. All other conviction of sin would be without hope: here the hope accompanies the conviction, and is one with it. If we have a deep and lively feeling of the sin of not believing in Christ, we must feel at the same time that Christ came to take away this along with all other sins. He came, that we might believe in Him, and that through this faith we might overcome the world, with all its temptations, its fears and its shame, as well as its pleasures and lusts. And O what comfort can be like that, which it yields to the broken and contrite spirit, to feel that the Son of God

has taken away his sins,—that, if he has a true living faith in Christ, they are blotted out for ever, and become as though they had never been? What joy, what peace can be like this, to feel that we are not our own, but Christ's? that we are become members of His holy body, and that our life has been swallowed up in His? that we can rest in His love with the same undoubting confidence with which a child rests in the arms of its mother? that, if we believe in Him, we have nothing to fear about the feebleness and falling short of our services? for that He will work out our salvation for us; yea, that He has wrought it out. Who then is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died for us, to take away our sins, and is risen again for us, to clothe us in His righteousness, and sitteth at the right hand of God, ever making intercession for us, that we may be supported under every trial and danger, and strengthened against every temptation, and delivered from the sin of unbelief and all other sins, and girded with the righteousness of faith, and crowned with all the graces which spring from faith, and at length may be received into the presence of that Father, into which our Elder Brother has entered before us. To whom, as He dwelleth in the bosom of the Father, ever pleading in behalf of His Church, and to the Spirit of the Comforter whom He has sent to sanctify that Church, and to bring the world into it by the conviction of Sin and of Righteousness and of Judgement,—in the Unity of the Eternal Godhead,—be all glory and thanksgiving and blessing and adoration now and for ever.

SERMON III.

THE CONVICTION OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

JOHN xvi. 8, 10.

When the Comforter is come, He will convince the world of Sin, and of Righteousness, and of Judgement; of Righteousness, because I go to My Father, and ye see Me no more.

THE first work of the Comforter, as set forth by our Lord, when He promist to send the Spirit of Truth to His disciples, is to convince the world of sin: and we have seen what need there was of this conviction, how greatly the world needed it, how it could not be wrought by any other power, and consequently how it was necessary, for the fulfilment of Christ's gracious purpose to save the world, that the world should be convinced of sin by the Spirit of God. Ever since the Fall the world had been lying under sin. This was the crushing mountain cast upon the race that had rebelled against God, a mountain which sprang out of their own entrails, the root of which was in their own hearts. Beneath it they pined and groaned in their forlorn anguish: beneath it ever and anon they heaved, and tried to shake off some portion of the burthen. At times, when a higher power stirred them to more than ordinary efforts, some clefts and fissures were rent in the mountain, and they caught glimpses of the heavens, which it mostly shut out from

their sight. But such glimpses were brief and fleeting: they were seldom caught, except at the season when the heart of a nation was teeming with the vernal energies of youth: ere long the mountain of sin closed over it again: new sins shot out to choke up the clefts and fissures: the darkness seemed to become still thicker and more hopeless: and they, who before had reared and struggled against it, sank in torpid despondence into the abysmal sleep of death. Even at best man only strove to overcome some particular sins, not to overcome and utterly cast away sin itself. For why? Sin was his own child, the offspring of his own corrupt nature: and though he was able to make out that some of its features were unsightly, and some of its limbs distorted, he could not recognize, — no parent can, — that it was altogether a monster. Being degenerate himself, he perceived not that sin was not the rightful birth of his own true aboriginal nature: for he knew not what that nature ought to have brought forth. He saw not, he had never seen, any pattern of righteousness, by comparison with which he might have discerned his own image, both in its heaven-born purity, and in its earth-sprung deformity. He knew not what he ought to have been; and so he could not feel a due shame and horrour and loathing at the contemplation of what he was.

Such was the state of the world, when the Comforter came from heaven to convince it at once of Sin and of Righteousness: and such also, more or less, is the state of every soul, until the Spirit of God comes to it to work the same twofold conviction. In this, as in other respects, the life of each individual is a sort of likeness and miniature of that of the race. In every man there is a growth

of sin, rooted in the depths of his heart, and which has sprung up from thence contemporaneously with the first awakening of his consciousness, so that he cannot even conceive the possibility of being without it: he cannot by nature even conceive it possible that he should ever act from other motives, or with other aims, than those which come from this root of sin. And this root of sin is not single, but complex. For in every man there is a root of selfishness. He will seek his own good, or what he deems to be such, not the glory of God, not the upholding of Order and Law, not the manifestation and establishment of Truth, not, least of all perhaps, the good of his fellow-creatures. Nay, they who call themselves philosophers, tell him that he cannot act from any other motive, that he must seek his own good, that the notion of seeking anything else is a fantastical delusion, and that the only difference between wisdom and folly, between virtue and vice, is, that wisdom and virtue are longer-sighted, and fix on remoter and more lasting benefits, on stars, instead of *ignes fatui*. Hence, so long as we follow the impulses of our nature, we are apt to refer everything to some selfish end, to our own pleasure, to our profit, to our advancement and exaltation. We do this, as the main business of our lives; and we think it right and fitting so to do: we are told on all sides that it is right and fitting: we have no conception that it can be wrong: we cannot even dream of acting otherwise: and thus it is utterly impossible, until our hearts and minds are lifted out of this state of darkness, that we should have a true conviction either of sin or of righteousness. Again, in every man there is a root of worldly-mindedness. The world

is in all our thoughts; and God is not. It rushes upon us with an overwhelming torrent: it enters into the soul through our eyes, through our ears, through every inlet of the senses, through all our instincts, through all our wants, which crave after the things of this world, through all our natural affections, which fix on the creatures of this world; and thus it smothers and almost extinguishes every germ of feeling that would lead us to something higher, to something beyond the reach of the senses. Hence our aims, our purposes, our wishes, our hopes, our fears are all hemmed in by the world, and summed up in it. A vigorous effort is requisite to shake off this crushing weight even for a moment, to look even for a moment through this bright gaudy mask, which so dazzles and fascinates the senses: and what shall prompt us to make such an effort? what shall endue us with strength to persevere in it? Even when voices come to us and tell us of another world, the unceasing din of this world overpowers them: we fancy they must come from a region of dreams and shadows, which the daylight of real life dispells: and thus, as years roll on, and every year draws a fresh hard layer around the central spirit, we become more and more thoroughly persuaded that this visible world is our only home. Unless some higher power enables us to shake off the yoke of the world, each of us grows by degrees to deem of himself as only one among the myriads of horses set to drag on the chariot of Time,—to deem that his only pleasure is to snatch what provender he can, as he rushes along the way,—that his only glory is to surpass his yokefellows in speed,—and that anon, when his strength fails, the chariot will pass over him, and millions of hoofs will trample him

to dust. Moreover in every man there is a root of carnal or fleshlymindedness. His soul is drugged from childhood upward with the stimulants and opiates of the senses; and he looks upon it as right and becoming and inevitable to desire such pleasures, to seek after them, to indulge in them, so that it be not intemperately and hurtfully.

In every man's heart there is this triple root of sin;—no one who knows his own heart will dispute it;—the root of selfishness, from which spring self-indulgence, self-will, self-esteem, and the whole brood of vanity and pride;—the root of worldlymindedness, which issues in ambition, in covetousness, in the love of money, in the desire of advancement, of honour, of power;—and the root of carnalmindedness, from which, if it be not cut down betimes, and kept diligently from shooting up again, the lusts of the flesh will sprout rankly, and overrun and stifle the soul. In their excess indeed, when these vices become injurious to a man himself, or to others, they are reprobated by the judicious and soberminded. But when they are kept under a certain controll, so far are they from being reprobated, that the man who so controlls them is counted worthy of admiration. These too are the motives and incentives constantly urged and appealed to in men's dealings with each other, even, alas! in the processes of education; which is too often a systematic training and exercising of the young in habits of selfishness, of worldlymindedness, nay, not seldom of carnalmindedness, whereby those vices acquire an uncontested sway in the heart. For they who are themselves worldlyminded and carnalminded, cannot understand how it is possible to act upon others by any other motives than those the force of which they themselves acknowledge, whips and spurs, bribes and

blows, the hope of reward and the fear of punishment. They cannot understand how a heart can be drawn, when no other force is applied to it than the unseen cords of love. Not knowing the power of God, not knowing how that power is essentially and indissolubly one with His holiness, they think they shall never be strong enough to contend against the powers of evil, unless they enlist some of those powers on their own side. They cannot believe that there is any sure plan of driving out or keeping under one devil, except by calling in the aid of another. Thus children are made to walk from the first in the way in which they should not go. The very processes of education bear witness to the radical corruption of our nature. They shew that evil has spread through every region of our thoughts, until we cannot even conceive the possibility of doing without it, so that, in seeking strong medicines, we can find none but poisons. The child is brought up under the persuasion that he is altogether a child of this world, that he is so, and cannot be otherwise, and is not even to think of being otherwise. He is made indeed to learn a lesson out of a book, which tells him that he is a child of God, and the heir of a heavenly kingdom; and he is bid to reverence this book as sacred. But this, he is compelled to conclude, must mean that the lesson has no manner of bearing on the affairs of this world, and is only designed to be laid by in some remote cellar of his mind, that it may serve him in stead when all things of higher value and more pressing interest are swept away. For the present he is unremittingly admonisht that his main business is to get a permanent footing here on earth, to appropriate as much as he can of the goods of this world, to lift himself up as high as he can

in the eyes of his neighbours. Such is the ordinary course of education even in this Christian land; and almost all the changes, almost all the improvements, as they have been deemed, which have been made in our systems of education since the beginning of this century, have only tended more and more to call out and inflame the worldly stimulants of action, more and more to draw the student out of the quiet garden of loving contemplation, into the throng and pressure of emulous contention.

Thus wofully does our mode of education, which in a Christian land ought to aim at convincing the heart and mind from the first both of sin and of righteousnes, tend in all its stages, from the nursery up to the university, to confound the ideas of the two, setting up what is deemed a middle term between them as the object of aim and worship, but what in fact is the mere offspring of sin, masking itself in the garb of righteousness. For hell is ever striving to rise up into a likeness of heaven; but there are no steps or shadings off by which heaven can descend from its ethereal purity to the borders of hell. And then, when the youth, who has been thus trained, comes forth into the world, he finds the same deficiencies and the same confusion in the institutions and practices of society, which have already proved so delusive and pernicious to him. For civil society, being the creature of this world, and having its ground and its end in this world, inevitably regards its members as children of this world, and in all its dealings with them treats them mainly, if not absolutely, as such. Moreover its chief immediate purpose is much rather protection from evil, than the exercising any positive influence for eliciting or promoting good. I speak not of what it ought to be, according to

the highest idea of the body politic, but of what it ever has been, and is. Even laws, which are the utterance of the moral voice of the state, confine themselves to prohibition and repression. They do not attempt to cultivate the fields of righteousness, but merely to erect a palisade and network against the inroads of crime, driving in new stakes and weaving new meshes, in proportion as evil devises new snares and new modes of attack. Their language is, *Thou shalt not*, speaking to him who is inclined to violate them, and seldom enjoining anything good, because it belongs to them to be imperative; whereas good cannot be enforced, it being of the very essence of good to be free and spontaneous, not to spring from constraint and compulsion. On the other hand, while the very efforts which society makes for the sake of righteousness, are thus confined to that which is merely negative, he who walks abroad in the world, and listens to its voices, and mixes in its doings, finds a universal conspiracy, I might almost call it, in behalf of sin, against holiness and godliness. He finds the habits, the manners, the customs, the practices of men, all leagued in favour of this world, all combined to hold up the prizes of this world as the sole objects of desire and endeavour. He finds false notions of honour, false views of propriety, false estimates of interest: duty is left out of account: heaven is condemned to remain within the church-door. The whole language of conversation is infected with this taint; and it might fill a thoughtful man with sadness, if not with despondency, to observe how subtily it insinuates itself into the commonest remark on the conduct of others, to hear how people reason and jest and praise and blame, as though it were utterly inconceivable that a man should

act from any motive, except such as have respect to his own temporal advantage. Thus the evil tendencies of our nature are rooted and confirmed; and the vices which spring from them are perpetuated, and handed down from generation to generation. Instead of checking and suppressing them, the customs of society rather foster and strengthen, and in a manner legalize them; so that they could not but spread more and more widely, and become ranker and more ineradicable, with the increase of civilization, unless the Comforter were ever unweariably pursuing His gracious work of convincing the world of sin and of righteousness.

We have seen in the last sermon, what great need there was, what great need there ever has been, and still is, that the Holy Spirit of God should come down from heaven, to convince the world of sin. We have seen how utterly impossible it was for this conviction to be wrought in the world, how impossible it is for such a conviction to be wrought efficiently and sufficiently in any single heart, by any other power than that of the Spirit of God. The remarks just made may assist us in perceiving that there was no less need of the help of the Spirit, to convince the world of righteousness; and that still moreover there is the same need of His help, in order that this conviction may be graven in deep and living characters on each individual soul. We need the help of the Comforter to do this, because no other power can; and because, unless we are indeed convinced of righteousnes, as well as of sin, the work of the Spirit will be imperfect and fruitless. For why are we to be convinced of sin? why does the Holy Spirit vouchsafe to work this conviction in us? Not in order that we may

continue in sin; but in order that we may flee from it, —in order that, discerning how hateful it is, how terrible, how deadly, we may flee from it with fear and loathing, and seek shelter in the blessed abode of righteousness. But the natural man knows of no such abode: he knows of no righteousness, of nothing really deserving the name. As on the one hand he has no distinct and full conception of sin, so on the other hand has he none of righteousness. He has no notion of the blackness of the one, no notion of the white saintly purity of the other: all morality with him is of a dull misty grey: his virtues and vices run one into the other; and it is often hard to know them apart. As his conception of sin seldom goes beyond the outward acts, the vices and crimes which spring from it, and even of these takes little count, until they are full grown; so his righteousness also is for the most part made up of outward acts, and of forms and rites and ceremonies, a thing of shreds and patches, full of holes and darns.

The cause which makes man incapable of conceiving a true and perfect idea of righteousness, has come before us already. A muddy pool, a crackt and spotted mirror will not reflect a distinct and pure image. That which is exalted so far beyond the reach of our nature, cannot have place in any of our thoughts. Man cannot even frame such an idea as an object of intellectual contemplation: much less can he embody it as an object of love and worship for his heart. A slight glance at the chief facts presented by the history of the world may suffice to shew that this is so. For suppose the fact had been otherwise,—suppose that man had been able to form a distinct and lively idea of righteousness,—where should we look with the expectation of finding the personification of that idea? Surely

we should look to the objects of religious worship, to the gods before whom men have bowed down. Surely we might reasonably imagine that the gods worshipt by each nation would express the most perfect idea it could form of righteousness. And what do we find? There is hardly a sin by which human nature has ever been degraded, but man in his blind madness has given it a throne in the hearts of his gods. As though he had retained a dim consciousness that he had been made in the image of God, he inverted the truth in such manner, that each nation made its gods in its own image, investing them with its own attributes, with its own weaknesses and passions and vices. Lust, and Fraud, and Hatred, and Envy, and Jealousy, and Bloodthirstiness were seated in huger dimensions among the inhabitants of heaven. These however, it may be objected, were the frenzies of rude barbarous ages; and as each nation became more enlightened, it elevated and purified its conceptions of its deities. To a certain extent this is true. At the same time, in proportion as the idea of the Deity was refined and purified, it also lost its power, by losing its affinity to humanity, and fading away into an abstraction. Such is the God of Philosophy. Philosophy rejects the clue afforded by the declaration that man was made in the image of His Maker. Entirely indeed it cannot; for man cannot form a conception of any qualities, beyond those of which he finds the stamp in his own consciousness. But the qualities which Philosophy ascribes to its God, are mostly those which are the least peculiarly human, those which man shares in no disproportionate degree with the rest of the creation, above all, power; to which it assigns certain attributes, mostly negations of the conditions of time and

space. In its recoil from the gross anthropopathy of the vulgar notions, it falls into the vacuum of absolute apathy. Hence there is nothing in the God of Philosophy, any more than in the national and popular gods of the heathens, that can convince the world of righteousness.

Poetry however, which culls the fairest flowers of human life, and brightens them still more with the glowing hues of the imagination,—has that no power to convince the world of righteousness? None. It is an ordinary remark, that, when anything like the delineation of a perfect character is attempted in poetry, it is vapid and lifeless. For it loses all resemblance to human nature, and wanes away, like the God of Philosophy, into a skeleton clothed in shadowy abstractions. A tincture of evil would seem almost necessary to render men objects of sympathy. And this is the reason why the prince of philosophers excludes poets from his ideal republic; because the main sources of their interest lie in the contentious passions of men; and because, instead of convincing the world either of sin or of righteousness, they rather glorify many of men's vices, and draw their readers away from the contemplation of the philosophic idea (s).

Yet Philosophy itself has been utterly unable to convince the world of righteousness. Nay, it has been utterly unable to convince itself thereof. From the very first indeed, as soon as man began to make his moral nature an object of reflexion and examination, Philosophy endeavoured to lay hold on some idea of righteousness, and to claim the homage of mankind for it; and almost contemporaneous with this attempt on the part of Philosophy was that of Sophistry to stick up some carnal notion in the room of the spiritual idea; which notion, as being

nearer akin to man's carnal nature, has ever met with readier acceptance than the idea which approacht nigher to the truth. One of these false and idolatrous notions, which, as you will remember, was set up by some of the bolder sophists, and which the great Athenian philosopher laid on the rack of his searching dialectics, was, that *Might is Right*. This is the doctrine of righteousness which, one may suppose, would be proclaimed by a conclave of wild beasts, the lion's doctrine, and the tiger's. Yet, amid the ever-revolving cycle of errour, it has been promulgated anew of late years. As though Christ had never lived, as though the Holy Spirit had never come down to convince the world of righteousness, it has been again asserted in our days that Might is Right. Do we then need that the son of Sophroniscus should rise from his grave, to expose this mischievous fallacy over again? Surely he has exposed it thoroughly, not for his own age merely, but for ever. Surely, my friends, you, in this Christian land, in this seat of Christian learning, will none of you allow yourselves to be imposed on by so gross and glaring a delusion. This is indeed merely another expression of the same carnal mind, which would merge all the attributes of the Godhead in naked power. But we know that, though the strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks, yet the Lord was not in the strong wind. Nor was He in the earthquake: nor was He in the fire. In what then was He? In the still small voice: and this is one of its holy utterances,—*Right is Might*. As sure as God liveth, as sure as the Holy One of Israel is the Lord of Hosts, the Almighty, Right is Might, and ever was, and ever shall be so. Holiness is might: Meekness is might: Patience is might: Humility

is might: Self-denial and Self-sacrifice is might: Faith is might: Love is might: every gift of the Spirit is might. The Cross was two pieces of dead wood; and a helpless unresisting Man was nailed to it: yet it was mightier than the world, and triumpht, and will ever triumph over it. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but no pure holy deed, or word, or thought. On the other hand might, that which the children of earth call so, the strong wind, the earthquake, the fire, perishes through its own violence, self-exhausted and self-consumed; as our age of the world has been allowed to witness in the most signal example. For many of us remember, and they who do not have heard from their fathers, how the mightiest man on earth, he who had girt himself with all might, except that of right, burst like a tempest-cloud, burnt himself out like a conflagration, and only left the scars of his ravages to mark where he had been. Who among you can look into an infant's face, and not see a power in it mightier than all the armies of Attila or Napoleon?

There is a kindred errour however, my young friends, by which many at your age have been fascinated and blinded, against which therefore I would fain warn you. Yours is the age at which the intellect takes the greatest strides, at which its growth is the rapidest. Your main business here is to cultivate it; and if you are diligent in availing yourselves of the means within your reach, you see its empire extending almost daily before you. You are invited into a temple where the wise and bright-minded men of all ages and nations, the heroes in the world of thought, are seated around, uttering their sweetest and most potent words in your ears; and you are evermore reminded how Nature has revealed herself to them, how

Fame has crowned them, how mankind have mounted by the marble steps of their writings from ignorance to knowledge, from weakness to power. Thus an aptness to prize intellectual energy as the supreme object of human endeavour is one of the chief temptations whereby you, especially the more vigorous among you, are beset. Moreover the whole scheme of education in this place attaches a high value,—let me say, an inordinately high value,—to such power; and several of the nobler tendencies of youth, its spirit of enterprise, its disinterestedness, its idealism, conspire too readily therewith. Hence at your age men have ever been prone to regard intellectual eminence as the criterion of worth. Above all are they so prone in days like ours, when there is such a restless craving for novel excitement, and such a dearth of sound, stable, time-hallowed doctrines; so that the reverence, which of yore was paid to acknowledged truth, is now often at a loss for an object, unless it can find one in some individual teacher. You will be tempted to regard genius, or what you may deem to be such, as an excuse, if not a warrant, for all manner of moral aberrations. You will be tempted to believe that genius is a law to itself, and to transfer this proposition from the intellectual region, where alone it has any propriety, to the moral. In the intellectual world, it is true, the highest genius is a law to itself. But then bear in mind that it must be a law to itself; whereas this assertion is mostly brought forward with the view of maintaining that genius is exempt from all law. As love is the fulfilling of the law, not by neglecting, but by fulfilling it,—by entering into it, and animating and pervading it, and infusing a living power into its forms, not by standing aloft, and looking down or trampling upon it, — so is

genius the fulfilling of the laws of the intellectual world, discerning them by an involuntary, and almost unconscious intuition, and embodying them in some creation of its own. In the moral order of things on the other hand genius is a perilous eminence, as precipitous as it is lofty. Being mostly united to acuter sensibilities, it receives all impressions, evil as well as good, more vividly; and from a latent consciousness that it ought to penetrate to the core of things, it submits reluctantly to the restraint of conventional usages and establisht institutions. Yet its superiority, instead of emancipating it from moral obligation, increases its responsibility. In this, as in other things, much will be required from him to whom much is given. The receiver of ten talents has to bring in ten more, and then to rule over ten cities. When a man is endowed with such a portion, one of the fairest and most precious, of earth's riches, he is especially called upon to shew forth his thankfulness: for precious indeed it is, if rightly employed; whereas, if it be squandered, if it be misapplied and perverted, it sharpens our woe, and deepens our shame. The possessors of eminent intellectual gifts are the more bound to employ their gifts diligently and faithfully in the service of the Giver, letting the light which he has set up within them shine abroad for His glory, and for the enlightening of their brethren. At the same time it behoves them to exercise peculiar watchfulness lest they enter into temptation, lest they fall into the snares by which their path is surrounded, and which to them are still more dangerous than to others. Among the most miserable and abject of men, as numerous examples in the history of literature shew, have been those who, having a certain allotment of talents, betrayed the

trust reposed in them, prostituted their faculties to the service of the world, became venal, unprincipled, reckless, and gradually wasted away, until they were a mere wreck in soul and mind,—till their hearts were burnt out, and they retained nothing but the dregs of their former understandings. Many of these had set out with no ignoble purpose, not a few with something of a generous ardour: only having been taught to believe that they might worthily devote themselves to the pursuit of fame, they naturally and unresistingly became a prey to vanity, and were tainted more and more with its sordidness, its jealousies, its hypocrisies. At present, when new regions of thought are perpetually opening before you, you may fancy that so they will continue to open, and will ever fill you with fresh delight: you may deem that life cannot be spent more honorably, or more happily, than in striving to circumnavigate the intellectual globe. But this is not so. Mere speculation after a time loses its charm: we feel that it is unsatisfying: we find out that there is something within us beside the machinery of thought, and that, unless that other portion of our nature be allowed to act freely, the machinery of thought itself rusts and gets into disorder. Nor can the mere intellect curb and subdue the senses, which will often run riot and cast it to the ground, maimed and shattered. When the heart is sound and healthy indeed, when the soul is turned godward, when our minds, built upon the rock of an undoubting faith, endeavour to discover the manifestations of Him in whom they believe, according as He has chosen to manifest His will, whether in the outward world, or in mankind, in their nature or their destinies, then such speculations will be a source of joy that will never fail,

never lose its freshness. But only then. It is only the path of the righteous, whether it lies through thought or through action, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.

The time will not allow me to examine the other manifold ways in which Philosophy has proved her incompetence to convince the world of righteousness. Nor indeed can it be requisite to do more than remind you of that system, which has been brought forward under various forms, evermore shooting forth new heads, as soon as one has been cut off, from the earliest times down to the latest, and which not only avows this incompetence, but makes a boast of it, absolutely denying that there is such a thing as righteousness attainable, or even conceivable by man, denying that there is any such thing as right and wrong inherently and essentially so, denying that man can do anything or desire anything as right or wrong in itself, or from any other motive than his own personal pleasure or advantage. This philosophy, which has tried to complete and perpetuate the work of the Fall, and has set its hand and seal to the deed whereby we were cut off from God, declaring that there is nothing in man whereby he can hold communion with God, or even desire such communion, — for he who sought it upon selfish grounds would be self-doomed to utter isolation,—this philosophy, which thus opposes the work of Christ, and tells men that the act of self-sacrifice, whereunto Christ has called them, is a fantastical dream, and a sheer impossibility,—has been taught, we know, even in this Christian land; it has been taught, alas, even in this University. There can hardly be a sadder proof of the antichristian spirit of the last century, than that this antichristian system of philosophy

should have been proclaimed authoritatively in a University, where the great body of the teachers must not only be members, but ministers of the Church. Blessed be God however! there are signs which bode that ere long it will be wholly driven out from hence. Among the changes which have taken place here of late years,—where much has been changed for the better, and something, it may be, for the worse,—none has filled my heart with such satisfaction, none seems to hold out such an assurance of good to our students, as that which promises that this University will again become a school of sound, high-principled, Christian moral philosophy.

Nor can I discuss the characteristics of that system, of nobler origin and tendency, which did indeed attempt to do something in the way of convincing the world of righteousness, but which failed, as it could not avoid failing, for this among other reasons, that there was no true living idea of righteousness made manifest to man, of which it might convince the world. Its righteousness was a righteousness of the understanding. Therefore was it a righteousness of pride: for there is an aptness in the understanding to look down upon all things, as tools and instruments wherewith it may deal at will, as empty shells the chief use of which is to embody and clothe its truths: nay, it can hardly refrain from assuming that the act of understanding implies a superiority to that which is understood. Therefore too was this righteousness a righteousness of insulation: for the understanding has no sympathy, no fellow-feeling with other existences: it cares solely for the forms of things, or rather for its own forms, which it discerns in the mirror they present to it: the business of the understanding is to look far off; the further, the more

pleasure it takes in what it sees: that which is near and familiar, it disregards: it is heartless and homeless. Therefore moreover was this righteousness a righteousness of lifeless abstractions, instead of living realities, cleaving to modes and words, rather than to principles, magnifying the formal in all things, to the disparagement of the essence and spirit. It was a self-righteousness, that is, no righteousness at all,—a righteousness in its own eyes, which can never be a righteousness in the eyes of God, — a righteousness in which the impure was to purify the impure, and the unjust to justify the unjust. And as it has been seen in all nations, and in the systems of all philosophers, that no human understanding, not even the etherial one of Plato, could discern the divine affinities in the affections, or set itself in harmony with them,—as the primary crack between the heart and the understanding, which ensued upon the usurpation of the latter, drawing man away to the love of knowledge as a power in himself, from the love of the Object of knowledge, has run through the whole human race, so that they have never been reunited, except by the atonement of Christ,—thus did this philosophy shew its incapacity to convince the world of righteousness, by giving up the best parts of our nature as irretrievable into the hands of the enemy, throwing wife and children and brothers and sisters and friends, and the whole world, overboard, for the sake of preserving its own worthless self to float in desolate self-complacency on a plank in the dead sea.

Hence we perceive what need there was that the Spirit of God should undertake the task of convincing the world of righteousness. For no other power could. Philosophy could not: Poetry could not: Religion, in the corrupt

forms in which it prevailed among the heathens, could not: the aspect of life could not. They could not yield man the spectacle of righteousness as a living active reality, nor even as an idea for contemplation. Meanwhile the Law, sounding with its naked *Thou shalt not*, and knocking at the ears of those who were living in daily commission of the acts it forbad, was convincing the world of unrighteousness. This however was not enough to fulfill the merciful purpose of God. *The righteous God loveth righteousness.* He loveth to behold His own image in His creatures. He made this earth to be the abode of righteousness; and He was mercifully pleased to decree that it should not be given up to Sin, but that Righteousness should dwell upon it, Righteousness in its highest perfection, even His own Righteousness, pure and holy and without spot. Therefore this was the second work of the Comforter. As He came to convince the world of sin, because no other power could, so did He come to convince the world of righteousness, because this too was a work which He alone could accomplish.

When the Comforter is come, He will convince the world of righteousness. The sin, of which the Comforter was to convince the world, was the sin of want of faith, of not believing in Christ. Accordingly He was to convince the world of its own sin. Was He also to convince the world of its own righteousness? That could not be. Where sin is, righteousness is not, at least no true, pure, genuine righteousness; and the Comforter can only convince of the truth. As the sin of the world was its want of faith, so on the other hand righteousness can only come to it through faith; and the reason why the world from the beginning has been so barren of righteousness is no other

than this, that it has not been animated by a strong living principle of faith. Want of faith, we have seen, is the great sin of the world, and the one prime source and fountain-head of all other sins. This is the cankerworm, which has been gnawing at the heart of the world, ever since our first parents gave ear to the voice of the Tempter, beguiling them to withdraw their faith from the word of God, and to place it in the deceitful shows of the senses: and hence it is, by reason of our want of faith, by reason of this cankerworm gnawing at our heart, that all our blossoms have been so pale and blighted, and all our leaves so shriveled. We have seldom strength to produce what is fair in itself, much less what shall be vigorous enough to resist the blasts of temptation. In every age of the world, under all the forms of social life, and all the gradations of culture, this has been the great sin of mankind. It was so before the coming of Christ. Mankind did not believe in God. They did not believe in His power and wisdom as set forth in the visible works of the creation. When the heavens declared His glory, men turned a deaf ear to their tale. Although the firmament shewed His handiwork, they could not see the finger of God there. Nor would man believe in the image of God, in which he himself was made. He would not believe in the oracles of God, when his conscience uttered them within him. He had so disfigured that image, and had confounded those oracles with so many discordant sounds, that he was utterly unable to separate the true from the false, and to recognize each as that which it was. And when the Son of God came upon earth with His fan in His hand to do this work for man, to declare the truth in its purity, and to manifest the perfect Image

of God, still the world would not believe in Him. Still the world cried, *This is not God... this is not our God... this is not such a God as we have fashioned for ourselves, of gold and jewels, of lightning and thunder, of lust and blood. This God has none of the spirit of a god. He is so meek, so gentle, so patient, so humble, so mild, so forgiving, so merciful... there is not a great man upon earth who would not be ashamed to be like Him.* This was the sin of the world, when Christ was walking upon earth. They would not believe in Him. They would not believe that He was the Incarnate Son of God. They would not believe that the Wisdom and the Love of God had become Flesh in Him. They would not believe that the Maker of the Universe would appear in the form of a Servant. They would not believe that the Lord of all Truth and Holiness would shed his blood for the sins of mankind. So utterly estranged were they from the idea of righteousness, that, when the Sun of Righteousness was shewing forth His glory in the midst of them, they knew Him not, but denied and blasphemed Him, imputing His divine acts to the powers of evil. They listened to the corrupt imaginations of their own hearts, which had framed an image of God so totally different from the true Image made manifest in the life of Christ; and obstinately refusing to believe in Him, they plunged into the nethermost chasm of crime, and crucified the Lord, in whom they would not believe.

And as want of faith was the sin of the world before the coming of Christ, a sin the parent of all other sins, and undermining the very desire, defacing the very conception of righteousness,—as it was the sin of the world during the life of Christ, consummating itself in the attempt to destroy the great Object of Faith, to the end

that it might wallow undisturbed in all manner of falsehood, in the falsehoods of sense and selfishness, in the falsehoods of the passions and appetites, in the falsehoods of cupidity and ambition, in the falsehoods of superstition and idolatry, in the falsehoods of hypocrisy and formal observances,—so has want of faith still been the sin of the world ever since Christ went up into heaven. Still the world has not believed in Christ: still at this day it does not, will not believe in Him. Still at this day this is the great sin of mankind: and by reason of this sin all their other sins abide with them, and cleave to them, and cannot be driven out of them. And what shall we say of ourselves, brethren? Is this our sin, or no? Can we assert that we are altogether free from it? that we do indeed believe in Christ? No human judge can pronounce: but there is One who can, even He who reads the heart. He knows whether we believe in Christ, or no. To man the only evidence is, do we live by that faith? He who really believes in Christ must needs live in that faith, and by that faith; and therefore he will not live in the service of sin, but in the service of righteousness.

Here a question arises, how comes it that so large a part of the Christian world are still lying in the bondage of unbelief? in the bondage of that unbelief which makes them the slaves of sin? How comes it that the world does not burst the chains of this bondage, and clothe itself with the wings of faith, and mount through the pure region of righteousness, rejoicing in its freedom, to the foot of that throne where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God? How comes it,—may I not ask, brethren,—how comes it that, even among us who have been baptized into the name of Christ,—among us who meet together

week after week and day after day to worship the Father in His house,—among us who have so often been called to have our souls refresht and strengthened by His blessed Body and Blood,—how comes it that even among us there are so many, who . . . start not at the word . . . yes, start, ye to whom it may apply! and O that your hearts would indeed start once for all out of their fleshly sockets! . . . how comes it that even among us there are so many, who do not believe in Christ, who have no real living practical faith in Him,— so many therefore, who are still steept in their sins, who are still floundering helplessly about in the midst of their sins, even as though Christ had never come to redeem them? The reason of all this is, that the world,—that we,—have turned away from the Comforter, when He has come to convince us of the sin of not believing in Christ. Our belief in Christ, such as it is, has not been wrought in us by the Spirit of God. We believe in Christ, because our parents taught us to believe in Him, because it is our national faith, because we have been bred up in it from our childhood, because our understandings have been persuaded of His divine power by the wonderful miracles which He wrought. But what is the value of such faith, if it be no more than this? Will it take away our sins? will it clothe us in the armour of righteousness? This is a question we can easily answer, at least if it be put to us in another shape. Does it take away our sins? does it soften and fertilize our hearts, so that they bring forth the fruits of righteousness? Surely they who are conscious of having nothing beyond this traditional, conventional, historical faith, must answer, *No:* no more than the water in a bucket will refresh the whole country when parcht with a long drouth. The water

which is to refresh a land parcht with drouth, must come from above. The faith which is to refresh and renew a soul dry and parcht through a long continuance in sin, must come from above also. Until we have been convinced by the Spirit of the sin of unbelief, we shall never know the hallowing power of faith. Until we are convinced of sin, for not believing in Christ, we cannot be convinced of righteousness, because Christ is gone to the Father.

As the sin, of which the Comforter came to convince the world, is of a totally different kind from everything that the world calls sin,—as it is a sin which the world, so long as it was left to itself, never dreamt of as such, nor does any heart, left to itself, so regard it,—while yet it is the one great all-in-all of sin, the sin by which men are cut off and utterly estranged from God, the sin through which they grow downward toward hell, instead of growing upward toward heaven,—so on the other hand is the righteousness, of which the Comforter came to convince the world, totally different in kind from everything that the world accounts righteousness,—a righteousness such as the world in the highest raptures of its imagination never dreamt of, a righteousness moreover by which the effect of sin is done away, and man, hitherto cut off and estranged from God, is reunited and set at one with Him. *The Comforter will convince the world of righteousness*, our Lord says, *because I go to the Father, and ye see Me no more.* In these words we perceive what is the righteousness, of which the Comforter came to convince the world. Not of its own righteousness: one might as fitly convince a cavern at midnight of light. The Comforter is the Spirit of Truth, and can only convince of the truth. But

the world's righteousness is a lie, hollow as a whited sepulcre, tawdry as a puppet in a show. Different opinions have been maintained on the question, of whose righteousness the Comforter was to convince the world (T); but to my own mind the words which follow seem to settle the point: *He will convince the world of righteousness, because I go to the Father.* Of whose righteousness? Not of the world's assuredly. Christ's going to the Father could no way be a proof of the righteousness of the world. On the contrary it was the fullest, completest, most damnatory of all proofs of the world's unrighteousness and iniquity. It was the proof, that Him, whom the world condemned, God justified,—that the Stone, which the builders rejected, God made the Headstone of the corner,—that Him, whom the world had lifted up on high on a cross of shame, God lifted up on high to a throne of glory in the heavens,—that Him, whom the world cast out, nailing Him between two thieves, God took to Himself, and set Him in the heavenly places far above all principality and power,—yea, took Him up into Himself, into the Unity of His Eternal Godhead, between Himself and His Holy Spirit. Never was the righteousness of the world so confounded and set at nought, as when Christ went to the Father, when He, to whom Barabbas was preferred, was thus shewn to be the beloved Son and perfect Image of the Allholy, Allrighteous God.

But while Christ's going to the Father was a proof of the unrighteousness and desperate wickedness of the world, it was also a proof of righteousness, namely of His own pure and perfect and spotless righteousness. It was a proof that He was the Holy One who could not see corruption. It was a proof that He could not possibly

be holden by death, any more than it would be possible to hold the sun by a chain of darkness; and therefore that, as Death, the ghastly shadow which ever follows inseparably at the heels of Sin, fled from His presence, He must needs be also without sin. It was a proof that, while the world *desired a murderer to be granted to them*, He whom they *denied* was *the Holy One and the Just*. The effect of sin from the beginning, the effect which it always had wrought and always must work, was to cut man off from God, to throw a great gulf between man and God, which no man, continuing in the weakness and under the bondage of sin, can ever pass over. It had made man blind to the sight of God, and deaf to the voice of God. It had driven him out from the garden of Eden, that is, from the presence of God: for none but the pure in heart can see God; none but the righteous can dwell with God. Therefore, when Christ went to His Father, when He was taken up into heaven to live in the bosom of God, this of itself was a proof that He, who was thus exalted, must have fulfilled all righteousness; that His righteousness was not like the righteousness of men, speckled and spotted, and covered with scratches and rents, like a sheet of old blotting-paper, but pure, and without stain or spot. This then was the righteousness, of which the Comforter came to convince the world, the righteousness of Him in whom the world would not believe, of Him whom the world had crucified. Pilate had found no fault in Him; yet Pilate had delivered Him up to be crucified. The Jews had been unable to charge Him with any fault; yet the Jews had crucified Him. They saw nothing but the hideous mists and phantoms of their own passions, of their own envy and hatred and

malice: they clothed Jesus in the dark hues of those passions; and then they nailed Him to the cross. Not knowing what righteousness was, they could not recognize it when it came and stood in a visible form before them. Loving unrighteousness rather than righteousness, they tried to quench the light of righteousness, and could not find rest until they trusted they had built up a thick firmament of darkness around them, and extinguisht the heavenly ray which God had sent through the darkness to scatter it.

Hence, because the world thus obstinately refused to believe in the righteousness of Christ, was it needful that the Comforter should come to convince the world thereof; so that He might *be declared with power to be the Son of God, according to the Spirit of Holiness*, which was thus manifested to be in Him, *by His resurrection from the dead;* and that this declaration might be made known *to all nations*, to bring them *to the obedience of faith in His name.* Here however the same question crosses us, which crost us at the end of the last sermon: how could He, who came to convince the world of the righteousness of Christ, be rightly called the Comforter, at least with reference to this portion of His work? At other times, when exercising His power for other purposes, He might shew Himself to be a Comforter: but what comfort could there be in His convincing the world of that, which was the sure judicial proof of the unutterable crime it had been guilty of? At first thought it would seem as if the conviction of Christ's righteousness could only bring shame and confusion on those by whom He was crucified. And even to us, — although we were not present in the body at His crucifixion, and so far

were not guilty of it,—although we did not lift up our voices and join in the murderous cry of the Jews,—still, if the righteousness of Christ were nothing more than His own righteousness, the contemplation of such a perfect pattern of all that is excellent and pure and holy would rather seem fitted to cast us down in utter hopelessness, than to comfort us, at least at the moment when the conviction of our own exceeding sinfulness has just been brought home in full force to our souls. It might rather tempt us to exclaim with Peter, *Depart from us; for we are sinful men, O Lord.* Nevertheless, as our Lord tells us, it is indeed the Comforter,—nor is the name used here without its appropriate force,—who convinces us of the righteousness of Christ. For why? Christ's righteousness is also our righteousness, if we will cast away the sin of not believing in Him, and receive His righteousness as our own by faith. He is *the Lord our Righteousness.* He did not come down to earth to lead a holy and righteous life for His own sake. He was all holiness and all righteousness from the beginning, yea, from all eternity, dwelling in the bosom of the Father, full of grace and truth. But He came down to earth to lead a holy and righteous life for our sakes, in order that we might become sharers in His righteousness, and that so He might raise us along with Himself to His Father and ours. It was for us that He was born: for us He went about doing good patiently and unweariedly in spite of hatred and scorn and persecution: for us He bore all the hardships and crosses of life: it was for us that He bowed His allholy neck, and entered through the gates of time and space into the form of weak and frail humanity: for us He submitted to be

tempted: for us He overcame sin: for us He allowed the shadow of death to flit over His eternal spirit: for us He burst the bonds of death, and rose again from the grave, for our justification, for our righteousness, that we might believe in Him, and might become righteous thereby: it was for us too that He went up openly to His Father, and sent His Holy Spirit to convince us of His righteousness: for us also does He ever sit, the Sun of Righteousness, in the heavens. When the sun rises to convince the world of light, he does not keep his light to himself: he does not journey through the sky merely to convince the world that he himself is light. He sheds his light abroad on all that will unfold themselves to receive it: he pours it into them, that they may have it in themselves, and manifest it to each other, and behold it in each other. So too does the Sun of Righteousness. His Righteousness spreads from the east to the west: it fills the heavens, and covers the earth. On all who will open their hearts to receive it, He sheds it: for their sakes He gained it; and He pours it out abundantly upon them.

Therefore is the Spirit, who convinces the world of the righteousness of Christ, most truly called the Comforter. In convincing us of sin, we saw, He convinces us that we are dead in trespasses and sins,—dead, so that we lie in them as in a grave, utterly unable to raise ourselves out of them,—so that our souls, were they left to themselves, would rot and crumble and fall to pieces. Hence this conviction, if it stood alone, would be full of sorrow and dismay. If the Spirit merely convinced us of our sinful acts, of our vices, of our crimes, He would not be the Comforter. For they have so coiled

round every part of our being, and mixt themselves up with our very heart's blood, that we cannot shake them, or strip them, or even flay them off. But in convincing us that our prime sin, the root and spring of all our sins, is want of faith, He lets in a gleam of light; He enables us to perceive an outlet; He kindles a hope in us that, if we can but believe, the sinfulness of our nature may be subdued. We are no longer doomed to a vain struggle between a conscience muttering more and more faintly, *Sin not*, and a carnal heart shouting more and more imperiously, *I will sin*. We are taught that there is One who will help us through this struggle, if we will but believe in Him, even the Onlybegotten Son of God, who dwelt upon earth for the very purpose of breathing a new life of faith into us, of setting a living Object of faith before us; so that in every need and peril, whithersoever the chances of the world may waft us, we shall see God, not afar off in the heavens, in the clouds of speculation, or the dim twilight of tradition, but close by our side, as our Example, our Guide, our Friend, our Brother, our Saviour and Redeemer; that we shall know God, not merely as a Lawgiver, commanding us to overcome sin, but as a Pattern shewing us that it can be overcome, and how, and as a mighty Helper ever ready to enable us to overcome it. In like manner, if the conviction of righteousness which the Spirit works in us were merely the conviction of God's righteousness, or of Christ's, we could only fall to the ground with awestruck palsied hearts: we could no more venture to look upon Christ, than the naked eye can look upon the sun. But when we are thoroughly convinced that Christ's righteousness is our righteousness, the righteousness which He purposes to

bestow upon mankind,—that He came to fulfill all righteousness, not for His own sake, but for ours, in order that He might give us all that we lack out of His exceeding abundance,—then indeed a bright ray of joy and comfort darts through the heart, startling the frostbound waters out of their yearlong sleep. Then the soul, which before was as a wilderness and a solitary place, solitary, because God was far from it,—yea, the barren desert of the heart rejoices and blossoms like the rose. All its hidden powers, all its supprest feelings, so long smothered by the unresisted blasts of the world, unfold like the roseleaves before the Sun of Righteousness; and each and all are filled and transpierced with His gladdening beautifying light.

In order however that this may be fulfilled in us, the conviction of Christ's righteousness must indeed be wrought in us by the Spirit of God. We must be thoroughly convinced that He is *our Righteousness*, our only Righteousness. It is not enough to believe that He was a very good and holy man. We believe that many men have been good and holy, that Noah was so, that Abraham was so, that Joseph was so, that St John was so, that St Paul was so. But their righteousness is of no avail to us: it cannot help us out of our sins. Therefore our conviction of Christ's righteousness must be of a wholly different kind from our belief in the righteousness of any other man. On the other hand it must be of a different kind from our conviction of the righteousness or justice of God: for this, coming upon the conviction of our sins, would merely affix the deathwarrant to the condemnation which our conscience pronounces against us. Whereas the belief in the righteousness of Christ is the means

by which we are to be raised out of our sins, and to receive justification in the sight of God. Hence these two works of the Comforter, the conviction of our own sins, and the conviction of Christ's righteousness, go one along with the other, and cannot be divorced or parted, neither being accomplishable without the other. For it is by the contrast of Christ's righteousness that we are enabled most clearly to discern our own allpervading sinfulness; and it is by the conviction of our own sinfulness that we are brought to recognize the divine perfection, and our own need of the righteousness of Christ. In some souls one work may seem to be prior, in others the other. According as we turn our eyes, the light may seem to rush upon the darkness, or the darkness to fly before the light; while the two operations are in fact coinstantaneous. But whichever conviction may have been, or have come forward into consciousness as the earliest in any particular case, each must be continually enlivening and strengthening the other. There are those who are sinking like Luther under a crushing sense of sin, before the assurance of the forgiveness obtained by the righteousness of Christ dawns upon them. There are those to whom Christ will manifest Himself in the first instance, as He did to St Paul, in His heavenly glory. But in either case, where the work is the work of the Comforter, the second conviction will follow close upon the first. The conviction of sin will be followed by the conviction of the forgiveness which our Allrighteous Saviour has procured for us; which latter conviction alone turns the former into a wholesome discipline of humility: and when Christ vouchsafes to arouse us by manifesting Himself in His glory, it is still as He whom we have *persecuted* by our sins. The conviction of Christ's righteousness

will ever be one of the chief means employed by the Comforter to bring us to a conviction of our sinfulness; while on the other hand it is absolutely necessary that we should be brought to this conviction of our sinfulness, before we can discern our need of a righteousness, which is not our own, but is to descend upon us from above. So long as a man is not convinced of sin, of his own sinfulness irremediable by any efforts of his own,—so long as he is not convinced that he has no real righteousness in himself, that he is not what he ought to be, nay, that he is totally unlike what he ought to be, —so long as he is content to live the common, amphibious, half and half life of the world, which is neither one thing nor the other, a miserable border-land between good and evil,—so long as he goes on staggering to and fro between opposite sins, neither hot nor cold, believing with his lips, and unbelieving in his heart, doing right for the sake of the world, wearing the garb of outward decency and a self-satisfied honesty or honorableness,—so long he can never be really convinced of the righteousness of Christ. We must feel that without Him we can do nothing; that through our sins we have cast ourselves out from the presence of God; and that of ourselves we can no more return into His presence, than we can fly up and bathe in the fountains of light which are ever welling from the heart of the sun: we must feel that the Law is placed, like the flaming sword at the East of the Garden of Eden, *turning every way*, writing its sentence of condemnation against every deed and word that issues from the heart of man, and thus *keeping the way of the tree of life:* we must feel that we neither have nor can have any righteousness of ourselves to justify ourselves: then alone

shall we be brought to yearn for, then alone shall we indeed be convinced by the Comforter of the righteousness of Christ.

And how are we to become partakers of that righteousness? Christ is ready, is desirous to bestow it upon all; but how are we to receive it? Even as we receive every other heavenly gift, by faith. *The Comforter shall convince the world of righteousness*, says our Lord, *because I go to the Father, and ye see Me no more.* In that He went to the Father, He gave the most certain demonstration of His righteousness: in that we see Him no more, He renders it easier for us to make His righteousness ours. Were He still living upon earth, were He walking about before our eyes, it would not be so. It was not so with His brethren: they did not believe in Him. It was not so with His chosen apostles: so long as He continued present with them in the body, they did not receive Him into their souls; they did not put on His righteousness. Therefore was it expedient for them, as we have already seen, that He should go away. For so long as He continued with them, they lived by sight, rather than by faith; and sight disturbs faith, and shakes it, and weakens it. Sight, as belonging to the world of sense, partakes its frailties and imperfections. To put forth all its power, faith must be purely and wholly faith. It is so even with the human objects of our faith and love. So long as they continue in the flesh, our faith in them, our love for them is imperfect. The infirmities of the flesh cleave to it. Their corruption must put on incorruption,—they must be transfigured by death,—they must pass away from this world of sight,—we must see them no more;—then may our faith and love toward them become pure

and holy and heavenly and imperishable. When our love springs from the root of faith, then alone may it hope to blossom through eternity. In like manner, when our righteousness springs from the root of faith, then will it flourish in the courts of the temple of God. For what is our righteousness, when it comes to us through faith? It is not ours, but Christ's: and everything that is Christ's is wellpleasing in the eyes of God. By faith we pass out of this world of sense. By faith we put off our carnal nature, and put on a new spiritual nature, through which we shall not be found naked. By faith we receive the power to cast away our sins, and to live a life of holiness and love. Through faith, giving ear to the voice of the Comforter, the evil spirit is driven out of us, as he was driven by the harp of David out of Saul. Through faith we are lifted out of ourselves. Through faith we cease to be specks of foam, dasht along the furrows of the homeless wave. Through faith we become members of the everlasting body of Christ; the Spirit of Christ passes into us; and thus in the fulness of time we too shall go with Him to His Father.

SERMON IV.

THE CONVICTION OF JUDGEMENT.

JOHN xvi. 8, 11.

When the Comforter is come, He will convince the world of Sin, and of Righteousness, and of Judgement; of Judgement, because the Prince of this world is judged.

WE have considered the first two parts of the threefold work of the Comforter; the conviction of sin, which He was to effect in a world lying blindly and recklessly in sin; and the conviction of righteousness, which He was to awaken by opening the eyes of that world to behold the righteousness of the Lord it had crucified; the conviction of the world's sin, and of Christ's righteousness. These two acts, we have seen, as wrought in the world, are essentially coincident; the conviction of sin being the instantaneous result from the manifestation of the righteousness of Christ, even as the rising of the light manifests the darkness. Were there no darkness, the light would only manifest itself; but as the world, at the time when the Comforter was first sent to bring it to the knowledge of the truth, was lying wholly under thick darkness, the effect which the dawning light of the Sun of Righteousness was to produce upon it, could not be other in the first instance than the conviction of the darkness under which it was lying. It was to be convinced of sin, of the

sinfulness which ran through all its thoughts and feelings, and with which the very notions it had framed of anything approaching to righteousness were tainted, before it could adequately understand the beauty and the glory of that perfect righteousness which the Son of God had manifested upon earth. In these days on the other hand, when we are brought into the Church of Christ in our infancy,—when the name of Jesus is one of the first words the child is taught to utter,—when our earliest lessons of obedience and patience and meekness and purity and mercy and love are taken from the story of His life,—when we are bred up in the constant habit of joining the congregation of our brethren to offer up our prayers to God as His children, reconciled to Him through the righteousness of His Onlybegotten Son,—when, whithersoever we go, we find the name of Christ written on every ancient institution, and the house of God and of His Christ rising out of every town and every hamlet, to bear our hearts "Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot, Which men call earth,"—now, when, if we cast our eyes over the map of the earth, we see at once that Christ is the recognized Lord of every nation eminent in knowledge and in power,—it might be supposed that the first impression which would be graven on every youthful heart, would be the image of Christ, of the Lord its Righteousness; and that so, by degrees, as its consciousness became livelier and more distinct, it would be taught by the contrast of this glorious image to feel its own unworthiness and sinfulness. Nor do I doubt that there are many, the growth of whose spiritual life does in fact proceed in this calmer, more orderly manner, — many, especially in that sex which is less exposed to the assault

of the world's tumultuous temptations, who are led by the Spirit of God from grace to grace, even as a child is led by its mother, and who are only allowed to fall, as a child falls, lightly, hurting itself but little, just enough to serve for a warning, and soon lifted up again. I doubt not that there are many children of godly parents, on whose souls the conviction of Christ's righteousness is stampt early, becoming more and more distinct and bright as they advance in years, and gradually impressing them with the conviction of their own sinfulness. Only, until it has done this, until we are indeed convinced of sin, our conviction of Christ's righteousness can never be what it ought to be. We cannot feel its divine exclusive perfection: we cannot feel how totally different it is from the righteousness of all the other children of men,—how opposite in its principles and aims to that virtue which the natural man, when highly gifted and favorably circumstanced, will sometimes admire and seek after,—how immeasurably superior to what has ever been found even in the holiest of His saints. Nor, until we are convinced of sin, can we feel our own need of being justified by the righteousness of Christ: we cannot understand what is most excellent and wonderful in it, that it was not earned for Himself, but for us, in order that He might have wherewith to clothe a race shivering and pining in the nakedness of their sins. And so we shall merely endeavour to imitate it, as we might imitate the actions of any other great and good man, as something lying within our reach, attainable by our own efforts: we shall not seek it as a gift, as something that we cannot possess except through the bountiful mercy of its sole Possessor: we shall not fall down in humble and contrite prayer,

yearning to have our hearts and souls renewed and strengthened, as alone they can be, by a participation in His Spirit.

But though there may be examples in which the Christian life is undisturbed by violent shocks, and rises to its maturity without going through any convulsive crisis,—though it may now and then flow onward, fed and increast, like a river, by the whole country it has to pass through, and never compelled to burst its way among the rocks of a rapid, or to plunge down at once into a different level,—and though the number of such examples would doubtless be greatly enlarged, if a higher spirit of sanctity were to spread over our domestic life, and to animate our domestic education, and if at our schools and universities it were borne more steadily in mind that the main business of Christian education is to train up the children of God for their inheritance in the kingdom of heaven,—yet, according to the present course of the world, and the present constitution and character of society, such persons at the utmost cannot amount to more than a very small minority. Most of you will bear me witness that in the great majority of cases the world still rushes with overwhelming force upon the soul, and sweeps it away out of its baptismal purity, and dashes it to and fro with the swelling of its riotous waves. Most of you will be ready to confess that the righteousness of Christ has not shone with a never-waning ever-waxing light upon your souls from your childhood upward,—that it has often been hid from you by the mists and vapours of earth,—that it had no place in the mimic heaven, which you patcht up for yourselves out of the blossoms and jewels and spangles of this world, and beneath which you lulled yourselves to sleep with

sweet songs of your own graces and virtues. Nay, are there not those amongst you, who, if you were to lay bare your hearts, would have to avow that you have turned wilfully away from Christ and His righteousness,— that you have driven the thought of it out of your minds,— that you have closed your ears against Him, when He has called upon you to acknowledge your want of it, and to receive a full supply of that and every other want from Him? are there not those who have shrunk away from Him into some of the dark caverns of sin, lest His light should dazzle and blind, lest His voice should trouble and scare you? Many of you, I feel assured, would be constrained to acknowledge that there have been long periods of your life, during which you have never seen, never contemplated, never meditated upon the righteousness of Christ,—during which you have thought of no other righteousness, have cared for no other righteousness, have aimed at no other righteousness, than that which is fair and grand in the eyes of the world. And how does the case stand now, brethren? Do you indeed all discern the righteousness of Christ in its heavenly perfection and beatific glory? Do you look up to it, and gaze upon it with every eye of your heart and soul and mind, and strive after it, strive to make it yours, with all your strength, with all the strength of watchfulness against temptation, with all the strength of a resolute resistance to evil, with all the strength of a patient perseverance in welldoing, with all the strength of humble penitent earnest unwearriable prayer? Is this the one great object of your desires and aspirations and endeavours, the beacon that draws and guides you onward, and the tent that shelters and protects you? Are you longing, seeking, striving

to fly for refuge from the sins of the world beneath the righteousness of Christ? Are you indeed hungering and thirsting after this righteousness? Or have you bowed down your souls to the world, and given up your hearts to its service? with no higher ambition, than to snatch all you can of the largess which the world is ever and anon flinging abroad among the crowd of her slaves, in order to cheer and kindle them up for a moment, and to keep them from fainting and flagging? Is this your highest aim, to look well in the eyes of the world, to gain worldly power, worldly riches, worldly distinction, worldly honour, worldly esteem, worldly righteousness? Surely, brethren, if this be our case, if this be the case with any of us,—and may we not reasonably fear that it is the case with far too many? let us each ask whether it be with ourselves;—for, if it be, we must need to be convinced of judgement; we must grievously need a living conviction that the Prince of this world has been judged.

This is the third great work of the Comforter; who, according to our Lord's declaration, was not only to convince the world of sin and of righteousness, but also of judgement. We have seen in the former sermons, how absolutely necessary it was, that, if the world was indeed to be convinced of sin and of righteousness, the Holy Spirit of God should vouchsafe to undertake the work of bringing the world to that conviction. We have seen how utterly inefficient all other powers are to engrave this conviction on the heart of the world; how every other attempt so to engrave it was like carving characters in the sand, which the next wave of temptation covered and effaced; how it was requisite that the world should have

a new heart and a new spirit, even the Spirit of God, working in it, before it could embrace and retain a conviction so utterly alien to its nature. Nor was the difficulty of convincing the world of judgement less; nor was there less need that the Spirit of God should graciously undertake the work of producing this conviction. For by no other power than that of the Spirit of God could it be wrought; yet, unless it were wrought, the work of the Comforter would be incomplete. In vain would He convince the world of sin; in vain would He convince the world of righteousness; unless He perfected His work by convincing the world of judgement.

It is by the light of the Sun of Righteousness, we have found, that the Comforter convinces the world of sin. Some souls may be the most strongly imprest in the first instance by the beauty and glory of the righteousness manifested in the life of Christ, and may only be awakened by degrees to the consciousness of their own want of everything akin thereto. Others, a far greater number,—especially among those who are sent out from the quiet shelter of their homes to fight the world upon its own ground,—become immerst in such thick darkness, darkness like that which spread over the land of Egypt, darkness which may be felt,—they become so bound by the heavy chains of a morbid and turbid sleep,—that the first sound which strikes their consciences, when they are startled out of that sleep, is the clanking of their chains,—the first sensation they are distinctly aware of is the weight of the darkness pressing stiflingly upon them. Now, whichever the order of succession may be, if the conviction wrought in us be the work of the Comforter, the same effect, which took place in the natural

world, when the Creative Word poured light through the dark and formless void, took place also, and still takes place, in the moral world, when the same Word pours His light through it. The Spirit of God divides the light from the darkness, and calls the light Righteousness; and the darkness He calls Sin. But is this all? Is He content with merely dividing them, with merely giving them their names, and leaving them to stand arrayed over against each other? Is He so weak, that He can do no more than this? or so indifferent, that He will not do more? Is the light content with dividing itself from the darkness? Does it allow the darkness to lift up its head against it? Does it not utterly scatter the darkness, and drive it away before its face? They who are hidden from the light by the thick impermeable mass of the earth, will still be in darkness: but whithersoever the light comes, thence does the darkness fly. And must it not be so likewise, when the Son of God sends His Spirit from heaven, to shew forth the light of His righteousness, and to convince the world of the darkness of its sin? Assuredly it must. The manifestation of Christ's righteousness is not merely in order to reveal the sin of the world, but in order to scatter and confound it and drive it away. When He came forth from the bosom of the Father, to war against Sin, He did not come to the end that the victory should be doubtful; He did not come to share the empire of the world with Satan. He came to overthrow Satan; yea, and He did overthrow him. He came to cast out sin; yea, and He did cast it out. From His own humanity He cast it out, and waved His sword of light before it, whenever it dared approach Him: and hereby He gave a pledge that it shall be cast

out from the souls of all His saints, of all who shall become partakers of His blessed and glorious redemption.

This is the great truth, of which the Comforter came to convince the world, when He came to convince it of judgement; and this again is a truth of which no other power can convince it. Or is there any other power that can? The word Judgement naturally reminds us of that power by which the rulers of states in all ages have endeavoured to convince the people thereof. Law is the voice whereby the wisdom of those who are set in authority over nations has tried from the beginning to convince mankind of judgement. It is a solemn voice, direct, imperative, oracular, mighty among the voices of the earth, girt with majesty and with terrour, speaking like thunder, and executing its sentence like lightning. The wisdom of nations is employed in devising and enacting laws: the wisdom of nations is employed in administering and enforcing them: the power of nations is pledged to carry them into execution; and fearful are the weapons which that power has to wield, dungeons, chains, exile from the land of our fathers, the severance of every tie that renders life precious or pleasant, death. Such is the plan which man takes to convince his fellows of judgement: and how vain is it! Against how small a portion of the brood of sin can Law even utter judgement! Only against gross overt acts of sin; against such acts as break the public peace, or seriously injure the wellbeing of others. So far therefore as Law goes, there are vast multitudes of sins, against which no sentence even of reprobation is denounced; how vast, you will better conceive, if you reflect how much of your own past lives has been sinful, yet how seldom, if ever, you have done anything of which

the law could have had cognizance. Moreover, even among those sins which Law forbids, how few comparatively are the acts against which judgement takes effect! The act must be outrageous; the evidence of its commission must be clear, satisfactory, unimpeachable, without flaw or loophole. The carelessness and apathy of those against whom the offense is committed, their shrinking from appearing in the character of prosecutors and calling down wrath upon their brethren,—the skill and subtilty of advocates,—the mildness of judges, bound by their very office to give the accused the benefit of the slightest doubt, the faintest presumption,—the natural sympathy which man feels with suffering, even where it is the consequence of guilt, and which, in an effeminate age, when men have lost the idea of the rightful connexion and proportion between moral and physical evil, so as to shudder at pain more sensitively than at sin, threatens almost to paralyse the arm of justice,—the reluctance to condemn a fellowcreature, which the consciousness of our own frailty begets, and which is strongest in the purest hearts, —all these motives combine to screen culprits, even those whose crimes have been flagrant, from the judgement of Law. How rarely has a law been repealed or fallen into disuse, because it had fulfilled its purpose, and the crime it forbad had ceast to be committed! When laws have become obsolete, it has been much rather from changes in the condition and habits of society, than from their own efficiency. On the other hand how glaringly is the incapacity of Law to convince the world of judgement demonstrated by the continual multiplication of laws! In reckless defiance of Law, new crimes are invented, and the old ones are still perpetrated as frequently as ever. Nay,

unless a far mightier, more pervading and penetrative power than that of Law were employed to convince the world of judgement, you might enact law after law to repress the fraud and violence of man, you might weave a net of laws around him to tame him, you might twine your threads fast and tight and thick about every limb; and just as you had finisht your task, he would crumble to dust from rottenness and corruption.

Law however is not a voice which often sounds in your ears, my brethren, to convince you of judgement. The sins and offenses which Law forbids, are not those into which you are likely to fall. Why so? Because you are convinced of judgement? If you were, you would be no less unlikely to fall into other sins, than into those which the law condemns. But you have few temptations to commit the latter. The sins which the law brands are mostly offenses against the institutions, the order and peace of society; and your interests are bound up with those institutions, and that order and peace. Therefore you are not apt to commit such sins, and need not the reprobation of the law to repell you from them. But the world has other voices whereby men are to be convinced of judgement, voices addrest more especially to you. The law, properly so called, the law of the state is addrest mainly to other classes of society: the law of honour, the law of opinion are addrest to you. Now these in some respects have been more effective than the law of the state in convincing the world of judgement: they have at times succeeded in checking and repressing certain sins; some they have almost extirpated. Yet it can by no means be said even of these, that they do indeed convince the

world of judgement. For what is the judgement, of which they convince the world? Not the judgement of God, but the judgement of the world itself. Hereby they foster and pamper the sin of worshiping the world, instead of God; a sin which seems to become huger and more oppressive with the increase of civilization. The motive they appeal to is the desire of pleasing the world, not of pleasing God. He who rules his conduct solely by the laws of honour and of opinion, will be just as careless about God, just as remote from the righteousness of Christ, as the most barefaced sinner. These laws do not point straightforward along the path of duty: they say not, *This is right; do and love it: This is wrong; eschew and abhor it.* They say, *This will exalt thee in the esteem of thy neighbours: This will brand thee with shame and ignominy.* Moreover, as the grounds of these laws are erroneous, and their motives spurious and tainted with evil, so, in that which they enjoin and forbid, they are arbitrary, partial, superficial, fallacious. Much that is sinful they encourage. Looking in all things at that which displays itself to the eyes of man, they leave the recesses of the heart unexplored and untoucht; so that the more a man conforms to them, the more apt is he to become a whited sepulcre. Nay, there is one large class of sins, of which they are wellnigh regardless,—those most insidious and pernicious sins, with which human morality has ever been at a loss how to deal, the sins of impurity and licentiousness. To such vices they are lenient and indulgent, except when they become excessive. Hereby these laws at once betray their inability to convince the world of judgement, in that they do not presume to condemn the sin itself, in all its forms and

indications, but only when it becomes an open outrage, destructive of happiness, and undermining the foundations of family life.

Thus impotent are the witnesses of this world to convince the world of judgement. Nor had the witnesses appointed by God for the purpose in the earlier ages of the world been able to produce this conviction efficaciously. From the very first God had set the mark of judgement upon sin. Ere Death was, ere Sin had sprung up in the heart of man, God had declared that Death should execute judgement against Sin. What death was to be, man knew not: its dark shadow had never yet past over the bright vernal face of paradisiacal life. He only knew that it was something to be greatly feared and shunned, something betokening God's severe displeasure, and that it was to be the consequence and penalty of disobedience. Yet death did not convince man of judgement in the days before it entered into the world: nor has it ever done so since. Although this judgement against sin has been executed in countless millions of instances, ever since man sold himself into the bondage of sin,—although Death has pursued him whithersoever he has wandered, into every nook and corner of the earth, and has never allowed him to evade its clutches,—although the whole earth is one vast charnelhouse in which Death has laid up the victims of Sin,—although no minute of time glides by without tolling the death of some among the children of men,—still man will not believe that death has been appointed by God as a judgement against sin. He will not look upon it as such. He deems that it is merely a law of nature; as in truth it is, a law of our sinful nature, a law to which all such as are concluded under sin must bow. But he

will not recognize the connexion between death and sin. He feels indeed that sin is a law of his nature, that there is a law in his members, which he cannot withstand, dragging him into sin; and this he will often alledge, more especially to his own conscience, as an excuse for continuing unresistingly in sin; although at other times, when the spirit of pride has for the moment supplanted the spirit of sloth, he will be ready to boast of the strength and dignity and virtuous energies of his nature. He knows too that death is a law of his nature; and this he never thinks of denying or questioning: nay, he is prone to believe the whisperings of the deceiver, who tells him that so it ever has been, and so it ever will and must be,—that to wrestle against it is vain,—that to trouble oneself about it is unprofitable selftormenting,—that we must let it be, as though it were not,—that we must copy the example of Nature, who hastens to efface every trace of death's hand, and who, with the seeds of death rankling in every limb, decks herself out with the pageant of exuberant unquenchable life, and makes use of the exuviæ of death to render that life more luxuriant,—and that, whatever may come after death, we must deem of it as a nonentity; for that no power can conquer death on this side of the grave, and still less beyond. Thus, although Death has been ordained to pass to and fro over the whole earth, stalking from land to land, and from city to city, and from house to house, knocking time after time with sorrow and piteous wailing at the door of every heart,—and although it has not gone forth alone, but accompanied by a thronging train of pains and diseases, blighting the bloom of youth, blasting the strength of manhood, gnawing at the core of old age, and bringing

one after another down into the all-leveling grave,—although moreover it sends forth the whole host of physical evils whereby the world is desolated, to keep man in mind of wrath,—although this countless multitude of witnesses is ever traversing the earth, with sounds of lamentation and tribulation and anguish, to convince the world of judgement,—still all is in vain, the world will not be convinced. Man will not believe that death and pain and sickness and misery are the offspring of sin: he will not believe that sin must produce this, and can produce no other offspring. Or even if he is led to discern the general connexion between sin and misery, still he will not believe that this connexion is necessary and indissoluble. He listens greedily to the words of the Tempter, who tells him that in his case the connexion shall be violated, that, in special indulgence to him, this adamantine chain of moral gravitation, more lasting and binding than that by which the stars are held in their spheres, will snap; that sin for him will wholly change its nature; that he shall find nothing but pleasures and raptures in it, and nothing but weariness and vexation apart from it; that at his approach the flames of hell will turn into a garden of delights, while Eden would shrivel into a wilderness the moment he set foot there.

I will not enter into details for the sake of pointing out how vain all forms of misery have ever been to convince the world of judgement. It is needless. You can hardly walk along the streets of a great city without seeing swarms rushing eagerly in chase of sin, although shame and scorn and outcastness and destitution and disease and death are glaring with fixt eyes upon them. The first man born after the expulsion of our first parents out

of Paradise became a murderer, and dragged death into the world, as though it were lagging too long to execute God's judgement against sin. He who had preacht righteousness to the generation before the Flood,—he who had beheld that whole generation with every work of its hands swept away, — he who had floated suspended between earth and heaven, the head of the one sole family spared from the universal destruction, while the waters of judgement were rushing whelmingly around him,—he who had thus witnest this awful manifestation of God's twofold judgement, of wrath against sin and of mercy to righteousness,—even he, we read, fell into the snares of sin, and yielded his soul to the lusts of that world, which he had seen turned by sin into a ghastly wreck: and among the seven souls who were preserved along with him, one brought down a father's curse upon his head. A like testimony has ever been borne by times of great desolating calamity, as when a famine or a pestilence has been let loose to prey upon a people: for while they who have already been convinced of judgement, are stirred at such seasons to a still deeper seriousness of thought and strictness of life and earnestness of devotion, on the other hand the near approach of danger seems rather to render the children of this world more reckless, and to unkennel the fierce lusts and devouring passions, which selfish fears and shame had previously lockt up in the dark places of their hearts (U). Thus again it is notorious that a public execution is mostly a scene of fresh crime; and that, when a ship is wreckt, many of the wretched men who are about to be swallowed up by the waves, will spend their few remaining moments in maddening drunkenness and plunder and licentiousness. So utterly

inefficient is wrath and every mode of selfish fear to convince mankind of judgement. If man had nothing but the terrours of this world and the prospect of death to act upon him, then, the nearer those terrours came, the louder and more general would be the shout, *Let us eat and drink; for tomorrow we die.* And although Tragedy makes it her special business to convince the world of judgement, by setting forth the fated and inevitable doom which sin brings down upon its head, Comedy bears witness how transient such impressions are, how soon they are laught away, how readily and merrily men will rush down the precipice, at the foot of which their brethren are lying crusht before their eyes. Nor are the solemn lessons which History reads from the records of all ages more effective: we only learn them by rote, and repeat them to our posterity, with the confirmation of our own examples.

Nor did the Law of God, with all the infallible curses attacht to it, produce the conviction of judgement. Even while it was delivered on the mount amid thunders and lightnings, the people at the foot of the mount were turning away from the God who was declaring His holy will to them, and were defiling their souls before His face with new idolatrous abominations. So too did their children continue to do. In their earlier ages the Israelites were perpetually forsaking Jehovah and His law, to worship the false gods of the heathens. In their latter ages they made the Law itself an object of mere idolatry, pampering their carnal pride by a precise observance of the letter, while they were careless about the spirit. And though God sent His prophets, voice after voice, wave after wave of sound, rolling with a melancholy moan through the moral wilderness of Judea, — though they

lifted up their voices, and cried to the heavens and the earth to give ear, and hear the woes which God had denounced against sin,—still Israel would not hear, His people would not consider. So that in this instance again we find an absolute need and necessity that the Spirit of God should come down from heaven to work the conviction, which no other power could work.

The Comforter will convince the world of judgement. We have seen how He convinces the world, how He convinces each individual soul, of the sin of not believing in Christ; and how He leads us to cast away that sin, whereby we were cut off from God and all goodness, to give up our hearts to faith, to believe, and to find a power in our faith which will deliver us from ourselves and from sin. We have seen how He convinces the world, and each individual soul, of Christ's righteousness; how He convinces us that Christ, in that He went to His Father, manifested Himself to be the Lord our Righteousness; and how He leads us to seek to be clothed in the righteousness which Christ has obtained for us. Now this, it might be thought, must be enough. The whole work of God, the whole work of the Spirit for the completion of Christ's work and the salvation of mankind, might seem to be fulfilled. When we are clothed in Christ's righteousness, what more can be desired? what more can be done for the soul, which is arrayed in the pure and spotless robe of the Lamb? Nothing; provided it were to pass at once out of the prison of the flesh; provided death were to come to it, and bear it aloft from the temptations and struggles of this world to the abode of everlasting calmness and peace. In most cases however this is not so. In most cases, even after the soul has

been convinced of sin and of righteousness, and has been clothed anew in the righteousness of faith, it is still doomed to live on in a world of frailty, surrounded and assailed by all manner of temptations, to feel the lustings of the flesh against the Spirit, and to beat and wound its wings against the wires of its cage. In most cases there are still many battles to be fought, still many foes to be overcome, still a long and hard and toilsome warfare to be endured. We must bear our part in the Church militant, before we are received into the Church triumphant. Seldom is the renewed spirit allowed to pass at once from its Egyptian bondage to the land of promise: a long and barren wilderness is mostly to be traverst, before it can reach the heavenly Canaan. Only, when we have been truly convinced of our own sinfulness, and of Christ's righteousness, we feel that there is a difference in our warfare, that we are not left to fight singlehanded against the powers of evil, with no other strength than that of our own blind and erring understanding, and our own feeble and mutilated conscience. We feel that we have a mighty Ally, who can enable us to overcome all our enemies, and who has already overcome them in our behalf. We see that the darkness, when the light comes against it, cannot stand and fight against the light, but flies instantaneously from its face. We are taught that, if we will lift up our hearts in constant and fervent prayer to our heavenly Ally, we too shall prevail, as Israel prevailed against Amalek. We perceive that the Lord of Hosts is going before us; and if beneath the broad light of day the vision is less clear, so that we see nothing more distinct than the pillar of a cloud, no sooner does the darkness of affliction and tribulation thicken around, than

it is brightened by a beaming pillar of fire. Above all, we recognize that we have indeed come away from the fleshpots of Egypt, and their temptations, whereby a while back we were so easily beguiled: we have found out the shame and the death that is in them: and though the land on all sides be a wilderness, we know that this wilderness is not meant to be our abiding-place, but that we are to journey onward and ever onward through it to our home; that the pleasures of sin would only make it far more dangerous and deadly; and that, dreary as it may seem, God will not suffer us to faint by the way, but will bring forth water from the rock to refresh the souls of His faithful people, and will feed them with manna from heaven.

Such is the conviction which the Comforter works in the souls convinced by Him of sin and of righteousness, thus making His comfort perfect: He convinces them of judgement. Of judgement! This is an awful and terrible word in the ears of mankind. Even with reference to the relations of this world, when we are merely thinking of human laws, of human justice, of human judges, that may so easily be deceived or softened or eluded, it strikes a chill through the heart of the culprit to hear that he is called up to judgement. What fear and dismay then will there be, when the trumpet of the archangel is heard, sounding the deathnotes of Time, and crying to those who sleep in the grave, *Awake, and come to judgement!* What heart would not shrink and quail, were it to receive such a summons now? Surely there is no one here present, there is no one living upon earth, there never was a single one among the children of men, who could look searchingly back over his past life, or even over a single

day, and could then exclaim, with a distinct consciousness of the aspect sin must bear in the eyes of the Allrighteous, *I am ready to meet the Judge; I am ready to face the Judgement.*

Yet in this case also, as we have found in the two former, it is indeed the Comforter, who convinces the world of judgement: nor could there be any real stable comfort, unless this conviction were added to the others. Indeed this very conviction will enable those whom the Spirit convinces of it, to stand with meek and humble hope on the day of that last dreadful judgement, when the sentence of the law will go forth over all the generations of mankind. *The Comforter will convince the world of judgement,* our Lord says, *because the Prince of this world is judged* (v). Who is the Prince of this world? *The Lord is King,* cries the Psalmist: *let the earth rejoice; and let the multitude of the isles be glad thereof.* Is the Lord then the Prince of this world? the Prince of those who give up their hearts to this world? Is he your Prince, your King? By right He is so, by a twofold title, as your Creator, and as your Redeemer. But so long as you continue the children of this world, He is not in point of fact your King. He is not the King whom the children of this world honour and obey and serve. Their true King, the King whom they really honour and obey and serve, is . . . whom did Eve obey and serve, when she was beguiled by the pleasures of the senses to pluck the forbidden fruit? Whom did Cain obey and serve, when he lifted his hand against Abel? Whom did the generation before the Flood obey and serve, when it repented the Lord that He had made man? Whom did the children of the plain obey and serve, when they attempted to build a tower, the top of which should

reach to heaven? Whom did Esau obey and serve, when he sold his birthright? Whom did the sons of Jacob obey and serve, when they cast Joseph into the pit? Whom did Samson obey and serve, when he laid his head in the lap of Delilah? Whom did David obey and serve, when he commanded that Uriah should be set in the front of the battle, and left to die? Whom did Solomon obey and serve, when his wives turned away his heart to worship Ashtoreth and Milcom? Whom did Herod obey and serve, when he slew the children at Bethlehem? Whom did Judas obey and serve, when he betrayed his Master? Whom did Pilate obey and serve, when he gave up Him in whom he could find no fault, to be crucified. They all obeyed and served the Prince of this world, the Prince who under one shape or other reigns in the hearts of all the children of this world, swaying some by the lusts of the flesh, and others by the lusts of the eye, and others again by the pride of life. These are his lures, by which he catches the souls of men, which few can withstand, and from which few can extricate themselves. His commandments are *Kill; Commit adultery; Steal; Lie; Covet:* and this his word runneth very swiftly from one end of the earth to the other. Neighbour takes it up from neighbour; brother whispers it to brother; and father hands it down to son. There is no speech or language, in which his voice is not heard. There is no heart among the children of men, through which it has not often sounded. In truth, few, very few are the hearts through which it does not sound at times, more or less loudly, during the main part of their lives. Is it not so, brethren? Have you not heard these voices sound in your hearts, sometimes imperiously, sometimes subtly, with

wily insinuation? Nay, are there not those, who, if the truth were extorted from them, would have to confess that they have heard these voices too recently, that they have listened to them too complacently, with too little shuddering or recoil? Alas, even among those who have been convinced by the Holy Spirit both of sin and of righteousness, there are few who are not reminded ever and anon, that another law is still dwelling in their members, warring against the law of God.

Most comfortable therefore is the assurance, which the Holy Spirit brings to all such as have cast off the sin of unbelief, and have given up their hearts and minds to a living faith in Christ,—to all such as, having been taught to discern what true righteousness is, and how destitute they are of it, are seeking to put on the righteousness of Christ, —most comfortable to all such is the conviction of judgement, manifested in this, that the Prince of this world has been judged. So long as they were still in Egypt, baited with the fleshpots of Egypt, and toiling in the brick-kilns of Egypt, they could not lift up their hands against Pharaoh. The yoke of the Prince of this world was on their necks; and whithersoever he drove them, they were compelled to go. If he fed them daintily and plentifully, they thankt him and bowed down to him. At first he would do so, and supplied them with straw. He stirred the tinglings of appetites within them, which they were fain to bake into sins. But after a while his wont is to take away the straw. The very appetites and passions, by which sinners were once led into their sins, sicken and die; and yet they are forced to render the same tale of sins as before. Nay, such is the cruelty and malice of the Prince of this world, that, when he has made sure

of his drudges, he will tear away their sons and slay them. Whatever is dearest to them, whatever they prize most, he will destroy; yet they must needs go on labouring in his toils. Be it health, he will take their health from them, and cover them with leprous diseases; and yet they must go on sinning. Be it for riches that they have sold their souls, he will take away their riches, or, it may be, will turn their riches into a cankering care; and yet they must go on sinning. Be it honour and power that they have sought by dark and ungodly ways, he will snatch their power from them, and crush them with shame; and yet they must go on sinning. Be pleasure their idol, he will turn their pleasures into a swarm of stinging gnawing pains; and yet they must go on sinning. And after all, if any messenger of God comes to them, and speaks to them of the living God, and calls on them to come out from their bondage, and to serve Him, the Prince of this world cries, *What have ye to do with a living God? ye who are dead, and the slaves of dead gods? Ye are idle: back to your sins: I will not let you go.*

Thus does the Prince of this world deal with the children of this world. Glad tidings therefore must it be to those who have escaped out of his clutches, that the Prince of this world has been judged. A glad sight was it to the children of Israel, when they saw the host of Pharaoh swallowed up by the waters of the Red Sea. And so, when the children of the spiritual Israel have been convinced of sin and of righteousness by the Comforter, when they have thus been brought to loathe the land of sin and to fly from it, He delivers them from the fear of their pursuers by convincing them that Pharaoh and all his host, the Prince of this world and his whole

legion of sins, have been swallowed up for those who believe in Christ, and are clothed with His righteousness, in the blood which flowed from the Cross. Glad tidings indeed must this be, glad and comfortable tidings, so that they who are convinced thereof are ready to cry out in the words of Miriam: *Sing ye to the Lord! for He hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea. Yes, Death and the pale horse Sin,—pale and ghastly now that it is seen in its true colours,—hath He cast down and buried for ever in His victorious grave.*

For this is the way in which all such as have been convinced by the Comforter of the sinfulness of unbelief and of the righteousness of Christ, are further enabled to discern that the Prince of this world has been judged. His judgement was like that of Herod, whom, when he was sitting in regal state, and the people were worshiping him, and shouting, *It is a god!* the angel of the Lord smote; and straightway his crown dropt from his head, and his royal robe fell off, and behold, the worms were devouring him. They who are truly convinced of judgement, see the Prince of this world as he is, in his true shape and features, the heir of eternal wrath, the miserable victim of his own fiendish malignity. They perceive that he is indeed cursed above every beast of the field, that his path is on his belly, and that his food is dust. Their eyes are unsealed, so that he can no more deceive them. They see how Christ overcame him, — by that sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. They see how all the most fascinating temptations are scattered in a moment by the breath of God's holy law. When night is spread around us, the light of a candle will seem bright and pleasant: but when the day has lit up the heavens

and the earth, it dwindles so as hardly to be seen. Thus it is even with the more innocent pleasures of this world, to those whose eyes have been opened by faith to catch a foreglimpse of the joys of heaven; while its vicious pleasures are clean put out, as the sunshine puts out a fire. To recur to that same great scriptural type of our redemption, which has already presented itself to our thoughts,—they who have been convinced of the sin of unbelief, of that sin whereby their hearts were estranged from God, and given up to the service of this world,—and who have also been convinced of Christ's righteousness, have discerned its surpassing glory and beauty, and have felt the unspeakable blessedness of being received into a participation of that righteousness, and thereby restored to a communion with God,—all they in whom these two great works have been accomplisht, feel that they have indeed come forth from the rich luxurious land of Egypt, that the fashion of the country around them is wholly changed, and that, except for the visitations of God's grace, with which their passage through it may be brightened, it is no better than a wilderness in comparison with the land flowing with milk and honey toward which they are journeying. They no more think of fixing their home where they are, than a ship thinks of mooring in the middle of the homeless Atlantic. Their eyes are always gazing onward and forward; nor would they turn back or look round, but for the pleasure and refreshment they find in cheering and helping and strengthening their fellow-pilgrims on the way.

In order to understand the mystery, how the Prince of this world was judged, we must go back to the twelfth chapter of the same blessed Gospel, from which our text

is taken. There we find our Lord saying, with His spirit full of the bitter sufferings which awaited Him, *Now is My soul troubled; and what shall I say? Shall I say, Father, save me from this hour? But it was for this cause that I came to this hour. Father, glorify Thy name. Then,* we further read, *there came a voice from heaven saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again.* Hereupon Jesus said, *Now is the judgement of this world: now shall the Prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I am lifted up from the earth, shall draw all men to Me.* In these words we are taught, how the Prince of this world was to be judged, how he was to be cast out. The Father declared from heaven, that He had glorified and would still glorify His name: and in that He did so, in the very act of His shewing forth His glory, the world was judged; and the Prince of this world, whose dominion over the world lay in his having drawn it away from the recognition of God's glory and name, was cast out. But how did the Father purpose to glorify His name? It was to be glorified in this, that His Onlybegotten Son Jesus Christ was to be lifted up from the earth to His throne upon the Cross. This was such a manifestation of God's glory, that the sun turned pale before it, and the mid-day sky grew dark. For then, when Christ was lifted up from the earth, the glory of God was shewn forth even more than in the creation of the world. Then was shewn forth the glory of God's holiness. Then was shewn forth the glory of God's mercy. Then was shewn forth the glory of God's righteousness. Then was shewn forth the glory of God's love. Hereby too, above all, does the Comforter convince us both of sin and of righteousness,—by the Cross of Christ. It is at the foot of the Cross, that we most deeply and thoroughly

feel the sin of not believing in Him, who came down from heaven to die upon that Cross for us. It is at the foot of the Cross, that we feel all the hatefulness of sin, which could not be removed from the souls of men, except by the death of the Son of God. It is at the foot of the Cross, when the consummating trial of death is past,—when He, whose every word has manifested the divine power of love to overcome sin's fiercest and subtilest temptations, has given up the ghost,—that, with the centurion, we recognize the perfect righteousness of Christ: and as the purpose for which He was lifted up was, that He might become our righteousness, and draw us to partake in the righteousness which He had obtained for us, so it is at the foot of the Cross, that we feel how we are admitted to a share in the righteousness of Christ. Thus too, if, standing at the foot of the Cross, we raise our eyes to Him who was nailed thereon,—if in the light of the Spirit we behold Him there lifted up as our Righteousness,—if we call to remembrance what He left, and what He embraced, for our sakes,—if we thus fix the earnest gaze of our hearts and souls and minds on the glory of God as manifested on the Cross of Christ, —then, when our eyes drop from thence on the things of this world, we cannot fail to discern how the Prince of this world has been judged.

Now to Him who convinces us of sin and of righteousness and of judgement, the Comforting Spirit of God, and to Jesus Christ, our Righteousness, by whom the Prince of this world was judged, in the Unity of the Eternal Father, be all praise and thanksgiving and adoration, world without end.

SERMON V.

THE THREEFOLD CONVICTION OF THE COMFORTER.

JOHN xvi. 8—11.

When the Comforter is come, He will convince the world of Sin, and of Righteousness, and of Judgement; of Sin, because they believe not in Me; of Righteousness, because I go to My Father, and ye see Me no more; of Judgement, because the Prince of this world is judged.

THE great work of the Comforter, the work for the sake of which He was to come down from heaven, as set forth by our Lord in His farewell discourse with the disciples, was to produce the threefold conviction of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgement. This is the divine work which the Holy Spirit was to perform, as the Paraclete, the Comforter and Advocate, the Helper and Strengthener of the disciples in the mighty task committed to them of bringing all the nations of the earth into that Church, of which they were to lay and to be the foundations. By working this conviction, He was to be their Advocate, pleading and upholding their cause against the craft and subtilty of the Deceiver; He was to be their Strengthener, endowing their words with the power of piercing and turning the soul; He was to prepare the way for them whithersoever they went, and to give them the victory, making their enemies throw aside their arms, and rush over and enlist in their ranks. The conviction was to be wrought

in *the world:* hence it was to be universal in its character as well as its extent; differing herein from those special gifts, whether intellectual or more immediately spiritual, which are bestowed by the Spirit upon individual believers. The truths, of which the Comforter was to convince the world, were truths intimately pertaining to the whole human race, and to every single member thereof. While all men, as we have seen in the former sermons, have obstinately refused to be convinced of them by any other teacher, they are yet such as none, before whom they are set rightly, can resist, except through hardness of heart and blindness of understanding. Moreover it was to be a preparatory work, a work by which the nations were to be gathered into the Church of the Saviour. For, in order thereto, this threefold conviction was indispensable: no people would ever have thought of entering into Christ's Church, unless they had previously been convinced of the sinfulness of their former idolatrous alienation from God,—and of the righteousness of Him, who, after pouring forth His life on the Cross for the sins of the world, ascended to wear the crown of eternal Righteousness on the throne of His Father,—and of the judgement which had then gone forth against all the gods of the nations, and against all the abominations of their worship, casting them down and destroying them, as Dagon was cast down and shattered to pieces by the presence of the ark of the Lord.

That the Comforter did indeed perform this work, after Christ went up to His Father, we know: we know too with what power He performed it. The promise in the text is, that He shall help the disciples in their great and seemingly impossible task, by convincing the world of sin

and of righteousness and of judgement. But this threefold conviction, which He was to work in the world, He wrought first in the disciples themselves. For greatly did they too need it, as we see by manifold evidence in the events which preceded the Crucifixion. Greatly did they need to be convinced of sin, of their own deplorable weakness and frailty, who were so forward and confident in declaring that they would die with their Lord, but would never deny Him, yet who anon, a few hours after, as might almost have been anticipated from their presumption, forsook him and fled. Greatly did they need to be convinced of righteousness, of His heavenly righteousness, of that righteousness which alone is precious in the eyes of God,—they who, even after the Resurrection, after the wonderful chain of proofs which had made it manifest that their Master's Kingdom was not of this world, still clung to the hope that He was about to set up an earthly throne, and whose chief desire was, not to be made partakers in His heavenly righteousness, but to sit on the right hand and on the left of that earthly throne. Greatly too did they need to be convinced of judgement, of the judgement which strips the world at once of its lures and its terrours, —they over whom the fears and charms of the world had still such power, and whose flesh was so weak that they could not watch one hour with their Lord in His agony. But when the Comforter came to them, then, and from that time forward, all was changed. Their eyes were opened; their hearts were new-strung; and the spirit was enabled to triumph over the weakness of the flesh. Their conviction of sin became deeper, in proportion as they were raised above it: as they cast off the slough of their former nature, they saw more and more clearly how vile

it was. The gaze of their hearts was for ever fixt on the righteousness of their Lord, as He sat at the right hand of God: and this now was their one desire, not to exercise dominion, like the princes of the gentiles, but to be filled more and more with that righteousness, and to shew forth its glory to the nations, and to bring all mankind to become partakers in its blessings. And as for the Prince of this world, they well knew that he was judged: they knew too that they themselves were sent forth to proclaim and to execute judgement against him, to defy him, to set him at nought, to drive him from all his strongholds with the sword of the Spirit, and to trample him under foot. If he beat them with stripes, they rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer for their Lord. If he imprisoned them, they sang praises to God, until the doors of their prison burst open, and the captive was enabled to set the jailor free. If he stoned them, they lookt up to heaven, and saw the glory of God, and fell asleep, shewing that they had indeed seen it, by praying for the murderers whom the Prince of this world had stirred up against them. If they had to endure the extremities of earthly suffering, they counted their affliction light, in the assurance that it would work out a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

Thus mighty was the conviction which the Comforter wrought in the souls of the disciples: and in the strength of this conviction the poor unlearned fishermen of Galilee went forth, confident that their Master's promise would be fulfilled, and that the Comforter would always go along with them, to work the same threefold conviction in the world; to bring the world to a recognition of its sinfulness, summed up in the sin of unbelief in Him who came to

dwell in the sight of the world as the Incarnate Image of God; and at the same time to a recognition of the righteousness of Him whom by its agents and representatives it had denied and crucified, and of the judgement fallen upon the Prince whom it had been accustomed to worship and serve. When we cast our thoughts back on the state of the world at that time, and call to mind what an enterprise this was, how totally alien from anything that the heart of man had ever conceived,—when we remember that almost everything, which in earlier ages had seemed of fairer promise, was utterly extinct, and that evil had set its foot upon the neck of the world, and was trampling upon its heart, and was reigning with uncontested desolating tyranny over the whole earth,—our natural judgement exclaims that the men who could form so wild a scheme, must have been *full of new wine*, or, with Festus, that they must have been *mad*. Yet, unachievable as their undertaking was by any human power, the disciples did not go forth in vain: their trust in the aid of their heavenly Strengthener was fully justified. At the sound of their preaching the world did recognize its sinfulness, as it had never recognized its sinfulness before. It recognized the sinfulness which pervaded and tainted even such feelings and actions as it had till then deemed virtuous and praiseworthy. It recognized that new radical sin of unbelief, which at the time was almost accounted a part of wisdom and virtue; inasmuch as unbelief then was unbelief in man's perversions and corruptions of the Divine Idea, and in the monstrous fables which vagrant fancy and allegorizing speculation had strung thereto, — an unbelief which itself was involved in the belief in the Son of God; only that this belief substituted the fulness of living truth for

the chaotic void of dreary negations. So too did the world indeed receive a conviction of righteousness. It acknowledged that He who had gone to His Father had fulfilled and shewn forth all righteousness. It learnt how totally different the righteousness of heaven is from that which it had set up for itself; how God had cast down the very qualities which it had been wont to boast of and glory in, and had exalted those which it had esteemed abject and servile; how the stars had dropt from its fictitious heaven, while the true stars had come forward in their pure mild light. It discerned that ambition and self-exaltation, fields of slaughter and nations led in triumph, the brightest blossoms of the imagination and the richest harvest of the understanding, are not worth a cup of cold water given to one of Christ's little ones; and on the other hand that meekness and forbearance and patience and endurance and humility and selfdenial, which it would always have derided and scouted, are the graces of the Kingdom of Heaven; a kingdom not to be gained by ruling over mankind, but by ministering to them, not by destroying, but by dying for them. Herein moreover, and in divers other ways, it perceived that the Prince of this world had been judged. It found out that the power of its false gods,—both of those that were throned openly in its cities, and of those that were reigning secretly in its heart, had past away, or rather had never been,—that "Peor and Baalim Had left their temples dim,"—that their oracles were struck dumb, "No voice or hideous hum Ran through the arched roof in words deceiving,"—and that all their images were wood and stone, which could neither see nor hear, much less understand and will and command.

It was through the power of the Comforter working along with them, and through the conviction of sin and righteousness and judgement which He wrought, and enabled them to work, that the Apostles wrested so large a part of the world from the dominion of its Prince, and brought it into the Church of their Lord. But the empire of the Prince of this world was vast and deeply rooted. It spread north and south and east and west, from sea to sea, and over all the isles of the sea, wherever man had set foot; and it was rooted in the corrupt heart of every child that had sprung from the race of Adam. Hence that portion of the world which the Apostles during their lifetime brought into the Church of their Lord, enormous and prodigious as it was with reference to their human qualifications for such an undertaking, was yet but a small part of the whole earth: and though the word of life continued to go forth with power, with that power which the Comforter alone could give, for some generations after their death, it was still very far from subduing the whole earth; nor has it done so at this day. Even now there are immeasurable regions and countless masses of men, that do not even wear the name of Christ, and so can never have been convinced of sin and of righteousness and of judgement. Indeed many centuries have past away, since Christ went to His Father, during which His Kingdom has scarcely been enlarged at all. What shall we say then? that the Comforter only came down in the first ages of the Church, and that, being wearied by the obstinate unbelief and unrighteousness and worldly-mindedness of mankind, He too went back to the Father, and left the world to drift along whithersoever the flood of its sins would bear it? Not so. The Comforter was to *abide* with Christ's

disciples *for ever*: and where He abides, unless He be hindered, He continually works that threefold conviction, which He came at first to work, and without which even His mighty presence would avail us little. If the increase of Christ's Church has often been grievously checkt, if age after age has rolled by, during which the onrushing waves of the world have seemed to be almost encroaching upon it, the cause of this has not been that the Comforter has ever failed to help those who have gone forth, with the conviction of sin and of righteousness and of judgement in their own hearts, to work the same conviction in their brethren. The cause has rather been, that they who ought to have formed the vanguard of the Church, have themselves rejected the conviction of the Comforter, and hardened and deadened their souls to it. They who had no deep feeling of the sin of not believing in Christ, as not only in itself the main head of sin, but also the source of numberless others, did not care to win men from it, thinking it of slight moment whether a man lies under it or no. In like manner they who had lost the perception of Christ's righteousness, both in its sole exclusive perfection, and as the ground of all other righteousness, and had relapst into the vision of a human earthly righteousness, — and who, on the other hand, had totally forgotten that the Prince of this world had been judged, nay, who had cozened themselves into fancying that Christ would allow him to sit on the lower steps, or at least at the foot of His throne, —how could they yearn, with that fervent desire which brings its own fulfilment, to deliver the world from the bondage of its unrighteousness, and so to save it from judgement? Whereas, whenever Christ's servants have been animated with a strong living conviction of sin and

of righteousness and of judgement, and have been moved thereby to long for the redemption of their brethren from sin and judgement to righteousness, the Comforter has always gone along with them, and the word of God in their hands has truly been the sword of the Spirit. Whatever increase Christ's Kingdom has received from the beginning down to these times, it has received through the power of the Comforter; and if it is receiving any at this day, if we find reason to bless God for the manner in which the heathen in any part of the earth are now coming into His Kingdom, our especial thanksgiving and praise are due to the Comforter, who is still working His threefold conviction, and casting down the abominations of idolatry thereby.

Nor is it solely in order to the extension of Christ's Kingdom among the heathens, that the Comforter still abides upon earth, working His threefold conviction. Christ's Kingdom is not only to be extended through space, but to be prolonged through time. New souls are perpetually coming into life; new generations are springing up: and it is not enough for the children, that their fathers have been convinced of sin and righteousness and judgement: alas! the conviction of the parents is by no means a pledge for that of the children. Man cannot transmit faith, he cannot transmit righteousness, as sin has been transmitted, from generation to generation. Each generation, nay, every individual soul must be convinced anew; and this conviction must be wrought by the Comforter, if it is to be strong and lasting.

So that the work of the Comforter was not one which was to be performed once for all, like the sacrifice offered up by Christ on the Cross. He did not come down, as

Christ did, to dwell a few years upon earth, and then to return back to the Father: He came to abide with Christ's Church for ever. Moreover, as His work at the first was universal and preparatory, so has it ever been, and so is it still; universal, in that His threefold conviction belongs to every child of man, and is such that without it none can have any clear insight into truth, as it is in himself, or in the world, or in God; and preparatory, in that only thereby can any one livingly and consciously become a member of Christ's holy Body. Thus it is still just as necessary as ever, that the Spirit of God should vouchsafe to convince the world, and every individual soul, of the sin of not believing in Christ,—of the righteousness which Christ, when raised from the dead and returned to His Father, obtained for all such as believe in Him,—and of the judgement wherewith the Prince of this world has been judged by Him who died on the Cross. This too is the great work and mission of the Church in the midst of the world, to preach these truths to the world with the power of the Spirit, to the end that the world, being convinced thereby, may turn from unbelief to faith, and from unrighteousness to righteousness, and thus may escape the everlasting, irrevocable judgement which has fallen upon its Prince. This is the controversy of the Church with the world. Seeing that the world lies under sin, concluded under sin, because of unbelief, because it will not and cannot believe in anything except itself, the Church cries out to the world, *Thou art under sin; thou tossest to and fro beneath it; thou heavest and quakest beneath it; but thou canst not shake it off: thy very struggles to shake it off are fresh proofs of thy sin: for thy struggles are made in thine own strength; and this is thy sin, the parent of all thy other sins, to believe in thyself,*

to believe in thine own strength. This is thy sin, that thou believest and ever hast believed in thyself, and not in God, not even when He came down to dwell, shorn of His invisible glory, and clothed in a body of thy dust, in the midst of thee. Even then thou wouldst not believe in Him, but didst gather the whole army of thy sins against Him, and wentest forth to battle against Him, and nailedst Him to the Cross, and thoughtest thou couldst hold Him by the chains of Death, making use of this thy master and destroyer, as though he were thy slave. Thou thoughtest in the hardness of thy heart, that He who was come down to redeem and renew thee, was even such as thou art, frail, feeble, mortal, the child of a day, the heir of the grave. Thou didst not believe in Him; thou accusedst Him of sin, and slewest Him. But God raised Him up from the grave, and shewed that Death had no power to hold Him. He raised Him up, and took Him to Himself, and seated Him by Himself on the throne of His righteousness, and thus, in the sight of men and angels, declared Him to be righteous, and gave Him that righteousness, which thou too shalt receive, if thou wilt cast away thy unbelief and thy self-worship, and wilt believe in thy Maker who came to deliver thee from these and all thy other infirmities and diseases. Of thyself thou hast no righteousness: scarcely canst thou conceive what manner of thing righteousness may be. Thou findest righteousness in the glare of thine own volcanic fires, in the perishable beauty of thine own fruits, in the bright polish or the wild ruggedness of thine own rocks. Thou heedest not that the light, which alone brings forth the beauty of whatever may seem beautiful in thee, must descend upon thee from heaven. Thou deemest, blind as thou art, that thy Prince is an angel of light. Thou knowest not that he fell long ago like lightning from heaven,

that the Lord has broken his staff and his sceptre, and cast him down to the ground. Believe this, O world! believe in the Lord whom thou hast crucified: believe in His pure and perfect righteousness: believe and know full surely that thy Prince, whom thou worshipest, has been cast down into hell: then shalt thou be at rest and be quiet; and all the voices of thy nations shall break forth into singing.

Such is the message which the Church, in her prophetical character, is charged to proclaim to the world. It is a message akin to that which was committed to the prophets of old. They too were commanded to cry against the sins of the world: they were commanded to call man to faith in Jehovah and in His righteousness: they were commanded to denounce the judgements of God against all manner of iniquity. The words too in which the prophets uttered their message, are still in great part suited to the message which the Church has to deliver to the world. Only the ancient prophets had to speak of things which as then were merely foreknown and predetermined in the eternal counsels of God, but which had not yet clothed themselves in the garb of Time, or become embodied in such a form as to be distinctly perceivable by man: they could merely be descried by man so far as he was allowed to stand on the holy mountain, from which the eyes of the Allseeing look out into the abyss of the future. The Church on the other hand, in her prophetical office, has to speak of that which she has heard, and seen with her eyes, which she has lookt upon, and her hands have handled, of the Word of Life. She speaks of sin, which has been, and still is, which for ages held mankind under the spiritual palsy of unbelief, but which may now be overcome through Him who came to this very end, that

we might believe in Him, as the express Image of the Eternal Father. She speaks of a righteousness, which has been, and still is, which was manifested upon earth when Christ dwelt in the form of a man, sinless in a world of sin, and which was certified by the seal of the All-righteous, when He was exalted to the right hand of God; of a righteousness which He obtained, not for Himself, but for the unrighteous race of man, which He has given to the whole multitude of His saints ever since He went up into heaven, and which He still gives and ever will give to all such as seek it with the earnest prayer of faith, until that day when the twilight of this world's existence shall have past away for ever, and the Sun of Righteousness shall drive the darkness of unrighteousness into the nethermost caverns of hell. She speaks of a judgement whereby the Prince of this world has already been judged: she declares to mankind that a Man has lived upon earth, a Man like themselves, born of a woman, over whom the Prince of this world had no power, who overcame him with all his temptations, and who thereby shewed to mankind how they too may overcome the Prince of this world; for that his sway is only over those who obstinately linger in their soul-crushing unbelief; but that, for those who will fight against him in faith, he has been overcome, so that they too shall overcome him. Thus her voice has far greater power than that of the prophets who lived before the coming of our Lord; and through the working of the Comforter, inspiring her words, it produces a living conviction in the hearts of those who listen to it in faith. And as no one can come to Christ with a sincere devotion of heart and mind, until this threefold conviction has been wrought in him, this is still, as it was at the first, the

universal preparation of the world, and of every individual soul, for the reception of the life of Christ.

But further, while the work of the Comforter in the world was not a work to be wrought once for all at the beginning of the new dispensation, and to be then left to propagate itself, and to spring up selfsown, with no other husbandry than that of man,—inasmuch as, had this been the case, it would not have outlasted a single generation; while it is a work which the Spirit is continually performing anew in all parts of the earth, calling generation after generation out of the misery of their sins and the darkness of their unbelief, and striving to convince generation after generation of the righteousness of Christ, and of the judgement which has fallen upon the Prince of this world; so on the other hand it will never be sufficient for the establishment of any single soul in faith and in righteousness, if the Comforter merely comes to it once to work His conviction once for all in it. Ere long the conviction would grow dim and fade away; nor can this be averted, unless the impression be perpetually renewed by the same Divine Hand. We cannot advance uninterruptedly in our spiritual, any more than in our bodily life, from one degree of brightness to another: the shadow of the earth will ever and anon fling the darkness of night over us; sleep will creep upon us; we flag and grow weary, and yield to it; and we should sleep on self-indulgently, unless we were awakened again and again by the light of the Sun of Righteousness, piercing through our night, and bursting the bands of our sleep. There should indeed be a progress in our spiritual life: else that life, even if it be more than visionary, will too plainly be giving way before the manifold influences which try to check and destroy it. But our

progress, so long as we continue in the flesh, will never be unbroken; nor shall we make any real progress at all, without fresh impulses from the Power which first set us in motion. Our noon should keep on growing brighter and brighter: but it will only do so when we live under a perpetual dawn, when new influxes of light are ever pouring upon us from the same celestial Fountain. For, as it is a law of all life, that every creature, while it is the offspring of all former generations, shall yet have a new germ of life in itself, so, in our moral life, every act is at once the result of our whole previous moral being, and springs immediately and freshly from the will. Thus every act is a link in a chain, which stretches back to the origin of our consciousness, and the first link of a new chain, which will reach through our whole future existence; and according as philosophers have fixt their minds on one of these views, or on the other, they have asserted the necessity or the freedom of human actions; exemplifying how speculation, when it rushes on, without looking around, in a straight path of simple logical deduction, is sure to lose itself ere long in a vacuum of abstractions: whereas it should continually bend the line of its march by a careful comparison with the realities which experience sets before it, shaping its course hereby into an orbit; and then it will return to the point from which it started, reaching it again from an opposite side, and thus gaining the assurance that its conclusions were not partial and premature. And as in our moral, so in our spiritual life, no moment stands alone: there is no moment in it, which is not connected by indissoluble ties of motive and impulse with all that we have hitherto felt and thought and done: at the same time no moment in it will have any true spiritual energy, unless

we are immediately prompted and animated by the lifegiving Spirit of God.

Hence it is not enough for us to be convinced of the sin of unbelief once for all, even though that conviction be the work of the Comforter. When a body is put in motion, we know, unless its motion were checkt by a number of retarding forces, it would continue to move on without limit; but we know no less surely that these retarding forces will soon lay hand on it and arrest it. So we might fancy that, when the soul is once lifted up from the earth, and projected into the free atmosphere of faith, it would continue to soar into the heaven of heavens, nor rest until it reacht the throne of God. But we know too well that this is not so, that it gravitates to the world of the senses, and that it has a leaden weight of selfwill bearing it downward. Our senses and our carnal appetites are ever whispering and muttering and shouting to us, that the only realities are those which we can see and hear and touch and taste and smell, and that it is idleness and folly to give up these solid substantial delights for the dreamy phantoms and spectres of faith: and our selfwill cleaves pertinaciously to the world where we are lords and masters, and shrinks from that into which it cannot enter except by a sacrifice of itself. Against these hindrances we cannot even strive, much less rise above them, unless the Comforter be continually helping us onward, by convincing us more and more deeply of the sin of not believing in Christ. Hence he who truly believes, the stronger his faith in the unseen world may be, with the greater humiliation will he deplore his own inability to live in an unwavering communion with it, and to subdue the temptations which would draw him away from it; the more earnestly will he cry, *Lord, I believe;*

help Thou my unbelief. Thus the union of opposites in our nature will continually display itself under the form of what the understanding deems to be contradictions; of which we may continue almost unconscious, so long as we merely disport ourselves among the superficial appearances of this world, but which come out more and more numerously and distinctly, the wider our eyes are opened to discern spiritual realities.

Again, as our growth in faith is sure to increase our conviction of unbelief, and of our need of the everpresent help of the Comforter to overcome that unbelief, in like manner our conviction of Christ's righteousness must needs deepen our conviction of our own unrighteousness, and of our utter inability to overcome it without the constant aid of the same heavenly Ally. For this conviction also would soon stagnate or dry up, unless it be evermore renewed and replenisht from its everflowing Source. Our own righteousness, the righteousness of this world, rises up before our eyes, and tries to hide and supplant the righteousness of Christ. We are ever too prone to believe that we have already attained; and thus we slip back from that righteousness which comes to us through faith in Christ, to a righteousness of our own, which is of the Law. Nor is there any security against this delusion, save in fashioning ourselves, so far as we may, after the example of the great Apostle of righteousness, forgetting the things which are behind, and reaching forward to the things which are still before us, under a contrite acknowledgement that our whole spiritual life is nought, except so far as it issues straight from the Spirit of God.

So too it would never be enough for us, if the Comforter merely vouchsafed once for all to convince us that the

Prince of this world has been judged. For although he has been judged most certainly and completely, it is only for the children of God, for those who go forth to the battle against him with the assurance that they are so, and that their Father is with them. The children of this world are still under its Prince, and still pay him honour and worship: in their eyes he still wears his royal robes and crown. Hence, so long as we abide in this intermediate state, doubtful about our true parentage, — so long as we think it possible that there can be any good apart from God,—the Prince of this world will ever and anon come to us: and as he who was a liar from the beginning, will continue a liar until the end, he tells us that he has not been judged, that he is still the sole Prince, the absolute sovereign of this world, and that he will give us the kingdoms of this world, and their glory, and their beauty, and their pleasure, if we will only fall down and worship him. We saw that the condition of those who have been convinced of judgement, is analogous to that of the Israelites, when they were delivered from the bondage and from the fleshpots of Egypt, and had seen the host of Pharaoh overthrown in the Red Sea, and were journeying through the Wilderness toward the Land of Promise. Yet even after they had been thus wondrously and mercifully delivered, even after they had been the witnesses of this terrific overthrow, many hearts amongst them failed amid the privations of the wilderness; many longed to go back into Egypt, to go back to their fleshpots, forgetting the bondage attacht to them, or even thinking that bondage desirable for the sake of such enjoyments. In the midst of the wilderness too the Prince of this world still came to them with the temptations of Baalpeor. Nay,

did he not persuade some that the manna itself was his gift, and that, as such, they must hoard it up, until it stank? and did he not at another time move the whole multitude to loathe it? just as he still is so often able, by pampering our sensual, to deaden our spiritual appetite, so that our heavenly food becomes stale and flat and tasteless to us. Even when our Lord Himself was upon earth in the form of a man, the Prince of this world, although he had been so utterly baffled, as a foretaste of the judgement which awaited him, only departed from Him *for a season*. And as he assailed the Head, so has he unwearіably been assailing the whole body of the Church with all manner of crafty snares, as we see from the very first in the sin of Ananias, and in that of Simon Magus. Nor is his malice less in these days, or his subtilty, or his assiduity. He is ever lying in wait to assail every individual member of that Church, which can only be built of the spoils wrested from him, and which he is ceaselessly labouring to undermine and destroy. We cannot need to look back to the history of David and of Solomon,—surely we shall find ample evidence in our own hearts,—to prove to us that, however we may at any time have been convinced of judgement, still the Prince of this world does not allow us to remain quietly in that conviction; that he will try to drive or to lure us out of it, at one time with some new form of sin, the deceitfulness and misery of which we have not already found out,—at other times, it may be, with those very sins, the bitterness of which we have already tasted, and over which we fancy we have triumpht. For we are never safe: the very stubble of our old sins may run into our eyes and blind us; the dregs of them may choke us; the ashes of them may kindle again and consume

us. Therefore do we always need the present help of the Comforter, in order that His conviction may not pass away and be effaced, but may abide in our souls full of life and power; so that the Prince of this world may be judged in us and by us also, even as he was judged by our Lord.

In fact this is one of the main differences between a speculative and a practical conviction. For the former it is enough if we have been convinced of a truth once: the conviction will abide with us. It may lie dormant for a long time in the storehouse of our thoughts; but there, when we need it, we shall find it; and it will be just as serviceable as ever. For no contrary forces are drawing us away from it, or striving to quench and suppress it. But with regard to our practical convictions all this is otherwise. They cost us many a hard struggle, in the first instance to gain them, then to retain our hold on them, and above all to carry them into act. For the power of the world is around us, acting upon us by our senses, by our appetites, by our feelings, by our circumstances, by our companions, by habit, by opinion, and endeavouring in all these ways to infect us with its own changefulness. Its stream is ever bearing us along, and would never allow us to take our stand on any firm ground of consistent principle: it would have us do as others do, drift on at the caprice of its ever-varying impulses. Moreover a practical principle requires practice to strengthen it, and even to keep it alive. Unless it be carried into act, it sickens and wastes away: words, if its sole utterance be in them, drain its lifeblood from it: practice alone can make it a consubstantial part of our souls. Indeed the purpose of every conviction is to produce belief: it is not meant to lie as a dead proposition at the top of our minds

but to be embodied in them among our principles of thought: and when the conviction is the work of the Spirit, it must produce faith, that is, a belief which is received as a principle, not merely by the understanding, but also by the heart and the will, a belief which becomes a principle, not merely of thought, but also of life and action. Thus, if we are convinced of sin by any other teacher, our conviction will vent itself in empty words, and we shall remain contentedly in our sin; but if the conviction be the work of the Comforter, we shall desire and yearn to come out of our sin, and to cast it away. Thus again, if our conviction of righteousness be the work of the Comforter, we shall not deem it enough to contemplate and admire and extoll, the righteousness of Christ; we shall seek to make it our own, by such means as the Comforter shall vouchsafe to manifest to us for doing so. And in like manner, if our conviction of judgement be wrought in us by the Comforter, it will not satisfy us to know that the Prince of this world was judged long since, when our Saviour gave Himself up a Sacrifice on the Cross for the sins of the world; we shall desire that we also may be enabled to judge him, that in our lives also he may be judged.

The conviction of sin, we have seen, when it is wrought in us by the Comforter, leads us to seek that pardon and remission of sins, which Christ bestows on His people; and as the special sin, of which the Comforter convinces us, is that of not believing in Christ, in so doing He brings us out of our unbelief to faith, and makes us desire and pray to have our faith strengthened. The conviction of righteousness, when it is the work of the Comforter, makes us seek to be clothed in the righteousness of Christ, and

thus is preparatory to our justification: the two acts, as I have said before, may be coinstantaneous; but in idea they are distinct. So again, the conviction of judgement, when it is the work of the Spirit, is preparatory to our sanctification. The judgement with which our Lord judged the Prince of this world, may be regarded as twofold: it was a judgement of absolute and entire condemnation; and it was a judgement of utter overthrow and confusion. He at once past and executed the sentence of condemnation against the Prince of this world, condemned him as worthy of hell, and cast him into hell. As in His temptation Christ baffled the Tempter, by exposing the hollowness and deceitfulness of all his wiles and lures, so that the Tempter was rebuked and departed from Him, in like manner does Christ's whole life expose the hollowness and deceitfulness of sin. His whole life condemns sin, by bringing it to the light, so that its real nature and character is discerned, by stripping it of its masks and disguises, by laying it bare under all its forms, by shewing how false it is, how delusive, how hateful, how deadly, how in all its forms it is enmity against God, and therefore misery and desolation and despair, how the worm is spread under it, and the worm covers it. The judgement against the Prince of this world was indeed completed and consummated by the Sacrifice on the Cross: as the Crucifixion however was not the whole of the sacrifice offered up by Christ for the sins of the world, but only its closing, perfecting act,—as the whole of our Saviour's life, from the humiliation of His Incarnation down to that still deeper humiliation, when He, who had humbled Himself that He might enter into life in the shape of an innocent babe, humbled Himself still more that He might pass through

the gates of death with the agony and the shame of sin, was one continual sacrifice for sin,—so was it one continual warfare against sin, and victory over sin, and judgement against sin. *What the law could not do, in that it was weak by reason of our carnal nature, God, sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, for the sake of sin, condemned sin in the flesh, in order that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit.*

For the craft and subtilty of the Prince of this world, that craft and subtilty which was the ground of his power, consisted mainly in this, that, having first beguiled men into giving up their hearts to this world, he then persuaded them that he was the absolute disposer of all the good things of this world, that he alone had the power of bestowing them, and that he would bestow them on such alone as paid him homage and allegiance, and sought them from him, by the means which he pointed out to them. He persuaded them that the kingdom of this world and the power of this world and the glory of this world were the noblest objects which man could aim at, and that they were his to give and to withhold, so that, unless these prizes were sought through him, there was no chance of gaining them. Nor were his persuasions vain. That these are indeed the highest objects of human endeavour, was almost universally believed, not as a mere abstract proposition, but with a thorough faith, which shrank from no exertions, from no difficulties, from no dangers, for the sake of attaining to them. Even the Jews, along with the rest of mankind, lay under this delusion; nor were our Lord's chosen disciples wholly free from it, so long as He continued here below. They did not understand

how the Prince of this world had already been judged, how in truth he had been judged from the very beginning, together with his kingdom. They still lookt and sought for an earthly kingdom, for earthly power and earthly glory; only they deemed that their Master was the Prince, from whom they were to receive these coveted rewards. They could not make out, any more than Pilate, how He could be a King, and yet that His Kingdom should not be of this world. Our Lord on the other hand declared that the true kingdom, the true power, and the true glory, belong not to the Prince of this world, but to the Father, and that, as belonging to the Father, they also belong to the Son: and the great purpose of His life was to shew forth what that true Kingdom, the Kingdom of Heaven, is, and wherein that true power, wherein that true glory lies.

Thus through His whole life did Christ judge the Prince of this world. When He, who was born King of the Jews, was born in the stable at Bethlehem, and when the shepherds in the fields were called to be the first witnesses of His birth, then was the Prince of this world judged: and this judgement was made manifest in that he, whom the Prince of this world had set upon the throne of Judea, was so greatly troubled at the tidings, and tried to frustrate the purpose of God by the massacre of the children in Bethlehem. Hereby the Prince of this world laid bare the hell that boiled in his breast; and though he sent forth the fiercest and bloodiest of his servants to establish his throne, he was utterly foiled. When He, who came to fulfill all righteousness, submitted to be baptized by John, the greater by the less, the sinless by the sinful, God by man, then was the Prince of this world judged. Then was

man taught not to seek his own glory and his own righteousness, but the glory and the righteousness of God,—not to seek to be first, but to be last: and therefore were the heavens opened, and the voice from heaven heard, saying, *This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* Then was the Prince of this world judged, then was the serpent's head bruised by the Seed of the woman, when a Man walkt on the earth in whom the Father was well pleased. Again in the whole course of our Lord's temptation the Prince of this world was judged: he was judged in that all his most powerful, and till then wellnigh irresistible, lures were scattered at once by being brought to the light of God's word. Throughout the whole Sermon on the Mount the Prince of this world is judged: his most vaunted blessings are declared to be woes; his woes, the very things which he had made men account mean and abject and miserable and hateful, are declared to be blessed. Every time that Christ forgave sins, the Prince of this world was judged. It was proclaimed in the sight of heaven, God Himself bearing witness, that a Man was walking upon the earth, mightier than the Prince of this world, and who could wrest his subjects and his captives even out of his nethermost prison; and men were taught how they might obtain this deliverance, how they might burst the galling yoke which the Prince of this world had fastened round their necks,—by faith. By every miracle which Christ wrought, the Prince of this world was judged. In that He cast out devils by the Spirit of God, it was proved that the Kingdom of God had come upon mankind, and that among the sons of men there was One, who had bound the strong man, and was spoiling his goods: and when the devils took

refuge in the herd of swine, and ran down the precipice into the lake, then was it shewn what is sin's only congenial abode, its only rightful doom. Moreover by every grace in our Lord's character the Prince of this world was judged,—by His meekness, by His lowliness, by His patience, by His forbearance, by His infinite loving-kindness, by his perseverance in welldoing, by His spotless purity, by His zeal in working the works of His Father, by His never seeking His own glory, but always the glory of God, by every deed and every word wherein He shewed that the Fulness of the Godhead was dwelling upon earth. Each of these graces exposed the spuriousness and deformity of the counterfeit or opposite, which the Prince of this world had set up to have dominion over the hearts of mankind. Of the manner in which the judgement on the Prince of this world was consummated on the Cross, I have spoken already. And then, when he had thus been finally overthrown, Death, the last enemy, was also subdued: its sting was torn from it; and the victory of the grave was converted into the victory of Him who was laid in the grave; a victory gained, not for Himself, but for all in all ages who shall be laid in the grave, clothed in His righteousness, after having manifested in their lives how the Prince of this world is judged. For all such, Death is judged, so as wholly to change his nature, and to become the giver of eternal life, taking away the burthen of sinful flesh, and the delusive mists of the world, from those who have been sanctified by the Spirit, and unsealing their eyes to behold, and their hearts to worship and rejoice in, the glory of the living God.

In all these manifold ways, do they who are convinced of judgement by the Comforter, perceive that the Prince

of this world has been judged. And what ensues? Will they follow him into his judgement? Will they desire to share in his condemnation? to be confounded along with him in his confusion? Surely this cannot be. They who have been truly convinced of judgement, will no longer cleave to that, which, they know, their Saviour has condemned: they will no longer walk in the train of him, whom their Master has overcome and cast out. Feelings of honour, of justice, of compassion, may sometimes urge a man to uphold the cause of the vanquisht: but here all honour and right and mercy are united on the side of the Victor; and the victory consists in this, that the shame of sin has been unveiled, that its hatefulness has been disclosed, that men's eyes have been opened to discern its malice and its cruelty, its falsehood and its woe. They whose eyes have been thus opened must needs loathe and turn away from sin. In the consciousness of their own weakness they will shun it, and never run rashly into temptation: but when it comes across their path, they will fight against it without being dismayed, in the strength of Him, who, they know, has overcome it. As Christ condemned sin, so will all His faithful servants condemn sin. They will condemn it in the world, but still more in their own hearts; for until they have condemned it in themselves, in vain will they try to condemn it in the world. And as Christ overcame sin, so will all His soldiers strive to overcome sin, first in themselves, and then in the world,—to overcome it in themselves, by casting it out from themselves, and purifying themselves from it,—and in like manner to overcome it in the world, by doing what they can to cast it out from the world, and to purify the world from its pestilential contagion. But here also

the right order must be observed. We may dream that it would be a grand and glorious work, to overcome sin in the world: we may think of sallying out on such an enterprise for the sake of magnifying ourselves by it: all efforts however directed toward such an end will be vain, until we have gone through the far more painful and toilsome task of overcoming sin in ourselves. Without this preparatory discipline we shall soon grow faint and falter; and double shame and bitterness must needs await him, who, having preacht to others, himself becomes a castaway.

The Comforter convinces the world of judgement, because the Prince of this world has been judged. Has the Prince of this world been judged? The Comforter, who is the Spirit of truth, cannot convince of anything except the truth; wherefore it is most certain that the Prince of this world has been judged. And yet . . . and yet . . . when we cast our eyes abroad over the face of the earth, —when we bethink ourselves of what has been going on from the beginning, and is still going on in every part of it, from the royal palace down to the cottage of the husbandman,—when we call to mind what we see and hear and read of every day, what purposes men are professing, what objects they are pursuing undisguisedly, as though no question could be entertained about their propriety and worthiness,—when we pry into our own hearts, and look searchingly back over our past lives, and ask ourselves what our motives and aims have been and are, what our plans and desires have been and are, and where our affections are and have been placed,—can we truly affirm that, according to the evidence which may be drawn from the history of the last eighteen centuries, and from the present state of the world, and according to the witness borne

by our own hearts and minds, the Prince of this world has been judged? Has he been so condemned, that all the world has united to condemn him? Has he been so cast out, that all the world has cast him out? Has the great majority, has any considerable portion of the world, condemned him and cast him out? Has he been condemned and cast out from the councils of kings? from senates? from armies and navies? from the counting-house and the marketplace? Has he been condemned and cast out from our manufactories? Has he been wholly condemned and cast out even from our schools and colleges and universities. Or, to narrow the sphere of our inquiries, have we ourselves, each one of us, condemned him and cast him out? Do we know and feel that he has been judged and condemned and cast out by our Lord and Saviour? and do we, under this conviction, condemn him and cast him out from our own hearts and minds utterly and altogether, so that he has no part in them, no hold upon them, that he never sways our thoughts, never stirs our desires? Have we set ourselves resolutely to eschew all manner of evil, to hate whatever is hateful before God, and to love nothing save what is wellpleasing in His allholy sight? Alas! I am afraid, if we speak the truth, we shall be forced to confess that in this, as in all other things, there is still a broad and glaring contradiction between the order of the world and that order which Christ has appointed and establisht for His Church. Contrariety and contradiction to the order and ordinances of heaven is still the course of this world, as it always has been, ever since that word *No*,—that word which had never been uttered in the courts of heaven until the spirit of pride lifted itself up in rebellion against God,—that word

which is ever echoing back in endless repercussion through the howling caverns of hell,—first disturbed the all-consenting harmony of the universe. Hence it has come to pass that in all parts of the earth, wherever assemblages of men have been gathered together, there has always been a tumultuous jarring of contending voices, ebbing and flowing, rolling to and fro, affirming and denying, as though the body of truth were divided, as though evil were good, and good evil, and as though it were impossible to determine conclusively what is, and what is not. Still thus much is most certain: for the true spiritual Church, built of those lively stones that *offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ*,—for those who, having a living faith in Christ, endeavour to walk in the blessed steps of His allholy life, the Prince of this world has been judged. But so far as the world still continues to exist unsanctified by the Church, with a heart closed against the conviction and the other influences of the Comforter, the Prince of this world has not been judged: or at least the world knows nothing of the judgement which has befallen him, but seats him on the throne of its heart, and bows down to him as blindly as ever. It sets up Dagon again and again, and will even worship the stump of Dagon, rather than believe that he has been judged. Nay, has not the Prince of this world often entered into the very temple of the Lord who judged him? has he not set up the abomination of desolation even in the holy place? And when he does so enter there, his words are ever, that he has not been judged, that he has not been condemned and cast out, that God has made peace with him, that we may worship him, and yet worship God also, that we may serve him with the best part of our hearts,

and yet that the poorest remnant of our service will find acceptance with God.

Your thoughts will have recurred of themselves to that dismal period in the history of the Church, when the Prince of this world put forth all his craft, and far too successfully, to prove that he had not been judged,—nay, when for generations he seemed almost to have usurpt the dominion of the Church,—and when those faithful servants of Christ, who desired to enforce and execute their Lord's judgement against him, were many of them driven out, as in older times, to wander in deserts and mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth. It was an awful spectacle then, to see how the flesh was in almost all things quenching and stifling the spirit, not merely, as it ever does, in the groves and high places of the world, but even in what ought to have been the courts of the house of God. For a time had arrived when the Church had entered into alliance with the world: Herod had said that he would come and worship the King of the Jews; and she believed him. But when Herod, when the Prince of this world, pretends to worship, it is only with the purpose of destroying more subtly and effectually. Trained as he is in all falsehood, he will readily mock the form of worship, if he can thereby empty that form of its spirit; as he did so wofully among the Pharisees in Judea, and as he is ever striving to do, when an inordinate attention is paid to the outward acts of religion. And when the Prince of this world has persuaded men that he has not been judged, his next step has ever been to subvert the Comforter's conviction of righteousness, by making them believe that they may have a righteousness of their own, and do not need the righteousness of Christ. Whence, by a

natural progression, he further undermines the conviction of sin, and shakes all faith in the divine nature and office of Christ. By a like process, in an age of literary pride and epicureanism, he lures his victims through the moonlit mazes of natural religion, into the dark chaotic night of pantheism; in which, confounding all moral distinctions, he cheats men into supposing that there is nothing excellent except power.

But it is not solely when the Church enters into an open alliance with the world, that the Prince of this world attempts to persuade men that he has not been judged. Even when our Lord Himself, the Fulness of the Wisdom and Holiness of the Father, was upon earth, the Tempter came to Him, and would fain have deceived Him: nor has there ever been a state of the Church, in which the Prince of this world has left her unassailed; nor can we expect that the Church ever will be in such a state, until that day when he, who was judged on Calvary, will be cast out altogether from God's world, and will sink into the bottomless pit of his own misery and despair. Thus whenever a spirit of more fervent zeal has breathed through the Church,—when the preachers of the Gospel have been animated with a deeper conviction of the sin of the world, when they have seen more clearly how that sin is rooted in unbelief, and when they have been more earnest in calling their hearers to seek that righteousness, which can only be received as the free gift of grace to faith,—at such times the Prince of this world has ever been busy in sending his emissaries abroad to persuade men that, as the righteousness of Christ, which is given to faith, is a free gift, no way to be earned by any works on the part of the receiver, it cannot matter in the least what our works are,

—that to be scrupulous about our moral conduct is a symptom of selfrighteousness,—and that the best mode of shewing our entire reliance on Christ's righteousness, and our thorough contempt for all that man can do, is to keep on living in sin, without presuming to set up any light of our own by the side of the Sun of Righteousness. Errours of this kind had sprung up and grown rank even in the lifetime of the great Apostle of righteousness, constraining him to warn men against the blasphemous delusion, that they were to continue in sin, in order that grace might abound. In like manner, when Luther took up the apostolic trumpet, and startled the nations, and roused the Church out of her slumber, by proclaiming the same primary doctrine, that man is justified by faith alone, without the works of the Law, the Prince of this world again tried to mock the voice of truth, and said, *Ay, without the works of the Law; therefore trample the Law under foot, lest thy works should interfere with thy faith.* Hence one of the great contests which the heroic Reformer had to wage through the chief part of his life, was against the Antinomian errours whereby the Prince of this world tried to hinder and pervert the Gospel of righteousness. Sometimes too, as man, when driven out of one errour, is sadly prone to rush into its opposite, even they who have rightly discerned how the righteousness of God has been manifested to the world in the incarnation and death of His Son, and who have been earnestly desirous of magnifying Christ in their own lives, have yet been misled by an over-anxious fear of ascribing anything to human merit, into speaking disparagingly of that dutiful obedience, which the redeemed servants of Christ, the adopted children of God, are bound to pay to their Master and Father. But

never, by no single word, does St Paul countenance such a delusion; never, I believe, does Luther, if we weigh his words fairly, with a due attention to the context, and to the uniform tenour of his teaching. It is true, Luther is perpetually inveying, with the utmost vehemence of condemnation, against that deadly heresy of good works, which was then spread over the Church, poisoning the sources of its life. Now in reading such passages, if we forget that the good works which he is thus reprobating, consisted mainly in formal acts of worship and outward penances and mortifications, performed as an expiation for sin, under the notion of their being meritorious, we may easily fancy that his expressions are derogatory to morality; more especially if, with ears unused to any louder sound than that of academic argument, we come on a sudden within the thunder of his battlecry. Nevertheless, so marvellously clear was his insight into the fundamental principles of Christian doctrine, — so thoroughly had he been convinced, above all other men, it would seem, since the apostolic age, of sin and of righteousness and of judgement by the Comforter,—that one may feel some degree of confidence in asserting, that he never,— even in those writings which he poured forth almost wave after wave, and ray after ray, according to the exigencies of the Church, for so many years,—said anything which, if candidly and rightly interpreted, with a due regard to the occasion and circumstances, is repugnant to the truth on this head. Or at all events, if a curious research may discover certain expressions here and there, in which, when contending against the Pelagian errours of the Romish Church, he has not been careful enough so to measure and limit his expressions, as to keep

them from impinging on the proximate portions of the truth, justice would require that, before we make him an offender for a word, we should compare what we may deem objectionable, with the glowing exhortations to bring forth the fruits of love, in which his writings abound. If we do so, we shall find that, while no preacher of the Gospel has been more energetic in denouncing that noxious errour which considers good works as the ground of justification, few have been so earnest and eloquent in enforcing the necessity of good works as the fruits of faith and love, and as a testimony that the Prince of this world has been judged (w).

This form of errour however is not one which has ever gained much currency in the higher and better educated classes of society. The deep and strong religious feeling, which must accompany it, if it be sincere, will seldom be found without some force of character and of intellect: and this in our days will keep a person, who has gone through a course of scholastic discipline, from running into the extravagancies of Antinomianism. But the Prince of this world, we may be sure, will also have his devices for ensnaring those who may seem to belong more especially to his empire, those who, from their more conspicuous station, and from the influence they exercise over their brethren, are not seldom by way of eminence denominated *the world*. The delusion which in these days he is the fondest of, and which the world is much readier to swallow, is one whereby it is pampered in its indolent carelessness and self-indulgence, and whereby it is in like manner beguiled into believing that its Prince has not been judged, or at least that, if he has, his sentence has not been one of condemnation, but acquittal. The worldly notion of

Christianity will mostly amount to something like this,—that it is a scheme of mercy, in which God is pleased to shew forth His forbearance and goodnature,—yes, His goodnature,—I know no other word so well fitted to express what the children of this world regard as the chief attribute of the Christian God,—in pardoning all except very flagrant and outrageous criminals. They look upon Christianity,—may I not say so?—as a scheme for just paring the claws of sin, and then letting it run about at will. My young friends, I am certain there are many amongst you, who will have heard Christianity spoken of in some such manner as this. There are many amongst you, I am certain, whose thoughts, when they have been turned toward religion, will have lulled themselves to sleep by muttering, that God has revealed Himself to us Christians as a God of mercy, and that this is the great difference between our religion and that of the Jews and heathens,—that the knowledge of this constitutes our special privilege and advantage. Nay, my dear friends, are there not some amongst you, who are still lying under this miserable and fatal delusion? are there not some, who still cry *Peace* to your souls, because Christianity is a religion of mercy? Do I then mean to say that it is not a religion of mercy? God forbid! But it is only a religion of mercy, because it is also a religion of truth and of righteousness. It is a religion of mercy, because Mercy in it is met together with Truth: it is a religion of peace, because Peace and Righteousness have kissed each other in it. Else it would not be a religion of mercy. There would be no mercy in Christianity, if God had sent His Onlybegotten Son into the world, to the end that mankind might be allowed to continue in sin. This is the mercy of the

Spirit of evil. The Spirit of evil would have you continue in sin: he would have you go on day by day and year by year heaping sin upon sin, wrapping one poisonous fold after another around you, quaffing one deadly potion after another, until your whole head shall be sick, and your whole heart faint, and nothing shall remain of you except wounds and bruises and putrefying sores. But this is the very proof which God has given of His exceeding mercy, that He has called you out of your sins, that He will not leave you to rot and moulder away in them, that He would draw you out of them, almost in despite of yourselves, by the cords of His love,—yea, that He has called you to a communion with Himself, a communion which can only be enjoyed in proportion as you become like Him,—that He has called you to a share and portion in that which is most glorious and excellent in Himself, to become holy as He is holy, and pure as He is pure, and perfect as He is perfect. Yes, brethren, this is the real proof of God's mercy, that He has commanded you, and will help you, to cast away all manner of sin, the least as well as the greatest; for nothing can be small or to be disregarded, which estranges and cuts you off from God. The world in its cruelty tells you that you may be intemperate, that you may be licentious, that you may be ambitious, that you may be neglectful of all your duties to God, and of almost all your duties to your fellow men, that you may spend your lives in pursuing your own pleasure and your own aggrandizement, and that all the while you may be respectable and estimable and honorable, and may even put in a claim for the crowns of earthly glory. This is the world's mercy, or rather its cruelty. A few vices it bids you beware of,

those which it has been pleased to brand with shame: but every other vice you may indulge in to your heart's content, and need only take care that you do not hurt yourselves by it. God, on the other hand, tells you that you do hurt yourselves, that you hurt your immortal souls, by every sin in which you indulge. For every sin is poison: every sin, the least as well as the greatest, tends to canker and destroy your souls: every sin breeds death, and cuts you off from the communion of the blessed. Therefore does God shew forth His infinite mercy in calling you away from all manner of sin, by sending His Spirit to convince you, not only of sin and of righteousness, but also of judgement, in order that you may not be doomed to follow the Prince of this world into condemnation, but may be fitted more and more for receiving the inheritance which your Saviour has purchast for you, along with the saints in light,—that you may rise more and more out of the darkness of this world into the light of His presence,—and that He may give you every blessing and every grace, grace upon grace, and blessing upon blessing. Yea, He offers Himself to you, His whole beatific fulness: He has given you His Onlybegotten Son: He would give you His allholy Spirit, to dwell and abide in you for ever.

God desires, earnestly desires to give you all these blessings. Doubt not, my young friends, that this is so: believe it with an assurance no less lively and strong than you feel of your own existence, or of the existence of the world around you. It is by doubt, by unbelief, that man still, as ever, frustrates God's gracious dealings. Surely we may most reasonably trust, that He who sent down His Onlybegotten Son to live in

the form of a Servant, and to die on the Cross for mankind, and who sent down His Spirit with such power to the Apostles and the other preachers of the Gospel in the first ages of the Church, had an end very dear to His heart, which He designed to accomplish by these mighty means, and for which, if I may so speak in all reverence, He made these inestimable unimaginable sacrifices. And God is not man, that He should forget what He once purpost, or that He should weary because a work is not readily concluded, or that He should change His mind and cast away what was so precious in His sight. It is true, eighteen hundred years have rolled by, since Christ offered Himself up on the Cross, and since the Comforter came down to the Apostles. But what are eighteen hundred years to Him, before whom a thousand years are as one day? They are as though today and tomorrow had past by with one of the sons of men, and the next day were just about to open upon him. The laws of nature, as they are called, the laws of cohesion and attraction and gravitation, the laws of growth and decay, the laws by which the suns are kept in their spheres, and the planets in their orbits, are the same now as they were eighteen hundred years ago. Much more does the same unchangeableness inhere in God's moral laws, in the laws of His righteousness and love, which were when the outward world was not, and which will continue after the outward world has sunk into its appointed grave. Therefore be not doubtful, but stedfastly believe that God still purposes to give you all those rich treasures of blessing which He gave to our fathers. The Crown of the Saviour is still incomplete; the Marriage-feast of the Lamb is not yet full: the Comforter is still gathering

jewels for that Crown, and calling guests to that Feast; and you may all be among those jewels, in the number of those happy guests. In order that you may be fitted for these blessings hereafter, God still sends His Spirit to all who desire to obtain these heavenly prizes. For you can only obtain them in one way, in the way which God has ordained, which He ordained in the first instance for the whole Church, and for the world when it was to be called into the Church; and which He still ordains for the whole Church, and for every soul incorporated into it. You must be convinced of sin, you must be convinced of righteousness, you must be convinced of judgement, with that living, ruling, practical conviction, which the Spirit of God alone can produce. The Spirit of God is ready to work that conviction in you, in every one of you,—to work it in those in whom it has not been wrought already,—to confirm and strengthen it in those in whom it has. He who sent the Comforter at first to His disciples, still sends Him to His Church, and to every member of His Church. Yes, brethren, to each and every one of you, Christ has sent and will send His Spirit, to convince you of sin and of righteousness and of judgement. Only you must not close, but open your ears and your hearts to receive that conviction; you must not turn away, but listen to it, readily, attentively, patiently; you must give heed to it and endeavour to follow it, to obey it, to rule your lives according to it; above all, you must beware of resisting it, of quenching it, of driving it from you, of doing what it forbids and condemns. You must seek it by prayer, by earnest, fervent, persevering prayer. You must seek it by frequent and searching meditation on the truths which it reveals to you, on

unbelief and faith, on righteousness and unrighteousness, the unrighteousness of man and the righteousness of Christ, and on the victory of the Cross whereby the Prince of this world was judged. In this, as in all things, you must strive diligently and strenuously to act according to the light you have already received, in full reliance on the neverfailing promise that to him who has shall be given. And while you study the mysteries which God has declared to us in the Scriptures, with all your heart and all your mind, you must endeavour to make them the rule and principle of your lives, and to fashion yourselves after that pattern of the mind of God, which was made manifest in every word and deed of His most blessed Son.

In the next verse but two after the text, our Lord, while still speaking of the coming of the Comforter, says, *He shall glorify Me; for He shall receive of Mine, and shall shew it to you.* This, we have seen, is what the Comforter does through the whole of His threefold work: in every part of it He glorifies Christ. In convincing us of sin, He convinces us of the sin of not believing in Christ. In convincing us of righteousness, he convinces us of the righteousness of Christ, of that righteousness which was made manifest in Christ's going to the Father, and which He received to bestow on all such as should believe in Him. And lastly, in convincing us of judgement, He convinces us that the Prince of this world was judged in the life and by the death of Christ. Thus throughout Christ is glorified; and that which the Comforter shews to us relates in all its parts to the life and work of the Incarnate Son of God. In like manner all the graces which the Spirit bestows, are the graces which

were manifested in the life of Christ. It is Christ's love that He shews to us and gives to us, the love through which Christ laid down His life for His Church,—and Christ's joy in His communion with His Father,—and the peace which Christ had when He had overcome the world,—and Christ's longsuffering in praying that His murderers might be forgiven,—and Christ's bounty in giving of all the treasures of heaven,—and the faithfulness of Him who is the faithful Witness, Himself the Truth,—and the gentleness with which Christ took up little children in His arms and blest them,—and Christ's meekness in never answering again,—and the temperance of Christ, who made it His meat and drink to do the will of His Father. All these graces were manifested upon earth in their heavenly perfection, when the fulness of the Godhead dwelt in the Man Christ Jesus; and all these graces the Spirit of God desires to give to all who believe in Christ Jesus. All these graces He desires to give to every one of you, so that Christ may be formed in you, and that your life may be swallowed up in His life. Thus shall you too glorify Christ; and with Him you will glorify the Father. Let this be the glory which you seek, not your own vain fleeting glory, but the glory wherewith you may glorify Christ and the Father; and this glory shall abide with you for ever.

The Comforter will convince the world of sin and of righteousness and of judgement. This passage has supplied us with food for godly meditation during several Sundays; and how far are we from having exhausted it! Rather do we seem to have been merely skimming over the surface, diving down now and then a little way, while unfathomable depths were stretching below us. Such do we ever find

to be the case in studying the Scriptures. The more light and comfort we derive from them, the more clearly do we discern how far that light and comfort fall short of what we might derive, if we gave up our hearts and minds to them with a more entire faith. O that these same words might supply us with food for godly meditation through the whole of our lives! Yea, when we arise from the grave, may the first thought that dawns on our reawakening souls, be the thought of Christ our Righteousness! May this thought abide with us through eternity, brightening evermore as we gain a clearer insight into the inexhaustible riches of that righteousness! And when the vision of our earthly lives flits across our spirits, when we look back,—if the blessed ever look back,—to this world and its trials, may our foremost thoughts and feelings be those of thankfulness to the Comforter who convinced us of sin, and to Him by whom the Prince of this world was judged!

To Him therefore, the gracious Comforter, who convinces us of sin and of righteousness and of judgement, and to Jesus Christ, the Lord of our faith, and our Righteousness, by whom the Prince of this world was judged, and to the blessed Father, who vouchsafes to send His Son and His Spirit for the redemption and sanctification of mankind, be all praise and thanksgiving and glory and adoration, from angels and saints, world without end.

THE CHURCH THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD:

A SERMON

PREACHT IN THE CHAPEL

OF THE PALACE AT LAMBETH,

ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 7th, 1840,

AT THE CONSECRATION

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND CONNOP THIRLWALL,

LORD BISHOP OF ST DAVID'S.

TO HIS GRACE

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

THIS SERMON,

PRINTED AT HIS DESIRE,

IS HUMBLY DEDICATED,

IN SINCERE RESPECT AND THANKFULNESS

FOR THE MILD WISDOM

WITH WHICH, DURING A TIME OF DIFFICULTY AND TROUBLE,

HE HAS PRESIDED OVER OUR CHURCH,

SEEKING PEACE AND ENSUING IT.

THE CHURCH THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD.

MATTHEW v. 14.

Ye are the light of the world.

As there is scarcely a verse in the New Testament, which has not afforded ground for some difference of opinion,—as there are few about which some sort of controversy has not been stirred,—so it has been made a matter of argument with regard to the Sermon on the Mount, to whom our Lord's words are to be considered as mainly and immediately addrest. Yet here, as everywhere else, we find the same pervading characteristic of His teaching, its universality. This is one of the marks which distinguish the words of inspiration from the profoundest and subtilest of such as have proceeded from man's natural understanding. Herein, above all, did He speak as never man spake. Hereby did He shew that His words came straight from the eternal Fountain of truth; the waters of which are afterwards divided, and compass all lands, refreshing and fertilizing each, but, when He is speaking, flow close around the trees of knowledge and of life. What Jesus says, does not apply solely to certain individuals, to certain classes, to the men of a single generation. The expressions which the Psalmist makes use of in describing the testimony borne by the outward world to the glory of its Maker, become literally true, when applied to Him: *His voice is gone out through all the earth, and His words to the end of*

the world. When He speaks of the natural man, He reveals the secrets which lie hid in every heart, and which have lain hid in every heart from the Fall of Adam down to this day; so that it would almost seem to us at times as though He must have been looking straight into our own hearts,—as though what would appear to have been said in immediate contemplation of our special weaknesses and wants, can hardly be equally true of any one else. On the other hand, when He is speaking of those whom He has called to a knowledge of His redemption and salvation, and who have listened to that call, the glorious and blessed things declared of them are glories and blessings which belong to every true member of His Church; in a higher degree, it may be, to some, in a lower to others, but more or less, so far as rests with our Lord's own purpose, to all. Every member of His Church is invited to receive all the glories and all the blessings of the Kingdom of Heaven. On every member does our Lord desire to pour them all forth. If we all fall short of this consummation,—if so many betoken that no more than a very scanty portion of grace has ever found way into their souls,—if so many even in the midst of Christian lands, even among the baptized members of Christ's Church, appear to be utterly destitute of His bounteous gifts,—the fault lies wholly in ourselves, in our own inability and unwillingness to receive, not in our Lord's unwillingness or inability to give.

To this universality, which marks our Lord's teaching, it is owing in great measure that His words have been interpreted in so many ways. It is not thus with the words of men. Their meaning we mostly see clearly; and all are agreed about it: if not, we feel sure that there must

be some mistake, or corruption, as we term it, in the words, or else that the writer has been deficient in distinctness of thought or of expression. Not that men's words are clearer; not that they are more definite; not that they come home to our hearts and minds with such a radiant power of truth, as our Lord's do. But they have a narrowness, a limitedness, a superficialness of meaning, which we soon get at, and soon exhaust. We see into them, and through them, and often, it may be, beyond them: we perceive the circumstances which suggested them, the combinations of thought out of which they sprang. Whereas, who ever exhausted the meaning of the simplest of our Lord's sayings? Who could ever feel that he had got to the bottom in them, and that there was nothing more to be learnt than what he had learnt already? that there was only this one pearl, and that the shell might now be flung away? Surely the shell has the power of producing fresh pearls, each more precious than the other. The more we study our Lord's words, the further we pierce into them, the more are we compelled to acknowledge that here also we see only in part, and that, after the learning and wisdom and piety of eighteen centuries have been poring over the New Testament, and prying into every corner of it, there are still untold treasures of truth in it, which no eye has ever yet seen, no heart ever yet conceived, — treasures to enrich another hundred generations, and which a thousand would not drain.

Thus for instance, what can be simpler than the words of the text? *Ye are the light of the world.* And yet what hidden depths of meaning, what unfulfilled riches of prophecy, are contained in these few words! When we fix our thoughts attentively upon them, we discern that they

are most undoubtedly true, — that to a certain extent they are true at this day, and have always been true more or less, from the very hour when they were first spoken. Nevertheless do we not feel at the same time with shame and sorrow that they are not true, that they are very, very far from true, that they have never yet been true, that there has never been a single day, never a single spot on the face of the earth, with regard to which it could be said that the whole meaning of these simple words had come to pass? He who is like a bridegroom, does indeed come forth from his chamber, day after day, and year after year, and runs his race rejoicingly from the end to the end of the heavens; and nothing is hid from his light. Every day it may be said of him, that he is the light of this world; and though that light is sometimes overcast and bedimmed, still he is the light of this world; and often and often does that light shine in full effulgent glory. But our Lord in the text is evidently speaking to men, to a body of men. He says not, *The sun is the light of the world:* He says, *Ye are the light of the world.* Yet of what body of men can it be affirmed that they have ever been the light of the world, so as to be comparable in the diffusiveness of their illumination to the dimmest sun in the year?

Still, as I just said, when we meditate on these words, we cannot but recognize that they are indeed true; that in the course of a few years they became eminently true of divers among the persons to whom our Lord was speaking; that divers of those persons became and have continued to be the light of the world ever since; that further other persons, standing more or less in the same relation to our Lord in which they stood, have also more or less

been the light of the world ever since; nay, that, were it not for that light of the world, which is here spoken of, the whole world would have been sitting ever since in darkness and in the shadow of death, unless indeed it had mouldered away, and sunk from the shadow of death into the reality.

Ye are the light of the world. It would lead to a disquisition ill suited to the present occasion, if I were to examine the opinions which have been proposed concerning the persons meant in these words; inasmuch as this verse cannot be separated from the rest of the Sermon on the Mount; nor can we restrict its application, unless we in like manner restrict that of the whole. Hence it would be requisite to determine to whom our Lord is speaking throughout this divine promulgation of His doctrine. But although this would lengthen our enquiry, almost every step in it would tend to strengthen the conviction that these words, in their widest, fullest sense, must be understood as embracing the whole of Christ's Church (x). After our Lord has said, *Ye are the light of the world*, He adds immediately, *A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid:* least of all can it be hid if it be a city of light, if it bear any likeness to the city described in the Revelation as descending out of heaven, lightened by the glory of God, with the Lamb for its light. To this end did God set His Church upon His holy hill of Zion, and shewed it all the kingdoms of the earth, and the glory thereof,—in order that it might shine before those kingdoms, and glorify them with a true glory, undazzled and unbeguiled by their false glory, and glorifying them with His glory, with the glory of faith and of holiness and of love, with the glory wherewith the Father from the

beginning glorified the Son, and wherewith the Son, when He was upon earth, glorified the Father. This is the purpose for which the Church was set upon God's holy hill; and for the fulfilment of this purpose she was commanded to shine as the light of the world. So too has she. However her light has been obscured or interrupted, still she has been the light of the world, ever since her Lord pronounced her to be so: and so far as there has been any pure living light in the world since Christ went up into heaven, it has been gathered primarily into the Church, and from thence has spread itself abroad.

Yet the children of this world, we know, are apt to deny this, in these latter days more especially. This our age boasts itself of being the most enlightened that has ever shone upon earth, since the intellect of man first crept out of the womb of darkness. Indeed this is its one boast, its peculiar pride. It will not call itself the most virtuous of all ages, or the most heroic, or even the wisest, much less the holiest and godliest; but it defies us to question its being the most enlightened. At the same time they who vaunt the loudliest of this enlightenment, would be the last to acknowledge that it proceeds from the Church. Rather do they assert that the Church hates the light, and fears it, and checks it, and keeps out of it, and would fain keep all mankind out of it. Nevertheless it is most certain that whatever light there may now be in the world, has issued in the first instance from the Church, even that which has exalted itself in rivalry against her, even that which has attempted to set fire to her and destroy her. Most certain is it, that, had not Christ set up his Church to be the light of the world, we should be pining in outer darkness; or, it may be,

the race of man would have rotted away long ago from the face of the earth.

Thus much indeed has often been acknowledged by those who have set themselves to meditate, with philosophical insight and an earnest love of truth, on the development and growth of the human mind, as exemplified, whether, on the widest scale, in the history of the human race, or, more narrowly and distinctly, in the history of those nations which have risen successively to the greatest highth in the firmament of knowledge,—that religion has been the original source of whatsoever light has manifested itself among them. In the intellectual and in the moral world, no less than in the natural and the spiritual, it is the idea of God that first utters the organizing fiat, that first says, *Let there be light:* it is the idea of God, that first divides the light from the darkness. Even our own minds, if we observe and examine them carefully, may convince us of this truth. It is the idea of God, that lifts us out of the eddying flux and reflux of time, and fixes our being on that which is firm and lasting. It is the idea of God, that forms the first sustaining link in the chain of our thoughts, otherwise endless and beginningless,—that supplies a stedfast anchor for our shifting and drifting feelings,—that imposes a binding law on the tumultuous surges of our will. In fact this is what raises man above the beasts of the field; this is what constitutes him a reasonable being; this is the first essential act of reason,—that he can say, *There is a God.* As the fear of God is the beginning of all moral wisdom, and as it has ever been felt that the sanction of the Divine Idea is indispensable to the upholding of human law, — not merely for the sake of striking terrour by the assurance of

future retribution, but still more because it is in the Divine Idea that all necessary and compulsory truth must be grounded,—in like manner the same sanction is no less indispensable to every process of human thought, to all knowledge, to all wisdom, to all morality, to all duty. A people utterly destitute of that Idea could never emerge from the most abject barbarism; and in proportion as a nation loses its hold thereon, it sinks back into a like barbarism. Through that Idea do we first feel that we have a sacred bond of union and fellowship with our brethren, with our fathers, with the world around us, with all who have been and are to be,—that we are members of a family, of a nation, of a race,—that the truths which our reason and conscience discern, unsubstantial and fleeting as they may seem, are rooted in eternity,—that no human breath begat them,—that no decay will wear them out, — that no oblivion will abolish them; yea, that, though the heavens and the earth shall pass away, no truth shall ever cease to be; and that the only effect which Time can produce with regard to Truth, is to draw away more and more of the veil which hides it from our eyes.

This is not the place to shew how Religion, even in its imperfect and corrupt forms, has been the sole parent of art and knowledge. It was only when the heart and mind of man had found an utterance for their inmost yearnings in the truth of truths, *There is a God*, that man was enabled to perceive how he had a higher calling, a nobler exercise for his faculties, than that of providing for the gross wants of the moment, or of dealing with the immediate objects of the senses. Then alone could he set himself to embody his ideas in outward forms, to construct

buildings for higher purposes than that of shelter, buildings which should typify the temple of the universe, or the heavenward aspirations of devotion. Then did he recognize that every faculty and feeling wherewith he was gifted were capable of an ideal perfection, and that this perfection might be exprest in the lineaments of the form, in the hues and features of the countenance. Then did he become aware that the ear also is the organ of a divine world as well as the eye, and that the harmony of sounds, as well as of visible objects, declares the glory of Him, who makes all things work together for the fulfilment of His eternal will. In like manner it is by the Divine Idea, by some modification or other of the faith in a living God, that all true poetry and philosophy are vivified and upheld and exalted. In the greatest poets and philosophers that Idea has been the ruling principle of their thoughts, in some more latent, in others brought forth more distinctly and explicitly into the light of consciousness. By it have they been taught that there is something in man greater than man has ever realized, the germs of an excellence far surpassing what had ever been seen in him; and on the other hand that there is a taint of death in him, a spirit of rebellion against the heavenborn laws, which ensures its own destruction,—that all sin is death, that all wilfulness is death, and that the only life for the will lies in its subjection to a higher order and law. By it moreover have they learnt that the course of events is so overruled, as to set forth the glory and to establish the dominion of that law, to fulfill it both by life and by death, and to be at once purificatory of evil, and destructive of it.

In following out these hints, we might be enabled

to discern how, even among the heathens, so far as there was any light, the Idea of God was the light of the world. That Idea was refracted indeed manifoldly by the mediums through which it past: it was often grossly obscured and distorted by carnal admixture and defilement: but no nation ever lifted its head out of barbarism, except through the elevating power of faith in that Idea; and the culminant point in the history of every nation, — the period when it has reacht the greatest highth, not perhaps of outward force and of sensual refinement, but of moral wisdom and dignity, — has been that when the Divine Idea has exprest itself the most clearly and powerfully in the national heart and life. Thus even among the heathens this was the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. But this Light shone in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not. It shone upon a world lying under a thick heavy black mass of sin; and these clouds resisted the light, and bedimmed it, and would only allow a few faint broken gleams to pierce through. The better and wiser part of mankind, they who were richest in the precious wisdom bred by rectitude of purpose, felt assured that there was a God, a God whom they did not know. The ruder multitude confounded the few gleams of divine light with the corrupt idols in which their sense-bound fancies had entombed it. And the men who boasted of their worldly wisdom, and whose chief pride lay in being above the vulgar, knowing that the idols were of man's own making, deemed that the gleams of light in them were also his, and therefore spurious and fictitious; and thus they sank into still deeper darkness, from which all heavenly light was studiously and obstinately shut out.

Such was the state of the chief part of the world, when it pleased God that the true Light, the same Light which from the beginning had lighted every man that came into the world, should take up its abode upon earth in all its purity, enshrined in the form of Jesus of Nazareth, and that from Him a new stream of light should be poured to the furthest corners of the earth, being borne from country to country by those whom He sent as the messengers and heralds of that light, by those whom in the text He declares to be *the light of the world.* Through the light which flowed from their teaching, and through the power of the Spirit working along with their words upon the hearts of mankind, the world rose a second time out of the moral chaos into which it had been rapidly sinking: it rose a second time in a diviner form, with graces till then undreamt of. The light which was thus spread over it, was primarily and in the main a spiritual light. As such however, it was also a moral light; for no one can have any real spiritual illumination, but that illumination will enable him to discern the true character of the relations whereby man is connected with his brethren: and this is the only light which will give him a right survey of those relations: the light which does so must come from above. Moreover, as the light which comes down from heaven, is not a cold barren snowlight or icelight, merely opening a field for the eye to wander in, but is full of penetrating, cheering, lifegiving warmth, thus the light which comes from Christ does not merely enlighten our mental eye, but, so far as it does indeed come from Him, pervades our whole nature, and manifests itself in the light of a holy life, no less than in moral and spiritual intuitions.

Again, this spiritual light, as such, was also an intellectual light. It was both at once, both a moral and an intellectual light, and is the only light which can be both at once, as being the common source of both. It was both at once potentially from the beginning, although in the first instance it only illumined the higher parts of our nature. In the early years of Christianity men were content with knowing their relation to God,—that of their fallen outcast nature, and that of their nature reconciled to Him and glorified by the participation of His Son; and they lookt at all their duties as emanating out of that relation. The converts, coming mostly, not from among the wise and prudent, not from among those who had stored themselves with the learning and wisdom of this world, but rather from among the simple and lowly, had little inclination or fitness for human studies; or if any of them had more of such fitness, yet, having found the Pearl of great price, they had sold all that they had to obtain it; and when they had obtained it, they thought only of winning others to do likewise. Indeed the primary act of the Church was necessarily to convert the world, to carry the light of the Gospel from land to land on the wings of the morning. Not until the light had fully risen, and taken possession of the heavens and the earth, did men resume their ordinary worldly pursuits and occupations. Not until Christianity had been establisht in a nation as the one dominant religion, could the Church set about the task of reorganizing a body of knowledge, of pouring her vivifying and purifying light through all the powers and capacities of thought, which were slumbering in the minds of men, so as to rouse them to exercise themselves in the various provinces of art and science. Then it was that

Theology came forward as the queen of the sciences, which gathered around her as her handmaids. The Church became the parent and the fosterer of the arts and sciences; and whatever was excellent in each manifested the power of the Divine Idea, with which the mind of man was impregnated. Architecture was inspired to raise buildings to God, wherein the congregation of His people might gather in multitudes to worship Him. Music calmed and lifted up the heart in manifold strains of prayer and praise. Painting set forth the Incarnate Son of God, His birth, His life, His death, the revelations of His presence in His saints. Science busied itself in tracing the workings of God's laws in the multitudinous objects of the creation. Philosophy meditated on the deep mysteries of the Godhead, and endeavoured to arrange the truths of Revelation in logical order and sequence, and to shew that they had been written from the beginning by the finger of God on the human reason and conscience, although defaced in all manner of ways, and bescribbled over and over with man's palimpsestic writings. Thus throughout the middle ages it was made apparent, that, even with regard to human knowledge, the Church is the light of the world.

At this day too one can hardly cast one's eyes over the map of the earth, to pick out those nations which are in any way eminent in power and knowledge, without being struck by the grand fact, that they are all to be sought and found within the pale of Christendom. The possession of Christian truth, — even the mere intellectual possession of it in that sorry imperfect state in which alone it is anywhere found generally prevalent,— raises a nation at once in the scale of humanity, gives it a stable foundation for all its edifices of thought, teaches

it the right measure, the purpose and true object of its feelings, certifies it of its duties. It opens the ears of Conscience to discern the hidden harmony of the spheres, which otherwise is unheard, except when uttering itself from time to time in the thunder of positive law. The brief efflorescence of literature and science among the Mahometans, which itself was attributable in great measure to the portions of Christian truth mixt up with the errours of the Koran, or at all events to the lively conviction of the Divine Unity, past away long ago. Throughout the regions of Paganism the mind of man has stagnated into a dead sea. Thus it is only in Christian nations that we find anything like an ebb and flow of the waves of thought. A closer examination too would convince us that, in proportion as the mind of a nation is vividly imprest with the speculative truths of the Christian revelation, in the same proportion does it excell in the higher exercises of the human intellect, in poetry and philosophy. The operation of this law has manifested itself in a series of examples by the intellectual ascension and declension of the same nation in the modern world: and that deeper knowledge of Christian verity, that purer spiritual light, which has been bestowed on Protestant Europe, has also produced a higher tone of moral feeling, and a profounder insight into those dark questions, which puzzle and perplex us whenever we try to look into the constitution of our own hearts and minds (Y).

But, if this be so, how can any one assert, or at all events find credence in asserting, that the light of human knowledge is wholly independent of the light of religious truth? nay, that there is a kind of opposition between them, so that each has a tendency to extinguish the other, and

shines the brightest when alone? That such things are said, and that they are thought much oftener than they are said, is notorious; although they may not always be enunciated in such distinct broad propositions: and still more notorious is it, that on each side there has long existed in many minds no slight jealousy of the other. Nor can it be disputed, that there have been divers circumstances in the more recent history of literature, which, if taken by themselves, without regard to their causes and connexion, might seem to afford ground for such a notion. Men who have made an open profession of infidelity, have exhibited considerable acuteness in various departments of science: others have glittered with spangles of wit, or have even soared with no feeble wing into the higher regions of poetry. These facts, it is argued, prove that our intellectual life is wholly independent of our moral and spiritual life, and that the arts and sciences would flourish just as well in a world in which men lived wholly without the knowledge of God. Here however it is requisite to draw certain distinctions. That parental love, which is indispensable to foster the growth of our hearts and minds, no less than of our bodies, in infancy and childhood, will not be equally indispensable, when we have attained to the strength of manhood. Nay, we may cast it off, and rebell against it; although we cannot do so without a violent disruption of our moral being; and although the condition of our hearts would be far healthier, if the fountain which fed them in youth, were still to refresh them in after years. In like manner the intellectual faculties, which have grown up under the training of religion, which would never have grown up without that training, which without it would never have discerned the unity of the

universe, and the necessity of its laws, or the moral dignity of human nature, still, having once been impregnated with these ideas, may deal with them regardlessly of their original source. Hence whatever there may be of higher life in the works of infidelity, has flowed into them from the thoughts of former ages, and from that atmosphere of purer thought, with which in a Christian country every man is surrounded; for no man, however he may desire it, can cut himself off from his fathers and his brethren. Nor would we by any means be understood as denying that the children of this world are often wise in their generation. We are warned that there is an earthly wisdom as well as a heavenly, a wisdom of the serpent, as well as the wisdom of God: the very flames of hell mimic the light of heaven. Several of our faculties too, of a more outward, superficial character, and chiefly conversant with that which is outward and superficial, have no immediate apparent connexion with our moral and spiritual being. This however we do affirm without scruple, that in all the works of infidelity there is a taint of disease and of death, a taint which becomes deeper and more inveterate in proportion as the infidelity is grosser; and that this is the only thing about them referable to infidelity as its source. Science, in the hands of infidelity, degenerates into crumbling materialism: it is blind to the beauty, deaf to the harmony of the universe: as its objects rise, it sinks: when it comes to treat of human nature, its views are base and degrading: its morality is a matter of barter, or a wary drifting along before the animal impulses. And what can the poetry of infidelity be, except a deifying of the senses and the passions? while the consciousness of higher cravings and aspirations, which

cannot be wholly extinguisht, vents itself in bursts of self-mockery, or in the cold sneer of derision and contempt for all mankind. Thus, when the world has turned away from the Church, which was ordained to be its light, it has reeled to and fro beneath the glare of its own volcanic fires, and has tottered on the brink of utter darkness and desolation.

Here we cannot refrain from asking, why has the world turned away from the light of the Church? why has not the Church more adequately fulfilled her heavenly calling of being the light of the world? It is not enough to say that the pride and stiffneckedness of the world has been the cause of this: for the very end for which our Lord sent forth His ministers, was to humble this pride, and to bend this stiffneckedness. Why then has the Church failed so sadly in this her work? and why does the world in these latter ages seem to have become prouder and more stiffneckt than ever? Immediately before the passage in which our Lord calls His disciples *the light of the world*, He had told them of another part of their glorious office: *Ye are the salt of the earth.* So that the Church has this twofold duty, to be the salt of the earth, and to be the light of the world. The close connexion, which is thus establisht between these two declarations, betokens their essential unity; and what God has joined, man cannot put asunder. Yet it is so much more tempting to our human desires to be the light of the world, than to be the salt of the earth,—light is so bright, is seen so far off, while the working of salt is imperceptible,—that men in all ages have been far more willing to be the one than the other. Most certain however is it, that, unless the Church be the salt of the earth, she cannot be the light of

the world: unless she labour humbly and selfsacrificingly to purify men from their sins, she cannot deliver them from their errours. The sin which is left behind will breed fresh errours, and will pervert and distort every truth; for this is the one source of darkness, from which all errours are exhaled. Therefore, if the world has turned away from the light of the Church, we are bound to confess with penitent shame that this cannot have been without grievous fault on the part of the Church: else they who are against us would not have seemed more powerful than He who is for us.

Confining our view however to the second office of the Church, that of being the light of the world, if we enquire how she has fulfilled it with reference to the various provinces of human thought and knowledge, we perceive that there is a remarkable difference between the position occupied by the Church during the last century and a half, and that which she had maintained previously. In the earlier ages of the Church, from the time when she first began to deal with any knowledge beyond that which specially belonged to her heavenly commission, the chief part of the knowledge in the world was engrost by those who were her appointed ministers and teachers. The clergy were the only learned body, taking learning in its widest sense, as embracing philosophical and scientific, along with historical and philological knowledge. This was not a desirable state of things; but it was inevitable. Learning must begin with the few, and can only spread by degrees to the many; and the fact of its beginning with the ministers of religion in every nation bears witness to the truth urged above, that religion is the source of all secular knowledge. This lasted throughout the middle

ages; and even when the diffusion of learning was growing more general, and became one of the instrumental causes which God vouchsafed to make use of for the reformation and purification of His Church, still for a century and a half the clergy continued to be the most learned body in Europe, the first decidedly in that which is more especially called learning, and able to exercise a controlling and formative influence over philosophy and science. Thus philosophy, from the time when it sprang up anew among the schoolmen, down to the latter half of the seventeenth century, was in the main Christian philosophy; and science was Christian science. But no one will affirm that this has been the predominant character of philosophy and science, either in England regarded by itself, or in the whole of Europe, during the last hundred and fifty years. On the contrary it is well known that they who have devoted themselves to philosophical or scientific speculations, have many of them been indifferent, and not a few hostile to Revelation. They have been led by their habitual studies to apply a logical calculus ill suited to moral truth; and they have fancied they have discovered incongruities and contradictions between the conclusions they have arrived at by what they deemed incontrovertible processes of reasoning, and certain propositions supposed to be essential parts of the Scriptures. In many of these persons doubtless there was a strong moral obliquity, by which their intellectual vision was also greatly distorted: but Christian candour forbids our declaring that this was the sole cause of every aberration. Indeed nothing but the most presumptuous selfcomplacent ignorance would venture to assert this, the ignorance which thinks it can maintain its position by

exclaiming that philosophy and science are destructive of faith, unbelieving, and tend to atheism.

Were this indeed so, what a broad deep gulf would yawn before us! When we look at the surface of the history of the human mind during the last two centuries, without bethinking ourselves what it had been in earlier ages, we might almost fancy,—and too many have not scrupled to affirm,—that the truths of Reason are at variance with those of Revelation, that the volume of nature and the volume of history contradict the volume of God's word, and that the only way of cleaving to the last is to close and fling away the other two. Yet this is impossible. Man cannot disbelieve that, which the legitimate exercise of all his faculties compells him to acknowledge. He is so framed that Reason is the lord of his mind; and intellectually he must obey it. This does not arise from the corruption of his nature, but is a relic of his better state; the effects of the Fall having been far more injurious to his moral being, than to his understanding. Therefore to recognize the absolute repugnance and irreconcilableness of reason and science and learning with Revelation is tantamount to saying that Revelation is indeed only designed for the simple and ignorant, and that the wise and prudent are constrained, not by the perversion, but by the right use of their wisdom and prudence, to reject it. Hereby a broad line of demarcation would be drawn, the line which separates ignorance from knowledge; and it would be declared that whoever passes that line must pass from faith into unbelief. Thus the Church ceases to be the light of the world, her advocates themselves urging in her behalf, that she can only shine like a glow-worm amid darkness. Surely this is very different from

the free and reasonable service required by the Gospel. This cannot be the approach to the dwelling of Him, who is Light, and in whom is no darkness at all. The Gospel is not the enslaver and downtreader of reason, but its deliverer and fulfiller. Nor can it be that any one part of God's works shall give the lie to any other part. It may indeed often behove us to shew how the conclusions legitimately drawn from the premisses with which our lower faculties supply us, though relatively correct, and consistent with their premisses, become incorrect when we take a different and higher point of view; how the apparent stability of the earth is no way incompatible with its real motion, nor the apparent motion of the sun with its rest; how that which seems true is indeed true relatively, and how this apparent truth is not overthrown, but establisht, by the higher truth which comprehends it. Thus alone shall we effectively refute the irreligious philosophy and the irreligious science of the age. Thus alone can we convince the gainsayers. We cannot convince them by merely gainsaying them, by denying that, which they feel certain, on grounds to their minds quite conclusive, must be true. We must untie and unravel the knot in their minds: pulling at it roughly tightens it. We can only convince them by teaching them that the truths which they believe, although relatively true, change their aspect when viewed from above; by shewing them that what they deem a mere nebula, proves, when seen through the right telescope, to be a cluster of stars.

This then is the great office of the Church in her relation to the intellectual world: but this office, I am afraid, she can hardly be said to have fulfilled during the last century and a half She has not kept ahead of the age;

and therefore she has been unable to lead the age. The clergy have not maintained their original position as the vanguard of the human mind in its voyages of discovery into the region of unknown thoughts: nor have they kept their post as surveyors and regulators of these discoveries, systematizing and mapping them, not merely according to their bearings on each other, but above all in their relation to heaven. Even in England they have not done this, and still less in other countries of Europe. When the clergy in these latter days have been eminent, as very many have been, in science or learning, it has been too much as mere scholars and men of science. They have not sufficiently kept their highest vocation in mind. They have not remembered that every thought also must be brought into subjection to Christ. They have not been zealous and diligent enough in shewing that the revealed word of God is the lodestar, the key, and the complement to all other knowledge,—that without it all other knowledge must be grievously incorrect and imperfect,—that the Bible, and the Bible alone, will reconcile and harmonize and justify, all that seems jarring and startling and revolting in the rest of man's experience and observation. This is what it behoves the Church to demonstrate to mankind; and this task in our days is one of peculiar difficulty, owing to the vast compass of the recently conquered provinces of science, and still more to the confusion and perversion of principles so prevalent in modern schools of philosophy. Yet, the greater the difficulty, the more important is it to the wellbeing of the Church and of mankind that the work should be thoroughly accomplisht;—that Theology should again stand forth, as in days of old, the queen of the sciences,—that Philosophy should be her earthly

vicegerent, her other self,—and that all the voices of nature and of history should be shewn to join in full concord with the revealed word of God. Until the Church has achieved this great work, she cannot lay claim to having executed her mission as the light of the world.

We have been considering one out of many ways in which the Church is ordained to fulfill this her glorious calling. For she is to be the light of the world, as we saw above, not merely intellectually, but also morally and spiritually. Indeed it is as the source of spiritual and moral light that she is called by her Lord the light of the world. Her intellectual light is derivative from her higher light, and entirely subordinate thereto. Thus it is a subordinate portion of her office that we have been contemplating; and yet even this portion, how glorious is it! so glorious, that one of the highest objects which the ambition of man has ever striven after, has been to become, not the light of the world, but the light of some small part of the earth, with reference to some one particular field of knowledge. The Church however is to shine as the light of the world, not merely with the light of knowledge; she is to shine with the light of holiness; she is to shine with the light of good works, so that men may glorify her Lord; she is to shine with the light of faith, with the light of her Lord shining through her.

The office of being the light of the world, it was observed above, belongs to the whole Church: it belongs, in a greater or less degree, to every individual member of the Church. I have been led by the occasion to speak chiefly of the part which the clergy ought to bear in the discharge of this office, a part which in old days they well fulfilled in this kingdom, as the renowned names of Bede,

and Scotus Erigena, and Duns, and Alexander Hales, and Occam, and Bradwardin, the meek Primate of our Church, and Roger Bacon bear witness. In later times too, when knowledge began to be more generally diffused, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, what a host of learned and thoughtful no less than holy men were raised up for the purifying and enlightening and edifying of the Church in this land! Not that it is any way to be wisht that the clergy should absorb and monopolize the learning and knowledge of a nation. This could only be the case in an early immature age, and now is neither possible, nor desirable. Still even now, if the body of knowledge is to be rightly organized, if all the sciences are to preserve their orderly harmonious course, insphered in theology, each to the other uttering speech and shewing knowledge, it would assuredly be fitting that they, who from their peculiar calling are bound to hold the most diligent, studious, meditative communion with the word of God, should also be able to prove how what is deepest in all knowledge is rooted in that word, and what is highest rises toward it. Unless they do so, secular knowledge will be apt to become profane knowledge. But when they who are set to be the teachers of heavenly things, are careful to shew how earthly things are made after the pattern of the heavenly, and how the whole creation is waiting for the divine redemption, then every member of the Church may safely make the most of the gift he has received, and ought to do so, if he do it with the ever-present consciousness of belonging to that body which is ordained to be the light of the world. They who have eaten of the Tree of Life,—they, and they alone, may fearlessly pluck the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge.

And as every member of the Church, who has received any intellectual light, is called to let that light shine before men to the glory of God, still more is every member of the Church called to bear his part, according to the ability bestowed on him, in fulfilling her office of being the light of the world, by manifesting the light of faith, and the light of holiness, and the light of every spiritual grace, and the light of good works. Every member of the Church, who has received any of Christ's light into his soul, is bound to shew forth that light in such manner and form as his condition and circumstances shall point out. Indeed he cannot help doing so. Light cannot stay at home: it will not, cannot hide itself: it must pour itself forth so that others may partake of it. But although every Christian is called to bear part in that great orb of light wherewith the Church is to enlighten the world, this office and work belong more especially to such as are appointed to the preaching of that word, which is itself the light of the world. They are to be the lights of the world, by bearing the good tidings of salvation through every region of the earth, by preaching the Gospel to every nation, by calling every child of man to the knowledge and love of God, as made manifest in the person of His Incarnate Son. They are to be the lights of the world, by shining before the eyes of the people as patterns of faith and of holiness. They are to be the lights of the world, as we have already seen, by convincing the gainsayers, by laying bare all the thoughts and works of darkness, and by calling men away from these to the thoughts and works of light.

Yet here again there is a distinction of offices, as there is a distinction of orders and gifts. Those who are placed in authority over their brethren, have a still more stirring

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expediency, to that which is eternally right and true, to justice, to fortitude, to magnanimity, to charity. By this charge they are commanded to proclaim instantly and constantly, that the business of human laws is in all things, as closely and faithfully as may be, to express the will of the supreme Lawgiver. By this charge they are set on high as the special guardians of Christ's chosen flock, the poor, to see that the welfare of those who have no voice or power of their own, shall not be neglected amid the jar and clash of political strife, and that the state be mindful of its paramount duty to provide for all the wants, temporal, moral, and spiritual, of its whole people.

But who is sufficient for these things? Of himself assuredly no man: not the most piercing intellect; not the most comprehensive learning; not the profoundest, subtilest philosophy; not even the strongest, most inflexible will. It must be an awful moment, when such an oppressive burthen descends upon the shoulders of any among the sons of men. They however who seek their strength from the living Source of all strength, shall find strength. Feeble as we may be in ourselves, the Apostle, who gloried in his infirmities, declares that in Christ we can do all things; more especially, we may not doubt, all things imposed on us by our duty to Christ and His Church. He who says to His Church in the text, *Ye are the Light of the world*, proclaims in another place, *I am the Light of the world*. This latter declaration explains the former, and enables us to understand its possibility, and is indeed one with it. For there can be but one Light of the world, originally and essentially. If the Church be the Light of the world, it must be by the Light of Christ shining in her and through her; and then even the frailest and meanest earthen vessels may give light. In herself and of herself she has no light. Only through Christ can any man have any spiritual light: only through Him can the Church have any spiritual light. If we turn away from Him, we shall dwell in darkness, and cannot be the light of the world; nor can the Church. This, whenever it comes to pass, is that "disastrous eclipse," which "perplexes nations." O may no such dismal calamity ever fall upon this branch of Christ's Church! May we never turn away from Him, who is the Source of all light! May we always lift up our hearts and souls to Him, who sits on His eternal throne pouring light and strength and joy and peace on all such as believe in Him!

Then shall we be enabled by Him to fulfill our glorious calling; and then will our Church be indeed the Light of the world, shining not by any light of the sun or of the moon, but with the glory of God lightening her, and the Lamb for her light.

THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH:

A SERMON PREACHT

AT ST PETER'S CHURCH, BRIGHTON,

ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10th, 1840,

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE CHICHESTER DIOCESAN ASSOCIATION.

TO THE VENERABLE

HENRY EDWARD MANNING,

ARCHDEACON OF CHICHESTER.

My dear Friend,

In dedicating this Sermon to you, I am not influenced solely by the desire of giving utterance to my esteem and affection, and of connecting my name with yours, as it has pleased God in His lovingkindness to associate us, by ordaining that we should be the two eyes of the spiritual Father of this Diocese. Both the occasion when this Sermon was preacht, and the subject treated in it, almost constrain me to inscribe it with your name.

For to you, far more than to any other man,—after him who was its founder, and the instrument of this as well as of so many other blessings to this Diocese,—does our Association owe its original establishment, and whatever prosperity it may since have enjoyed. Your wisdom, under God, has been our chief guide; your eloquence has stirred our hearts; your loving spirit has checkt and healed the first outbreaks of anything like division. And since he, whom we both loved and revered as a father, was called to his reward, before our Annual Meeting was hallowed, as he had purpost that it should

be, for the first time with a religious service, the little offering, which would otherwise have belonged to him, falls by a sort of inheritance to you.

Moreover the very subject seems to mark it as rightfully yours. Unity, the Unity of the Church, is of all things the dearest to your heart, at least only subordinate to, or rather coordinate with Truth, without which, you well know, all Unity must be fallacious. And as that which fills the heart will overflow from the lips, you yourself, several times since this Sermon was preacht, have poured out your earnest thoughts and desires for the Unity of the Church. Your sermon at the next Anniversary of our Association was devoted in great part to setting forth the spiritual principle of Unity, how it is by putting on the Mind of Christ that we shall best seek Unity and ensue it, and how our dissensions and divisions arise from our want of that mind, and from our sins against it. Since then you have made the Unity of the Church the subject of an elaborate Treatise, in which, as in all your writings, the spirit of love speaks, but in the argumentative part of which, I grieve to say, there is much I am unable to go along with. A Dedication however would be a place ill-suited for discussing the differences between us: indeed to do so effectually might require a volume scarcely inferior in bulk to your own; and the following Sermon may suggest certain points at which we diverge. In your first Charge, on the other hand, where you also speak of Unity, there are half a dozen sentences on which I would crave your permission to offer a few remarks. For they give a brief, summary expression to an opinion which is very prevalent in these days, but which I cannot hold to be other than erroneous, and which,

whenever it has been allowed to display itself in action, has been hurtful to all true living Unity.

In the latter part of that Charge, having spoken of the manner in which the Annual Meetings of the Clergy at Visitations may serve to produce uniformity in our practice, you proceed thus: "I am prepared to hear it said that uniformity without unity is a hollow and lifeless thing. This is granted as soon as said. But will not a thoughtful, much more a philosophical mind detect something trivial and unmeaning in this rhetorical way of opposing unity and uniformity, as if they were two ideas, almost two repugnant things, instead of the outward and inward, the visible and invisible form of one and the same reality? But even though they were things separable, uniformity even without unity is at least better than discrepancy added to disunion. If we were indeed so shorn of the spirit of grace as to lack inward unity among ourselves, still there is no reason why we should inflict the visible tokens of our disunion upon the flocks committed to our charge. But after all, is it not certain that uniformity is the silent and symbolical language of unity? Is there any law in God's works, which has not its own invariable form? What is the variety of nature but the uniform expression of a variety of laws, not a various expression of any one law? Do not laws of relation, and proportion, and symmetrical figure pervade all the works of God with a severe and unerring uniformity? It is absolutely certain that, wheresoever there is unity in the idea, there will also be uniformity in the expression; and in all things which have life the converse is also true. Dissolution of parts will break up the uniformity of organized bodies; but it is only after the

life is fled. It will linger a while in testimony of what it was, and then dissolve into multitude and variety. But there is no such thing as unity of life without a uniformity of structure and a harmony of operations: and in all moral action uniformity of practice is not only a symbol but a means to unity of will."

Now in the first place I would beg you to consider, why is it "trivial and unmeaning" to speak of unity and uniformity as two totally distinct and separate ideas, seeing that people are so prone to confound them, and that such evils have resulted from the confusion. Of course, if the opposition be merely "rhetorical," it may then be trivial and unmeaning. But even if uniformity were the only outward expression in which unity can manifest itself, still it is not necessarily trivial and unmeaning to urge men to meditate on the distinction between the form and the spirit; since our idolatrous fancy and understanding are so apt to mix and mistake them, and to cleave in all things mainly, if not solely, to that which is outward. Hence those persons in all ages, who have lifted up their voices against the superstitious observance of the letter which killeth, and have called men to the reasonable worship of the lifegiving spirit, are rightly honoured among the benefactors of mankind. Nay, did not our Divine Master Himself reprove those who were scrupulous in tithing mint and anise and cummin, while they neglected judgement and mercy and faith? those who made clean the outside of the cup and platter, but within were full of ravening and wickedness? At the same time I readily allow that the antiformalists also often run into excess, forgetting that, though the empty cup is sorry refreshment, the wine without the cup would

be spilt abroad,—forgetting that, in this our state of imperfect selfcontroll, forms and ordinances imposed from without are wholesome and necessary, and that it is a higher act of freedom to submit to them, than to reject them. They are too apt to fall short,—who indeed does not?—of that heavenly Wisdom, which taught, *These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the others undone.*

But further, I would contend that uniformity, in the sense which in these days is usually attacht to that word, is by no means necessarily or essentially the form in which unity manifests itself; that, on the contrary, the injudicious pursuit and enforcement of uniformity have oftentimes marred unity, and must do so, from engaging in an endless struggle to efface and destroy that diversity and variety, which God has ordained shall prevail in every part of the creation. This desire of imposing uniformity is one of the commonest errours of our weak, self-relying, narrowhearted, stiffminded nature. For it is not a desire of raising ourselves and our brethren up to some ideal standard: he who could frame such a conception, would likewise discern that the only way of approximating to its accomplishment is by animating men with the same principles, and stirring them to realize those principles, as best they may, according to the gifts they have received. Nor will the seeker after uniformity be studious to conform his own conduct to that of his neighbours: such an attempt would indeed imply an amiable humility; but it would be impracticable, since, while shaping ourselves after the model of one, we should be receding from thousands; and it would often involve a sacrifice of honest convictions. They however who want the whole world to walk in one way, are sure to

mean at bottom that this way shall be their own way. The one exemplary unit, to which men have wisht that all others should conform, has always been more or less that which occupies the largest space in our intellectual field of vision, and with the notions and feelings, the habits and circumstances of which we are the most familiar. Indeed, inasmuch as it is a point of duty to take care that what we do shall be that which our deliberate judgement deems best and fittest, a slight logical oversight will infer that the selfsame course must be best and fittest for others; although differences of position, of relations, of education, of character, of moral and intellectual habits, give rise to endless varieties in that which is obligatory and expedient.

Delusions of this kind have been a perpetual source of misconceptions, misjudgement, contemptuous and hostile feelings, and even of overt enmity, in every region in which man has had to act; but they have been far the most hurtful in the Church; because in questions pertaining to religion we too readily identify our will with God's will, and thus, instead of being checkt by that deference for others which practical life breeds, grow to fancy ourselves bound to carry our will into effect; and because all constraint from without is injurious to that, which can have no true worth, except as the free and reasonable service of the heart and mind. In the very first ages of the Church obstinate attempts were made to enforce rites and ordinances, which were outward, typical, unessential, and therefore finite, mutable, and transitory. Nay, the purpose of the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem, which in this as in other respects differed so widely from other Councils, was to put an end to dissension by sanctioning

diversity of practice; and though two positive regulations were enacted, as expedient under the circumstances of the Church at Jerusalem, it was soon felt that these regulations also were merely local and temporary; wherefore the Church, in a wise exercise of her liberty, thought right to remit them. St Paul too had to struggle over and over against one form or other of this delusion; and hence it is in his writings that we best learn what are the true principles of unity, and how to discriminate them from those rules of uniformity, which men are ever setting up in their stead. The former, it has often been recognized, are proclaimed for all ages of the Church in those sublime verses of the Epistle to the Ephesians, which are the text of this Sermon: and those verses are followed by an enumeration of the different gifts and offices bestowed on the various members of Christ's body, which are to *work effectually* in union, so that *the whole body shall be joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth.* Again, what a lesson full of heavenly wisdom does he give to the Church in the fourteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans! a lesson which the Church has grievously disregarded, and against which she has frequently sinned; nay, which has been shamefully evaded by persons bearing rule in the Church, under the plea that it related merely to those early ages, when Christians were living in the midst of a heathen world; as if the principles urged through that whole chapter were not of permanent obligation; as if its precepts were anything else than a setting forth of that gentleness and forbearance and love, which ought to guide the disciples of Christ in all their dealings with each other, so that no one may destroy or hurt any of those *for whom Christ died.* Or

shall we rather open the first Epistle to the Corinthians, in order to learn how there are *diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit*, and *differences of administrations, but the same Lord*, and *diversities of operations, but the same God working all in all?* and how it is the will of God that *the body should not be one member, but many*, each performing its part in ministering to the body and to every other member of it? and how a far higher wisdom is manifested in the union of all these diverse members into one body, than *if the body were all one member?* I know not what words could prove more convincingly than this whole passage, that uniformity is not the essential form of unity, but that unity, according to the riches and fulness which God has been pleased to shew forth in His world, manifests itself best in diversity.

Here I cannot help asking you whether there is not something slightly "rhetorical" in your own antithesis, that "uniformity even without unity is at least better than discrepancy added to disunion." For, since the persons who fall under your reproof, draw a broad distinction between unity and uniformity, so as even to "oppose" them to each other, it seems plain they cannot be advocating "discrepancy added to disunion," but must rather be maintaining the very truth urged by St Paul, that unity manifests itself in diversity. And as they set the two ideas of unity and uniformity in opposition, they must probably contend, — with much truth, though, it may be, with some exaggeration, — that, according to the laws of nature, of man's moral nature, as well as that of the outward world, a real living mighty unity cannot manifest itself otherwise than in diversity. This proposition would seem indeed to be directly opposed

to yours, that "uniformity is the silent and symbolical language of unity;" and still more to that implied in the question which follows: "What is the variety of nature but the uniform expression of a variety of laws, not a various expression of any one law?" But as the word *uniformity*, like every other abstract term which gets into general circulation, has become somewhat ambiguous, it is possible that some part of the apparent contradiction may rise out of this ambiguity. In our popular speech, I conceive, *uniformity* means identity in outward form or act, more especially when used with reference to the Church and its services, being generally associated with the Act of Uniformity, by which that identity was enjoined; and we use the term equally, whether the outward identity result from an identity of inward principles, or be imposed compulsorily by some external power. This however is very different from Hooker's meaning, when he says (E. P. iii. 1. 3.), "The Unity of the Church of Christ consisteth in that Uniformity which all several persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of that one Lord whose servants they all profess themselves, that one Faith which they all acknowledge, that one Baptism wherewith they are all initiated." For this uniformity of the members of Christ means their being actuated by the same formative principles, and is perfectly compatible, as Hooker contends throughout his great work, with wide diversities of civil, moral, and religious acts. Hence that which is said in behalf of uniformity in Hooker's sense of the word, is no argument in favour of that very different uniformity which has been imposed on us by the Acts of our Legislature. Both may be good; but as logicians, in arguing for the latter, we must beware of using

arguments which apply solely to the former. Yet the chief part of your arguments, so far as I can understand them, seem to relate rather to the mode of operation, than to the result produced thereby. Therefore, when you say that "the variety of nature is the uniform expression of a variety of laws," the opponent of uniformity might rejoin, *This is all I wish: let the infinite variety of human thoughts and feelings and characters find their uniform appropriate utterance in this same manner, each after its kind.* But the result of such a process, however harmonious it might be, whatever unity there might be in it, would have nothing of the uniformity which he condemns.

Still I must confess myself perplext by the assertion, which, though not directly enunciated, is implied in your interrogation, that "the variety of nature is the uniform expression of a variety of laws, not a various expression of any one law." Surely the aim of Philosophy and Science is, and has ever been more or less consciously, to trace up those secondary laws of nature, which they discern in their immediate operation to their one aboriginal source: they have rightly felt a conviction that this source must be one; and though they have often overreacht themselves in the pursuit, they have made great progress therein. According to the doctrines both of Philosophy and Science, as it seems to me, the variety of nature is the varied expression of a few simple laws, diversified by the character and combination of the elements subjected to their operation. As in speech, by a few simple laws, out of a few vocal elements variously combined, we produce an almost endless variety of words, so does Nature, out of a few elements, by a few simple laws, produce an endless variety of forms

and appearances. You maintain indeed that "it is absolutely certain that, wheresoever there is unity in the idea, there will also be uniformity in the expression." If however by *uniformity* you here mean sameness, I would remind you of the common remark that no two leaves on an oak are exactly alike. In the lower orders of the creation a considerable uniformity is found, in earths, in crystals; but the higher we mount, the more it gives place to diversity. The same distinction too prevails between the different classes of the same order: firs for instance are more monotonous than deciduous trees. Moreover in all classes those species, which are affected by cultivation, acquire a greater number of varieties, to which there hardly seems to be a limit; the recent improvements in horticulture having shewn that in the seeds of the commonest flower an almost indefinite variability is latent, which cultivation may develope. A like law is discoverable in mankind: as man stands above the rest of the creation, there are far greater diversities of character in him, even in his rudest state, than in any other creature; in proportion as his intellectual and moral faculties are educed by cultivation, the varieties of individual character become more markt; and as you yourself have well said, in your Sermon *on the Mind of Christ*, when characters become perfected by putting on that mind, "they stand out with an individuality as definite and perfect as the stars of heaven."

So again in the works of the human intellect, in proportion as it is more genial, more vigorous, more refined, there will be a greater variety; while here also, when genius is extinct, when imagination is feeble, the understanding comes forward with its rules of uniformity.

You are not old enough to remember the contest against the unities, as they were misnamed, and the other uniformities, which exercised such sway in literature during the last century, and which had just been driven to their last hold at the time when I began to take interest in such questions. The illustration however may be of use: for here also it was maintained that uniformity is indispensable to unity; and the French tragic writers, belonging to a nation which has a singular faculty of degrading ideas into abstractions, deemed that in writing tragedies they must adopt the outward formal rules, which peculiar circumstances, connected with the origin of the Greek drama, imposed upon the tragedians of Athens. But Lessing, and other critics since, have shewn that this very seeking after uniformity was most inimical to unity,—that, if the great Greek poets had lived in modern Europe, the form of their compositions would have been very different,—and that there is far more real unity between the tragedies of Shakspeare and the Greek, notwithstanding the glaring dissimilarity in their outward form. Here I may remark that, as Christianity has enabled man to gain a much clearer sight of the Unity which pervades all things, Shakspeare's wonderful genius, living under the influences of Christian thought, has fused elements into unity, which the Greeks would have deemed discordant. Yet the unity in him is of a deeper and higher kind. So is the unity of Christian painting deeper and higher than that of Greek sculpture; and the unity of Christian harmony than that of Greek melody; even as the unity in the varied song of the nightingale is far more perfect than in the monotonous cry of the cuckoo; which, in spite of its uniformity, can

never blend into unity. Or, to take another familiar example, there is nothing in which the dreary dulness of the last century manifests itself more than in its town-architecture, which has but one remarkable characteristic, its uniformity. This they sought; and this they attained. You may walk for miles in London, hedged in between two similar and parallel lines of straight, high, dingy brick walls, unbroken except by regular rows of oblong holes. Yet these streets never give a conception of unity comparable to that awakened by Venice and Nuremberg and the old parts of Antwerp and Bruges. On the other hand, few intelligent persons will doubt which town in England does produce the grandest impression of unity, with the rich variety of its buildings, speaking of so many centuries, but harmonized by the unity of their moral and spiritual purpose, and bearing witness that generation after generation rejoiced in consecrating their choicest gifts to bring up the youth of England in the pursuit of truth and in the knowledge of God. Nay, what is that most perfect pattern of Unity, which God has vouchsafed to establish upon earth for the comfort and blessing of mankind, and which is declared to be a type of the Unity between the Church and her Lord? It is not the union between man and man. In order that the unity may be more entire, the diversity must be greater: that which is lacking to the one, must be supplied by the other. And even among marriages those may be deemed the most perfect, not where there is the fullest uniformity and similarity, but the most harmonious contrast of characters, where each is the complement, so to say, to the other, each being according to its kind. A masculine character in the wife, an effeminate one in the

husband, may increase uniformity, but will hardly improve unity. Wordsworth, when speaking of the causes of the pleasure derived from metre, is led into a like train of illustrations. "Among the chief of these causes," he says, "is to be reckoned a principle which must be well known to those who have made any of the arts the object of accurate reflexion; I mean the pleasure which the mind derives from the perception of similitude in dissimilitude. This principle is the great spring of the activity of our minds, and their chief feeder. From this principle the direction of the sexual appetite, and all the passions connected with it, take their origin: it is the life of our ordinary conversation; and upon the accuracy with which similitude in dissimilitude, and dissimilitude in similitude are perceived, depend our taste and our moral feelings."

I have only been repeating again and again what St Paul says about the unity of the body. If a body were to be made up of arms, or of legs, or of heads, or of any one member whatsoever, how inferior would it be in unity to the human form divine! and how greatly is the unity of that form raised above that of quadrupeds by the distinction between the arms and the legs! Yet, simple as these truths are, and plainly as they are involved in that passage of St Paul, they are entirely lost sight of by those who hunger and thirst after uniformity. You yourself too, if you had borne them in mind, would hardly have written so strongly in favour of it. Nor is that which is true of individual life less true of corporate life; though in this instance also it is a truth that few statesmen are duly convinced of. For practical men, when they are not content with being mere practical men, but are ambitious of reasoning about their office, will generally measure all things

by the last of their understanding, the faculty which practical life developes the most; while it rather stunts the imagination, which might have helpt them to conceive the manifold benefits accruing from diversities of circumstances, of customs and manners, of ancestral institutions and feelings. Hence it comes that our political reformers are so busy in squaring and leveling all things according to some favorite rule: their axiom is much the same as yours, that the unity of the nation is to manifest itself in the uniformity of all its parts. This was the axiom of the jacobinical republicans; and this was the axiom of the jacobinical emperor. Few men in those days, and not many in these, could appreciate the truth, which Niebuhr, from his living insight into all history, discerned with such clearness, that it became one of the dominant principles of his thoughts, — the truth which he has exprest repeatedly, and which lies at the bottom of a large part of his political reflexions,—that, "as in organic beings the most perfect life is that which animates the greatest variety of members, so among states that is the most perfect, in which a number of institutions originally distinct, being organized each after its kind into centres of national life, form a complex whole." With this truth we Englishmen ought to be familiar; since our own constitution a few years back was, and perhaps still is, the noblest exemplification of it: yet many of the recent innovations in our legislation shew that we have no adequate conception of its importance. Rather are we infected with the desire of centralizing and uniforming everything. We are so intoxicated with the love of machinery, that we think mechanical action better than moral, as being surer and more punctual in its operation.

And so indeed it is immediately: but we forget that one of the noblest features in the English character has arisen in great measure from that diversity of local institutions, which have awakened a higher feeling of personal responsibility than is to be found in other nations. To the meditative minds of Germany on the other hand, such thoughts have become matter of ordinary contemplation. Thus, when looking the other day over the last edition of Nitzsches *System of Christian Doctrine*, a book which is quite a digest of profound thought and learning, and one of the most precious works of recent German theology, I came to the following sentence in a newly added note, occasioned by Rothe's Treatise on the Church: "Every one will acknowledge without hesitation, that the highest unity, the most perfect universality, is that which comprehends, combines, and reconciles the utmost fulness of diversities." He then complains that Rothe, while he assigns all the riches of variety to the Christian State, makes the Church "a present of the shadowy grandeur, but real poverty, of uniformity:" which doubtless is among the reasons why Rothe's book has found so much acceptance in England, not indeed for his political, but for his ecclesiastical views.

Nitzsch further asks, "How is the idea of unity and universality best realized, by the voyage of the Romish Liturgy to Siam and Pekin, or by the working together of the evangelical missions in all quarters of the world?" This question reminds me of that dismal substitution of uniformity for unity, under which the heart and mind of man groaned and pined, when the Papacy, incapacitated by its very position, and the assumptions involved therein, for recognizing any other than a formal

unity, imposed a Liturgy in a dead language on all Christian congregations, of every nation and region beneath its sway, issuing its despotical edict to arrest the miracle of Pentecost, and ordaining, so far as lay in its power, that men should not hear and speak of the wonderful works of God in their own tongues, being unable to appreciate the heavenly glory of that unity, when the great multitude, *of all nations and kindreds and peoples and tongues*, shall stand before the throne of the Lamb. It is a painful symptom, that such an abuse should find admirers among the members of our Church in these days. They plead that it is an advantage for foreiners, when they go into a church in any country, to hear the same words with which they have been familiar from their childhood. So too forsooth many a foreiner has thought it very inconvenient that he could not hear his own language spoken at inns, in the marketplace, by the peasants when he is roaming about the country, in society when he wishes to mix in it; and he has seldom thought of asking himself whether, of the two, it would not be more reasonable that Mahomet should go to the mountain. Thus, for the sake of a few casual vagrants, the natives of every country are to be under the soul-deadening bondage of hearing words in an unknown language, and of repeating the same by rote, at the very time when the depths of their being ought to be stirred. They are to be debarred from the blessing of having their own homely words, the words which sprang up within them along with their thoughts and feelings, sanctified by being made the means of pouring forth their hearts before God. Is it not written, *Let the children first be filled?* And who can estimate the grandeur, the depth, the expansive power, which our language and the German have derived

from the national liturgical offices, as well as from the national translation of the Scriptures? What a difference is there between the very word, *word*, and *mot!* how far purer, less sensual, more spiritual are *love* and *liebe* than *amour* and *amore!* which is doubtless owing mainly to the scriptural use of those words. To a feeble imagination indeed, especially when its wings have been clipt that it may not fly beyond the purlieus of self, it will seem a grand and imposing thought, that all the nations of the earth should be uttering the selfsame words to God. But is there nothing grand and elevating in the thought, that all nations are lifting up their voices to Him, each using its own words, the words which gush from the depths of its heart, and which are fresh with the dew of its feelings? Is there nothing grand in the thought, that "Earth with her thousand voices praises God?" Verily shoals of men, if they spoke their mind, would declare that Thomas Burnet's smooth flat paradisiacal earth, as smooth and flat as the sea-sand, would be far more beautiful than the present confused jumble of mountain and valley and rock and cliff and glen. And certainly the sea-sand has the advantage on the side of uniformity; yet, unless one bring in other objects to limit it, one cannot raise it up into the idea of unity: so essential to unity is diversity. Or again what visible object can kindle the idea of unity with anything like the same power as the sight of the nightly sky, with its hosts of stars and constellations showered over it in every variety of form? Yet doubtless the uniformalist would deplore that they are not ranged in regular courses, in rows or concentric circles, like the spangles on his drawingroom ceiling. He would say, *Yes, the sky would be very beautiful, if I might but comb out its tresses, and put its jewels in order.*

I have written to you freely, discursively, in the tone of a private letter, rather than of an argumentative discussion. For I had it on my heart to speak on this matter of uniformity, which is again much talkt of now, as is natural when an age takes a bent toward the externals of religious worship: it often comes before us in the discharge of our official duties: and unless much caution be exercised by those who are in authority, it seems likely to aggravate the divisions in the Church. Hence this passage in your Charge has been quoted and praised oftener, I believe, than any other, a fate which not seldom befalls the worst passage in a book. For if a wise man says anything which countenances and seems to give a reason for a popular errour, the holders of that errour are glad to shelter themselves under the sanction of his authority, and of whatever show of argument he may bring forward in their behalf. And though you yourself, while you advocate uniformity, are animated with a true and fervent love of unity, and would never seek uniformity by any measure calculated to impair unity, yet in the generality of cases I seem to have observed, that the most clamorous and pertinacious sticklers for uniformity are those into whose hearts the desire of unity has hardly gained an entrance, and whose religion vents itself for the most part in outward observances. Indeed how could it well be otherwise? They who have seen the blessed vision of Unity, with the prayer of the Saviour breathing through it as the spirit of its life, and the smile of the Father beaming upon it, how can they turn from this, to dote upon anything so shadowy, so harsh, so empty as mere Uniformity? or how can they care much about Uniformity, except so far as it is indeed

the expression of a living love for Unity, submitting its own heart and mind to do as others do for the sake of a more entire union and communion?

At the same time, seeing that one can scarcely combat any errour, without being suspected of intending to become the champion of its opposite, I must remark, that, while impugning the notion that uniformity is indispensable to unity, I have not meant to say a single word in behalf of irregularity and licentiousness. It was indeed very sad a year ago to see your pious and learned friend Dr Pusey urging differences of ritual practice as arguments against a measure designed to prepare the way, under God's blessing, for a closer communion between our Church and that of Prussia; for it has been constantly held by the highest authorities, that, in things ceremonial, great diversities may warrantably prevail between different Churches, and that these diversities should be no hindrance to communion between them. Within the pale of each national Church on the other hand it is expedient and desirable, for the sake of order and discipline, that there should be a considerable similarity of practice; and a national Liturgy is such an inestimable benefit in many ways, that, to secure it, we should readily sacrifice whatever might be gained by a more definite expression of personal and occasional feelings. What I deprecate is the endeavour to establish uniformity for its own sake, as if uniformity in itself were a thing to be sought and admired. So far as uniformity is expedient, it is expedient from our weakness and frailty, by reason of which we cannot be left to the free utterance of our own hearts and minds; and because the submission to certain general rules and restraints is a condition of social union:

moreover in divers parts of our work our power is much strengthened by our pulling together. This truth is urged with his usual judgement by him, who alone ought to have been termed the Chancellor of Human Nature, as well as the Chancellor of Nature,—whereas the former title has been given to a man far less deserving of it,—in his excellent little treatise *On the Pacification of the Church*, which, along with the other *On Church Controversies*, might be profitably studied by all parties in these days; being rich in practical wisdom suited to all ages, but of a kind which has seldom been duly heeded, and often grossly sinned against. I will quote the closing paragraph of the part which speaks concerning ceremonies, as the remarks, even in their literal sense, are unfortunately not wholly inapplicable to our own time. "For the cap and surplice, since they be things in their nature indifferent, and yet by some held superstitious, and that the question is between science and conscience, it seemeth to fall within the compass of the Apostle's rule, *that the stronger do descend and yield to the weaker.* It will be materially said, that the rule holdeth between private man and private man, but not between the conscience of a private man and the order of a Church. But yet, since the question at this time is of a toleration, not by connivence, which may encourage disobedience, but by law, which may give a liberty, it is good again to be advised whether it fall not within the equity of the former rule; the rather because the silencing of ministers by this occasion is, in this scarcity of good preachers, a punishment that lighteth upon the people, as well as upon the party. And for the subscription, it seemeth to me in the nature of a confession, and

therefore more proper to bind in the unity of faith, and to be urged rather for articles of doctrine, than for rites and ceremonies and points of outward government. For howsoever politic considerations and reasons of state may require uniformity, yet Christian and divine grounds look chiefly upon unity." Which last sentence, among other things, may convince you that the antithesis between uniformity and unity is not altogether trivial and unmeaning. At least Bacon was so imprest with the need of enforcing the distinction, that in his Essay *On Unity in Religion* he again says, "They be two things, unity and uniformity," that is, two distinct things, which must not be confounded.

Yet, even where unity of spirit, and reverent obedience to the authority of the Church, and regard to the objects of social union, will produce uniformity of action, it is of no slight importance that we should well understand why we seek that uniformity, and why it is desirable. For in all action, if we are to do right consistently, we should act intelligently, knowing what is the ground of our acting, what is to be its end, and what its measure. Thus, if it be the duty of individual Christians to submit to the authority of the Church, for the sake of edification, both their own and that of their brethren, it becomes a correlative duty in those who legislate for the Church, and who exercise authority over it, not to press on its inferior members, not to burthen their consciences with that which is unnecessary, to deal tenderly with them, as loving parents deal with their children, yea, as the Lord Himself dealt with His disciples. They should keep in mind that excellent axiom, which Bacon quotes, and which sums up the argument of the foregoing pages,

"*Differentiae rituum commendant unitatem doctrinae*, the diversities of ceremonies do set forth the unity of doctrine." On the other hand, if it be supposed that uniformity is to be pursued for its own sake, as a thing desirable in itself, as the only outward form of unity, without which unity cannot exist, then it will be pursued at all costs, at all risks, in all things, small as well as great; and the end is, as has been seen so often in the history of the Church, of the English Church more especially, that Unity is blindly and recklessly sacrificed before the cold, empty idol Uniformity.

You indeed assert that there is a higher and weightier reason, which makes uniformity a main auxiliary in the development of the Christian life; for that "in all moral action uniformity of practice is not only a symbol but a means to unity of will." Alas, my friend! uniformity a means to unity! Is this the lesson we learn from the history of the English Church? Is this the effect which has been produced by our own Acts of Uniformity? those strange, anomalous Acts, which in their imperious character are almost peculiar to our Church, and which resulted from her singular position, when she found herself in a manner identified with the government of the State, and enabled to wield the authority of the State in girding herself round with penal enactments. Was it not the Act of Uniformity under Queen Elizabeth, that first gave birth to the Nonconformists, as a distinct, powerful, and formidable body within the pale of our Church, gathering all those varieties of feeling and opinion, which could not reconcile themselves to its requisitions, into one mass, and setting the Conformists and the Nonconformists in definite array against

each other? Many pleas may indeed be urged in excuse of the statesmen and churchmen by whom that Act was framed. The very existence of the government seemed bound up with the unity and vigour of the Reformed Church. The fallacy of that delusion, which holds unity to be inseparable from uniformity, had not then been so thoroughly exposed, as it has since been, by the teaching of philosophy, and the still more cogent lessons of history. The sanctity of man's individual conscience had never been rightly appreciated by the secular wisdom of Rome; which then, as ever since, sought mainly for outward submission, and which practically sanctioned, if it did not encourage, the notion, that men might justifiably profess many things by their words and their acts, to which they found nothing answerable, and much repugnant, in their hearts and minds. For this is one of the miserable curses attacht to those who worship the idol Uniformity, that, as their aim is bent upon the form, rather than the power, of Unity, they grow to care little about the substance, provided they can get the shadow; and thus they become little scrupulous about truth, in others, and ultimately in themselves also. Nor had men learnt as yet to estimate the consequences of that epochal act in the history of the world, when by God's gracious ordinance the leaders of the Reformation put the Bible into the hands of their countrymen in their own tongue. They saw not what a mighty step this was toward the completion of the work begun on the first day of Pentecost, how a voice was now issuing over the earth proclaiming to each individual man, that he had a reason and a conscience, and that the Eternal God had vouchsafed to make known His mysterious counsels even to him, so that he was no

longer to receive certain portions of the word of life doled out to him by others, but was to read the whole himself, to study it, to meditate upon it, to speak of it to his family, and among his friends. Few saw either the blessedness of the power which was thus imparted to mankind, or the dangers to which, like all power, when abused, it might be perverted. In such a state of things it is not to be wondered at that the sagacious statesmen and churchmen who had the most influence in the Queen's councils at the outset of her reign, or that the Queen herself,—while they were rightly persuaded that the national religion ought to be one, not only in spirit and doctrine, but to a certain extent in form also,—should have drawn their cords somewhat too tight with regard to the latter. Indeed, though more latitude might have been left open on certain subjects, which were matter of contention, the engagement that her ministers shall make use of her appointed Liturgy seems to be no more than every Church is fully entitled to demand. Moreover, bound as the Queen was to feel, and to shew that she felt, herself to be the soverein of her whole people, it became her duty, as well as her policy, not to offend that large body in the nation who still held to the authority of Rome, by departing more than was necessary from the ancient ritual and discipline. Nor does there appear to have been reason at the time for apprehending that the Act would find much opposition in any other direction. Still, although this Act would seem thus far to be nearly unobjectionable,—I am not speaking of its penalties, or of its provision for compelling attendance at church,—we may learn from its effects what a perilous career they enter upon, who deem

themselves called to enforce uniformity as a means to unity. It is one of the saddest spectacles in the history of the world, a spectacle at which angels may have wept, to see the unity of our Church shaken, her peace broken up for a whole century,—to see faithful, holy, zealous men, holding the same faith, acknowledging the same Lord, baptized by the same Spirit, earnestly desiring to serve and approach the same Eternal Father, divided for generations, and even stirred into fierce hostility against each other, by differences about a vestment or a posture. These were not indeed the sole grounds of disagreement; but these, and such as these, were the chief grounds of contention: and had these been removed, as they easily might have been, if a few more points had been left to the discretion of the minister, according to plans brought forward several times in the course of this and the following century, the breaches on matters of greater importance would have been healed, with God's blessing, by a spirit which manifested such a desire for unity, and which would have been strengthened by the might of our Lord's prayer that His disciples might partake in the perfect Unity of the Godhead. You will say perhaps,—at least other persons less mild and considerate have said, and still say,—that the men who scrupled about such things ought to have yielded their scruples to the authority of the Church. Most true, my friend! they ought, and the best of them probably would have done so, if they could have lookt at the matter with the philosophic calmness which at the interval of two or three centuries costs so little effort. But these men were full of the recollections of the darkness and bondage out of which they had been delivered; the fears of its recurrence were not idle

fancies; they felt they had a warfare to wage; and whatever seemed identified with the errours, by which the blessed truth and power of the Gospel had so long been obscured, was an abomination in their eyes. Even without these extraordinary circumstances, if we reflect on the almost irresistible power which inveterate associations of one sort or other exercise over every child of man, we shall not deem ourselves warranted in blaming our neighbours, because on certain points their associations are not so pliant as our own. These are the very cases, of which St Paul speaks: *One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike.* What then? Does the Apostle, as any man would nowadays, pronounce one of these to be wrong, and the other right? does he bid them submit their opinions to the authority of the Church, and charge the Church to settle the difference, in order that uniformity may be upheld? What a divine sanction do his words give to the sacred liberty of conscience! *Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.* Besides, the duty of those who are under authority, to obey their rulers, involves a correlative duty on the part of those who exercise authority, not to exact obedience further than is needful for the safety and well-being of the community. Indeed all governments have had a feeling of this truth; and this is one reason why laws are mainly negative, repressing that which is evil and noxious, and leaving it to powers which speak more home to the heart and conscience, to enjoin what ought to be done. Above all should this maxim regulate the conduct of such as exercise an authority derived from Him, who would not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax.

Thus it is in the history of the English Church from 1560 to 1662, that we are to trace the effects of the first grand experiment to employ uniformity as a means to unity. I call it the first, because, though Procrustes is renowned as an ardent uncompromising lover of uniformity, it is not recorded that he aimed at fostering unity thereby: and that which was wholesome in the Spartan constitution, and other like institutions, was not the uniformity, which was deadening, but the severe physical and moral training: nor was the purpose to promote unity, in which it would have signally failed, but strength, by subjecting the whole nation to the strict discipline of an army. For thus far uniformity is indeed beneficial, and almost indispensable, so far as men are to be dealt with as machines, whether in a manufactory, or on a field of battle. But the framers of our first Act of Uniformity did desire and propose to themselves to unite the whole nation, so far as they could,—at least all that part of it which had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation,—in one religion under the supremacy of the Queen. Nor had they cause to anticipate the strong opposition which they were about to excite; whereby personally they stand exculpated. This however only shews the more convincingly how the attempt to enforce uniformity will of itself provoke division, calling out differences, which would else have subsisted amicably side by side, into definite, contentious opposition. Several of our wiser prelates indeed, when they discovered the unforeseen result, did what they could by their mildness and forbearance to allay the disputes: but their success at best could not be more than partial, so long as the Act itself continued a permanent symbol of separation. Nor was the Act allowed to slumber: it

led to prosecutions, to penalties: and ever and anon an utterance of royal will commanded that the nation must be uniform, and must be united; as when Queen Elizabeth wrote to Archbishop Parker, that she was "certainly determined to have all such diversities, varieties, and novelties, amongst them of the clergy and her people, as bred nothing but contention, offense, and breach of common charity, and were also against the laws, good usages, and ordinances of her realm, reformed and represt, and brought to one manner of uniformity through her whole realm and dominion;" or as when James the First at the Hampton Court Conference silenced his opponent by the clenching argument, "I will have one doctrine and one discipline, one religion in substance and in ceremony; and therefore I charge you never to speak more to that point,—how far you are bound to obey,—when the Church hath ordained it." The Queen must have known how hard it was to keep her frill, however stiffly starcht, smooth and in order for a single day; the King had ample experience of the impossibility of curbing his own words and thoughts in regard to the merest trifles; and yet they audaciously fancied they could drill every subject in their dominions into putting the same uniform on his heart and mind. Thus indulgence failed to heal the dissensions, because the ground of them could not be taken away: severity on the other hand widened and embittered them. At such a crisis two courses lie open. The chief causes of difference might have been removed: this was the course recommended by the wisdom of Bacon, and accorded with the spirit which animated the wisest and best men of the age, from Grindal down to Usher. But the σχολαστικὸς, from whom we learnt so many sapient lessons in our boyhood,

when he had been promoted to be a schoolmaster, was heard to say, *I have been flogging my boys assiduously every day the last year; yet they have not learnt anything: I must flog them twice a day next year.* This happy unconsciousness that there is any other element in teaching, beside the use of the rod, may have been peculiar to our old companion: but the process of reasoning, that, when a certain degree of severity has aggravated an evil, the severity must be redoubled to remove it, is common among all classes of men, nor least so among those who meddle in statecraft; notwithstanding the lesson taught them by the history of Rehoboam, who lost the ten tribes by this very policy, a lesson confirmed by manifold subsequent experience. Such notions were very prevalent, when God was pleased to hasten the judgement on our Church by placing Archbishop Laud at the head of it. This prelate is the favorite hero and saint of the worshipers of uniformity; and not without a good claim to their admiration. It was said of old, that *love fulfilleth the law;* but his doctrine was, that if you make people keep the letter of the law, they will gain love. There is something marvellous in the pertinacity with which he ever clings to the conviction, that, if the outside of the platter be cleansed, all will be right. When he was chosen Chancellor of your University, his great anxiety, evinced by reiterated earnest remonstrances, is about *formalities*, that is to say, the academical dress: he complains that *formalities*, "which are in a sort the outward and visible face of the University, are in a manner utterly decayed," and says, "If this go on, the University will lose ground every day both at home and abroad;" he charges the Heads to take care that the members of the University should "fit themselves with

formalities fitting their degrees, that the University may have credit by looking like itself; *and then I doubt not but it will be itself too. For it will not endure but to be as it seems.*" These last words, which sum up the creed of the uniformalists, are a curious mark of the outwardliness and superficiality of Laud's mind, — in his heart there was better stuff; —which same character is betrayed by the whole tenour of his most meagre Diary, by the dreary triviality and dearth of imagination in his dreams, and by many sad testimonies in his conduct as a ruler of the Church. For how else can we conceive that an honest, conscientious man, appointed to discharge the office of a bishop in the Church of God, should never, as it would seem, have been disturbed by the thought, that it behoved him to dwell in his Diocese, stirring up the hearts of its clergy and other members by doctrine, by exhortation, by pastoral advice, strengthening the feeble, encouraging the irresolute, cheering the timid and desponding, and guiding those who needed counsel? that, though he was Bishop of St David's for four years and a half, he only visited his Diocese twice during that period, for about two months each time, at a quadriennial Visitation? that, though he was Bishop of Bath and Wells for near two years, he never set foot in his Diocese? And what was he doing all the while? Doubtless, having tried to put the *formalities* right by his Articles at his Visitation, he trusted that everything would go right, and so thought he might employ himself in more important business as a hanger-on at Whitehall and Buckingham House. Alas, my friend, that such a man should have been selected by our modern uniformalists and ecclesiolaters, as the pattern of a churchman and a saint! a man who, when he had carried his point of

making Bishop Juxon Lord High Treasurer, wrote down in his Journal, "*And now, if the Church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more.*" I hardly know what words could have betrayed a grosser, shallower ignorance of what the Church is, and wherein her power lies; as though this were the true mode of promoting the increase of that Kingdom, which has been declared to be not of this world; as though one word of faith, one deed of love, one silent prayer were not far mightier to strengthen the Church, than all the Lord-Treasurerships of all the treasures that Mammon has ever piled up in any quarter of the globe. When such a man,—I speak not of his conduct at his trial and death; that was truly heroic and saintly; but, though his end would otherwise lead us to overlook the faults of his previous life, it must not do so when that life itself is held up as a pattern for our age to learn the art of governing the Church;—when such a man was bent to establish his views of uniformity, as the means of regenerating the Church, it cannot surprise a person, who knows anything of the strong and fervid spirits he had to contend with, that, instead of raising the condition of the Church, he overthrew it, falling himself first, with a fortitude and meekness worthy of a high place in the army of martyrs.

The Church was overthrown; and her fall was hastened, to say the least, by the stubborn policy of her Primate; as it was mainly occasioned from the first by her narrow-minded love of uniformity. As one proof how the very attempt to compress men's minds makes them fly asunder in all directions, I will cite a few words from Sanderson's Visitation Sermon in 1641: "I cannot dissemble my fear that it is but too true, by the proportion of

what we almost daily hear or see, that, within little more than this one twelvemonth last past, there have been more false and superstitious doctrines vented in the pulpits and presses of England, than have been, in so open and daring a manner, in the whole space of almost four-score years before, I mean since the first of Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory." This was the immediate effect of the futile attempt to repress such opinions by force. In order that the firy spirits thus kindled should burn themselves out, the Monarchy and the Church of England were swept away, and a free licence and scope were granted to all manner of opinions by Cromwell. Hereby men were taught "to feel the weight of too much liberty," and to long for what they had lost, for the ancient Government, for the Liturgy, for the Church. At the same time the King's Declaration of October 1660, one of the wisest state-papers ever issued, laid down principles, which, if they had been acted upon in a candid, conscientious, peace-loving spirit, would have done much for the pacification of our Church, and would have raised it to a power and dignity and efficiency far beyond what it ever has, or seems ever likely to attain. A strange voice past through England, a voice which spake of unity; but it was soon stifled by the tumultuous cries of opposite parties clamouring in rivalry for uniformity. And ere long all hope was blasted by that second, most disastrous, most tyrannical and schismatical Act of Uniformity; the authors of which, it is plain, were not seeking unity, but division. With evident design its provisions were made so stringent, the declaration required by it was worded with such exactive precision, that it was scarcely possible for an honest Presbyterian to make it: here and there one, whose habits of

thought and temper had preserved him from strong opinions, might: but for the great body no alternative remained, except to belie their conscience, or to cut themselves off from the national Church: and one can hardly doubt that this must have been the express purpose of the framers of the Act. The excuses which may be urged for the first Act, have no place here: and though it is often pleaded in palliation of political parties, that their measures have been taken under the exasperation of suffering and the intoxication of victory, this would be a sorry apology for the conduct of an ecclesiastical government. No question could now be entertained about the prevalence and permanence of the scruples, which it was resolved to set at nought: they had been handed down for three generations, and had become more and more widely diffused, not among the rabble, but among men of exemplary holiness and zeal. Yet, with a full knowledge of all this, it was required that every minister, not only such as might be ordained thenceforward, but all who at that time had any benefice or promotion, should solemnly declare their "unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the Book of Common Prayer." This was enjoined, it is stated, "to the end that uniformity in the public worship of God (which is so much desired) might be speedily effected." The previous canonical declaration, that the Prayerbook "contains nothing contrary to the word of God," was hardly more than was implied in the engagement to make use of the Prayerbook in public worship. But this strait waistcoat for men's consciences could scarcely have been devised except by persons themselves of seared consciences and hard hearts, by persons ready to gulp down

any oath, without scruple about more or less. Verily, when I think of that calamitous and unprincipled Act,—of the men by whom it was enacted, Charles the Second, and the Aristocracy and Gentry of his reign,—of the holy men against whom it was enacted,—it seems almost like a prologue to the profligacy and infidelity which followed closely upon it. But what were its direct effects with regard to the Unity of the Church? It bore the name of Uniformity on its forehead: can there have been any who persuaded themselves that a Uniformity so enforced could be a means to Unity? The only Unity that could have ensued from it would have been that of a dead level: and full of woe as have been the consequences of this Act in its failure, they would have been still more terrible had it succeeded. Therefore even we, who love and revere our national Church above every earthly institution, may bless God that it did not succeed. We may bless God, for that He has given such grace and power to weak, frail, human hearts, that meek and humble men, when strengthened by His Spirit, are not to be driven out of the path in which their conscience commands them to walk, by the leagued forces of King and Parliament and Convocation, by the severest penal enactments, or even by the bitter pang of having to leave their loved flocks. Yes, my friend, we may join in giving God thanks for the work He has wrought in such men,—for they are the true salt of the earth,—even though we may deem that there was much of errour in their judgements and opinions, almost as much as in our own. Yet how grievous was the wound to the Church at the time! how grievous is it still at this day in its enduring effects! Two thousand ministers, comprising the chief part, it seems scarcely

questionable, of the most faithful and zealous in the land, were silenced in one day, were severed in one day from their flocks, were cast in one day out of our Church, for the sake of maintaining Uniformity. On that our English Bartholomew's day, the eye wandered over England, and in every fifth parish saw the people scattered abroad as sheep that had no shepherd. From that day do we date the origin of that constituted dissent and schism, which is the peculiar opprobrium and calamity of our Church, by which in almost every parish we find ourselves grievously crippled in our efforts to build up our people into a holy temple acceptable to the Lord; and which in this very year, by its frantic uprore, is rendering it impossible for our Legislature to take any efficient step toward the moral and religious education of the people, although the disclosure of the frightful condition of large masses of our population seemed for a moment to have allayed the contentions of political parties. So terribly is the sin of our forefathers, who framed the Act of Uniformity, visited upon England at this day; nor can any human foresight discern either how or when these evils are likely to terminate. Moreover, after that we had thus cast out so much faith and zeal and holiness, after that,—to use an expression which has been applied less appropriately to a later event of far minor importance,—we had in this manner almost cast out the doctrine of Christ crucified from the pale of our Church, we had to travel through a century of coldness and dreariness and barrenness, of Arminianism and Pelagianism, of Arianism and latent Socinianism,—all which were found compatible with outward uniformity,—before the spirit, which was then driven away, returned with anything like the same power. And the unhappy

descendants of those who were then cast out, they too have suffered wofully for the sins of their forefathers, who in the time of their prosperity had been no less blindly zealous in sacrificing faith and hope and love to the same all-beguiling idol, Uniformity. They have suffered in being severed from the unity of the Church and of the nation: they have suffered in that narrowmindedness, those prejudices and jealousies, which are the heirloom of all sectaries: above all, they have suffered in losing the most precious part of that sacred deposit of faith, which our Lord gave to be the riches and life of His Church unto the end of the world.

Such are the lessons taught by the history of our Church concerning the efficacy of Uniformity, when enforced as a means to Unity. Nor, it seems to me, would a thoughtful, much more a philosophical mind look for any other. For unity is spiritual, pertains to the spiritual part of man, his heart, his mind, his will. Even in lower things a unity formed by aggregation, or agglomeration, or colligation, is merely factitious, like the unity of a sandheap, or of a fagot. If branches are to form a unity, they must be organized into it by a central vital principle. In children we too often see how deadening an education of formalities is; and hence does it come to pass that such a swarm of persons walk about the world, whose moral being has been stunted and almost crusht in their childhood. To such unhappy victims of uniformity, the imposition of uniformity will be tolerable, and may even seem desirable; as is wittily signified by the fabulist, when he makes the fox who has lost his tail so urgent in pressing his brethren to pass an Act of self-mutilating Uniformity. But in proportion as a man's intellectual and moral and spiritual being have

been cultivated jointly, in the same proportion, as I have already observed, with reference to a like remark of your own, will the true genuine individuality of his character be called forth: and though the best men will ever be ready to become all things to all, for the sake of saving some, they who are accustomed to walk in the light of principle must needs feel a repugnance to that which is merely formal, especially when particular forms are associated with inveterate corruptions and abuses. Are all such men to be debarred at once from the ministry of the Church, because they entertain conscientious scruples on certain points acknowledged to be indifferent? The Act of Uniformity says, *Yes:* the spirit of true Catholic Christianity says, *No.* The Church that does so exclude them, maims herself by forfeiting the services of numbers who would have served her faithfully: many of these, feeling an inward call to the ministry, which they cannot follow within the pale of the Church, join the ranks of schism: and while the Act of Uniformity thus casts out many of the best fish from the net, all the bad, all the careless, all the unscrupulous, all the unprincipled may abide in it unmolested. The age which enacted this rigid ecclesiastical uniformity, was addicted, as might be imagined, to the practice of uniformalizing all things. It tried to uniformalize men's heads by dressing them out in fullbottomed wigs. It tried to uniformalize trees by cutting them into regular shapes. It could not bear the free growth and luxuriance of nature. Yet even trees, if they have any life, disregard the Act of Uniformity, and branch forth according to their kinds, so that the shears have constant work to clip their excrescences; and none submit quietly except the dead.

What then is to be the symbol of the unity of a national

Church? On this head I feel sure of having your cordial concurrence; and to you, as to me, it cannot but be a satisfaction, that on this head we have the authority of that great teacher, whom we both admire and honour, and to whom we both thankfully acknowledge the deepest intellectual obligations. Coleridge, in his Notes on Baxter's Life of himself, which are rich in valuable remarks on ecclesiastical matters, speaks of a Liturgy as the only means whereby the unity of doctrine and worship requisite in a national Church can be effectually and beneficially secured. A Liturgy does this, because it is not an outward bond,—so far as it is turned into such, its beneficial operation is frustrated,—but because it addresses itself immediately to the heart and mind in the moments of their highest exaltation, and awakens and bears aloft the slumbering spirit,—because by means of it we are knit together into one body in the presence of God, joining in pouring forth the same prayers, one with another and one for another, the same confession of sin, the same supplications for mercy and grace, the same thanksgivings and hymns of praise. But how, it may be askt, can a Liturgy be upheld, unless there be uniformity in its observance? That it may subsist for centuries and be a great blessing to a nation, with something far short of absolute uniformity, is sufficiently proved by the history of our own Church since the Reformation: for in spite of Acts of Parliament, which aimed at moral impossibilities, it is notorious that diversities of practice in sundry respects have prevailed. In essentials indeed, in all that pertains to the foundations of the Christian faith, a difference may involve a severance from the body of the Church, or at all events rightfully exclude a man from the office of

teaching therein. But it is well known that, on the principal points of doctrine, the original Nonconformists, and the bulk of those who have been called the Orthodox Dissenters, have readily assented to the tenets of our Articles, and to the spirit of the chief part of our Liturgy. The differences and controversies have almost all been on secondary points, and for the main part with regard to matters acknowledged to be indifferent. Yet, as the conferences on these questions were conducted on the general assumption that uniformity was indispensable, they were utterly useless. The dominant party brought forward what they deemed, and what commonly were, sufficient arguments to justify the establisht practice; and then they thought they had done all they were called upon to do. Few things are sadder than the records of those conferences. They display learning, ingenuity, logical and sophistical dexterity, but hardly a gleam of Christian spirit, of that gentleness, meekness, forbearance, or of that desire for peace and unity, which ought to have presided at them. Hence the remonstrants were dismist unconvinced, and rather confirmed than shaken in their opposition. Whereas, if the right order had not been inverted, —if the parties in the conference had set before their minds that their aim should be to cherish unity, instead of enforcing uniformity,—if they had rightly understood that the blessing of a Liturgy is not, that it makes the whole congregation repeat the same words, and go through the same postures and gestures, but that it touches their hearts with the same live coal from the altar, and unites them in the consciousness of the same need, the same weakness, the same frailty, in the same cry for mercy and help, in the assurance of the same gracious deliverance,

and in the same songs of thankfulness and praise,—surely it would have been recognized that the primary ought not to be sacrificed to the secondary, the essential to the indifferent; it would have been felt that whatever tended to disturb and mar this heavenly unity ought to be done away. The question would no longer have been, can we find a sufficient authority in antiquity, or in the reason of things, to justify this practice? but, is this practice of such paramount importance, so intimately bound up with the life of Christian truth, that we must rather cast our brethren out of the Church, than allow them to remain in the Church, if they will not conform to it? Had there been anything like such a hearty desire to remove the stumblingblocks, the chief part of them would have been removed. I do not mean that the Nonconformists ought to have been allowed to remodel the Prayerbook at will, or to expunge or alter any parts of it that were dear to the rest of the Church. But how easy would it have been to have introduced a few more double forms, leaving it to the discretion of the minister to choose which he preferred! In fact this very course, which otherwise would doubtless be branded as a device of modern liberalism, is pointed out explicitly in the King's admirable Declaration above referred to. Some may fancy that such diversities of practice between neighbouring parishes would have led to disputes; and you yourself seem to favour such a notion when you say that, "if we lack inward unity among ourselves, still there is no reason why we should inflict the visible tokens of our disunion upon the flocks committed to our charge." For my own part however, I am persuaded that, were it not for the meddling cravers after uniformity, our flocks would pay little heed to such

diversities of practice, at least if we are careful to feed them with that which is more substantial. You probably remember Jeremy Taylor's excellent remarks on a kindred subject at the beginning of his *Liberty of Prophesying;* still you will not forbid my quoting words so full of mild wisdom, written in a spirit so congenial to your own. "We see that in many things, and those of great concernment, men allow to themselves and to each other a liberty of disagreeing, and no hurt neither. If diversity of opinions were of itself the cause of mischiefs, it would be so ever; but that we see it is not. For there are disputes in Christendom concerning matters of greater concernment than most of those opinions that distinguish sects and make factions; and yet, because men are permitted to differ in those great matters, such evils are not consequent to such differences, as are to the uncharitable managing of smaller and more inconsiderable questions. It is of greater consequence to believe right in the question of the validity or invalidity of a deathbed repentance, than to believe aright in the question of purgatory; and the consequences of the doctrine of predetermination are of deeper and more material consideration, than the products of the belief of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of private masses: and yet these great concernments, where a liberty of prophesying in these questions hath been permitted, have made no distinct communion, no sects of Christians; and the others have; and so have these too in those places where they have peremptorily been determined on either side. Since then, if men are quiet and charitable in some disagreeings, that then and there the inconvenience ceases; if they were so in all others, where lawfully they might,—and they may in most,—Christendom should be no longer rent in pieces,

but would be redintegrated in a new Pentecost." These words apply with still greater force to such matters as are merely ceremonial; with regard to which, disputes so readily flare up, because the grounds of them strike upon the senses and cannot be overlookt, and because all manner of persons are hence easily led to take part in them. And surely we might learn this lesson at least from the discrepancies in the Gospels, that differences of the letter are immaterial when the spirit is one. Even in the two records of the Lord's Prayer, brief as it is, there are diversities: for the Spirit of God is more careful to guide the thoughts of the heart, than the words of the lips.

I know, they who desire to act in the manner here recommended, are sure to be met with those stupid and mischievous saws, that one concession brings on another, and that, when you have once begun to give way and to change, you can never tell where you will be able to stop. Harmless as these sayings may seem in their utter fatuity, it is difficult to estimate the mass of injury they have done to mankind. By means of them pride and indolence and obstinacy have bolstered themselves up in their favorite system of inertness, gaining the too ready concurrence of the timid and feebleminded good. Nor have these sayings, when listened to, ever failed to justify themselves. For they withhold men from conceding, until the concession is extorted from them: and then it is yielded grudgingly, reluctantly; it does not come as an act of grace, and thus carries no grace to the receivers; who, irritated by long contention, and having learnt their own strength from the constraint they have exercised over their adversaries, have been prepared to crave for more, and

emboldened to insist upon it. Surely a wise man will say, *If a concession ought to be made, let me make it forthwith, and thus gain that only real strength which arises from being in the right. Then, should a concession which ought not to be made, be demanded of me, the very strength accruing to me from this act will better enable me to refuse it.* O that people could be brought to believe that right is always might, and that wrong is always weakness!

In the remarks which I have allowed myself to make on the Acts of Uniformity, you may perhaps think I have been proceeding on a misconception of your meaning; for that you never intended to express, nor do your words imply, any approval of a compulsory uniformity, as a means to unity, but merely of such a uniformity as shall result from the voluntary sacrifice of individual prejudices and predilections, out of deference to authority, and from the desire of peace and concord. I know it, my friend: the kindness of your heart would shrink from penalties to enforce uniformity, while your conviction of the spiritual character of Christian truth would discern that such measures are repugnant to the Gospel, and no less inefficient for producing their designed effect, than the chains of the demoniac among the tombs were to restore him to his right mind. Still the Acts of Uniformity, as appears on the face of them, with all their disastrous effects, were founded in great measure on the very opinion which you have been maintaining, that uniformity is indispensable to unity, and a means to it. And though it is a happy privilege of the meek and pious, that errours of human opinion, however firmly held by them intellectually, will be counteracted and neutralized by the higher wisdom of the heart, yet in

ordinary minds such errours beget restless wishes to realize false ideals; and when a man of arbitrary temper, like Laud, is invested with authority, they enable him, if they fall in with the bent of his mind, to work much mischief. Hence it seems to me that no slight service would be rendered to the Church, if any one could help toward setting men's minds right on the relation between unity and uniformity, and toward exploding the noxious errour that uniformity is indispensable to unity. For though the abovementioned illustrations of the mischiefs which this errour has caused, are taken from bygone ages of our Church, the occasion for the warning which they hold out is not gone by. At this day far too many persons are harassing themselves and their neighbours through their anxiety to establish a strict uniformity: too many are magnifying rites and ceremonies, vestments and postures, as if these were the essentials of Christian worship, and as if the peace of the Church might be compromised for the sake of attaining to uniformity in such things. At this day how few understand and recognize the great truth enunciated in the words quoted above, that *differentiae rituum commendant unitatem doctrinae!* Yes, my friend, let us seek unity with all our heart and soul, but not by the way of uniformity, which will never lead to it, but will waste our time by throwing up trippingstones at every other step. Let us rather seek it by those spiritual means which our Lord gave to His Church, by doing what in us lies to draw our brethren more and more to the one Faith in the one Lord through the one Spirit, whereby alone can any be brought to the one God and Father of all. Let us seek it, as our beloved father, Bishop Otter, sought it, by endeavouring

to inspire others with the same love which filled his own breast. The blessings which sprang from his brief episcopate may convince us, if we needed a fresh proof, that this is the true way to seek unity, the more excellent way, which has too commonly been abandoned for the barren, unprofitable way of uniformity.

From him, our beloved father, as I bid you farewell, my thoughts turn to another dear Friend, who has in like manner been taken from us to his reward. He too had the true principle of unity in his heart, the love of God, manifesting itself in overflowing love to man. God has taken him from us to a world where all his yearnings after love and unity will be satisfied; but to us, to this Diocese, the loss is a heavy one; few could be so heavy. At our public Meetings, at which, in this divided and distracted state of our Church, discordant opinions and feelings will sometimes find utterance, it was ever his wont to call us away from these points of contention, and to pour a reconciling spirit over the whole; wherefore, whenever I had anything to do with the arrangement of such Meetings, I endeavoured to manage that our departed friend should close the discussion. For his Christian sincerity and earnestness and love, and his entire freedom from party-spirit, his ready recognition of every spark of divine grace, under whatever form it might shew itself, were known and appreciated by all; and every asperity of feeling was straightway dispelled, as soon as Robert Anderson began to speak. By the following Sermon I am especially reminded of him in more ways than one: for he, in his usual affectionate manner, proposed at our Anniversary Meeting that I should be requested to print it; and since then, with that

gentle playfulness which so well became him, he has several times rallied me for my long delay. Moreover, when I came down from the pulpit, he was the first person who spoke to me; and as his heart was ever longing after that blessed Communion whereby the faithful become one with each other in their Lord, he exclaimed, with reference to the wish I had exprest, "*O why are we not going now to kneel before that table, and partake one with another of the blessed Body and Blood of the Saviour?*" Such recollections become precious, when they belong to one, who, we may feel a confident trust, has entered into the perfect Communion of the Saints in the presence of the Lord.

To Bishop Shuttleworth we owe it that the next Anniversary of our Association was no longer destitute of its crowning blessing: and I trust that every fresh Anniversary will in like manner renew and strengthen the holy bond of brotherhood among the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese. In this wish and prayer, you, my dear Friend, I know, will join from the bottom of your soul. And now let me crave your forgiveness for this long, and, I fear, wholly unprecedented Dedication; in which, you will probably say, with one of your placid smiles, I have been quite acting up to my principles, and shewing a grand disdain for everything like uniformity. When I began, I thought a few pages would hold all I had to say; but the deep interest of the subject has led me on: and how many things still remain unsaid, which, it seems to me, might serve to elucidate and establish the propositions I have been attempting to maintain! I have exprest many differences from the opinions you have given utterance to in your Charge; yet I believe the real

difference between us is far less than it would seem. At all events I trust in God that, so long as we are permitted to live and work together, we shall also be permitted to shew practically, that unity may exist without uniformity, and that the diversities of opinion and feeling, which on many subjects prevail between us, shall in no wise impair the unity of affection by which we are bound to each other, or our unity of action in the service which we owe to the Church and her Lord. If I may without presumption apply words, which were spoken of wiser and holier men, may the surviver of us be enabled to say, as Archbishop Bramhall said of himself and Usher, who in like manner differed from him on sundry points of opinion and feeling: "I praise God that we were like the candles in the Levitical temple, looking one toward another, and both toward the stem. We had no contention among us, but who should hate contention most, and pursue the peace of the Church with swiftest paces."

Your affectionate friend,

J. C. HARE.

Whitmonday, 1843.

THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

Ephesians iv. 4, 5, 6.

There is one Body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.

THE desire of unity is inherent in man. It pervades all the expressions, all the modifications of his being, and may in a manner be termed an elementary principle of his nature. It lies, very often without his being conscious of it, at the bottom of all the workings of his mind, which is ever seeking, in one way or other, to infuse unity into the objects of its contemplation, to bring them under one head, to arrange them under one law, to find out some analogy, some relation, some likeness and harmony amongst them. Hence it manifests itself more or less in the whole structure of language, in the speech of the rudest tribes, as well as of the most refined. For the whole of language, even among the rudest tribes, is made up of general terms; that is, of words which do not merely stand for one single act or object, but are common to several, and which always imply certain processes whereby the mind has exerted its unifying power in classing a number under one head. Every one who has watcht the development of the minds of children, must have noticed how rapid and powerful this unifying spirit is in them,

how eagerly they exercise their childish royalty in bringing things together in new associations and combinations. On the other hand the faculty of detecting differences is less vivid in them. As that does not spring from an inward principle, but is rather forced upon the mind by the observation of outward objects, it requires the training and discipline of experience, and thus belongs to the wisdom of practical life, beyond which few are allowed to soar. Nevertheless in this, as in so many other respects, the highest wisdom returns to that, which had been the instinctive utterance of childhood; and while the efforts of all Science are to discover and demonstrate the unity of the laws of nature, the might of Poetry is displayed in investing all things with a unity of feeling, and Philosophy is ever yearning and seeking after the one allpervading principle of the universe.

That this desire of beholding unity in all things arises from that unity of consciousness, in which man was made, and in which his Maker mirrored His own unity, cannot well be doubted. But while we have this principle of unity within us, we are set in the midst of a world, in which everything, when we first look out over it, seems to jar and war against all unity, a world which at first sight may seem to be just emerging or subsiding out of Chaos. The character of the outward world, as it presents itself to our senses, is not unity, but multitude. It rushes upon us wave after wave, with a confused noise of many waters, entering into our minds by every inlet, taking possession of us, and almost overwhelming us. Its name is Legion. We try to bind it; but it bursts our chains. We strive with all the craft of our understanding, we send out the whole host of our faculties, to reduce it to unity:

for a while it seems to submit; we flatter ourselves that our object is effected: when anon we perceive that a thread in our network has slipt, whereby the whole unravels, and all the treasures, which we deemed secured in it, are scattered abroad.

The principle, I said, which leads and compells us to seek for unity in all the objects of our contemplation, notwithstanding the diversity and multiplicity and contrariety wherewith they assail us, is the unity of our consciousness, in which our Divine Maker mirrored the unity of His own being. Accordingly it is only so far as we retain this true unity in ourselves, that we can succeed in discovering a living unity without us. That there must be an essential unity pervading all God's works, is implied indeed in the very fact of their being His works. Even in man's works, in the works of the same man, there is a unity, whereby they reveal the mind they spring from; though, as in all men there is more or less of disorder and distraction, the harmony in all has been marred and is incomplete. In a far higher degree then must there be a unity running through all the works of Him who is essentially and entirely and indivisibly and eternally One. But this true unity we cannot make out, unless we gain sight of its principle, unless we have hold of the only clue with the aid of which we can explore the multitudinous chambers in the endless labyrinth of the universe, — unless we can trace back the countless streams of life to their one primary source in the Wisdom and Goodness of their Author. Cut off from this source, they seem unconnected, vagrant, often opposite. Hence there are two main causes, through the combined operation of which we are apt to miss unity; and no man has ever

lived, over whom these two causes have not both of them continually exercised more or less sway. Both of them are the results of that separation from God, of that depravation of the Divine Idea in man, which took place at the Fall; unless it would be more correct to say that they are both parts of that very act through which man fell.

The first of these two causes lies in that departure and estrangement from God, whereby man has set up his own will in the place of God's will, his own wisdom in place of God's wisdom, and has sought in his own understanding for the key to the mysteries of the universe, instead of endeavouring to ascertain the mind of God by a patient and diligent examination of the various manifestations wherein that mind is revealed. Thus man quitted the true centre of truth, and took his stand at a false centre, even his own individual self, and so, looking from that false centre, saw everything distorted, disproportioned, out of place, and in confusion. This proneness to take a false centre,—to set up ourselves as the centre of all things, round which all things are to revolve, to which all things are to be subordinate, and for the sake of which all things were made,—is so strong in our fallen nature, that in no respect can it be overcome, unless by laborious and long-continued experience and reflexion. The most conspicuous example of this propensity, which the history of human knowledge presents, is the well-known one of the Ptolemaic system of the universe; which, starting from the self-centring notion, that this earth, the habitation of man, must needs be the centre of the heavenly sphere,—a notion universal and almost indelible,—endeavoured with singular ingenuity to account for all the phenomena of

the heavens on this erroneous hypothesis. In this case however the fallacy is one, which the nature of our consciousness and that of our perceptive organs force upon us. It is one common to all mankind, resulting inevitably from their position and constitution; and since it is but slightly connected with the will, or referable to any moral obliquity, no mischief of importance has accrued from it. Indeed the theory founded thereon enabled men to gain divers correct glimpses of the true unity of the world. Of a far worse character are the errours arising, not from a false position common to all mankind, but from that which is peculiar and individual,—the errours mixt up with individual partialities or antipathies, springing from national or local prejudices, from those of a class, of a form of government, of a sect. In all these and sundry other ways, man has ever been apt to make himself the centre of all things, to make the accidents of his own condition the canon of right and wrong, so that whatever agrees with his own circumstances is to be admired and approved of, whatever differs from them is to be reprobated and condemned. Our own form of government, we assume and proclaim, is the only good form of government; our own laws are the only wise laws; our own creed is the only true creed; and whatever differs from it is not only false intellectually, but implies a vicious and degraded state of mind. Nay, even the caprices of our manners, and the very fashions of our dress, we magnify, so as to look with displeasure on everything that does not accord with them. In these feelings and thoughts, as in all that are widely diffused, there is an element of truth; else they could not have gained their currency: in all coin, however mixt with alloy, there is a portion of the

genuine metal. It is right and fitting that we should prize and love and be thankful for the manifold blessings with which the goodness of God has surrounded us in this world. It is right and fitting that we should love our country, our home, the home of our fathers, the laws and institutions under which they and we have grown up, the Church in which God has placed us, with all its rites and ordinances. We should love these blessings thankfully, faithfully, fervently, devotedly, so as to count it an honour and privilege if we are permitted to offer up any sacrifice, even that of our lives, in defending and preserving them. Allowably too may we *take pleasure in the stones* of our country, and *favour the dust* thereof. That which is wrong and blameworthy and injurious, is not our love and admiration for our own country, but our dislike and reprobation of other countries, not that which is positive in our feelings, but that which is negative and exclusive, not our attachment to that which we know, but our contempt for that of which we are ignorant. It is, that our light, after the manner of earthly lights, only sets forth and glorifies itself, and the objects immediately around, throwing the distance into thicker darkness, instead of being diffusive, like heavenly lights, and irradiating all things. Nor is this negative portion of our feelings at all requisite, as some may narrowmindedly suppose, for the support of the positive. Even if we wanted a crutch to lean on, we should not strengthen our footing by using our crutch as a club to strike with. The fact is, this tendency to despise that which we have not, does not proceed from any genuine, deep, reverent love for that which we have: love *envieth not, vaunteth not itself, is not easily puffed up.* The spirit I have been speaking of is

much more nearly akin to that vanity and self-importance, which identifies all its circumstances with itself, and hence regards every deviation from those circumstances as a personal affront and offense. If we English are so notorious among the nations of Europe for our insolent bearing toward foreiners, surely we are no less notorious for our political squabbles and animosities, for our religious feŭds and antipathies, and for a general spirit of dissatisfaction at home. Whereas, if our love were rightly principled, and referred its objects to their true source, it would likewise observe its due proportions. While we loved God as the Author and Giver of all our blessings, and were especially thankful to Him for all those gifts, which He has poured out so bountifully upon us, and which so far exceed our deserts, we should bear in mind that God has other creatures beside ourselves, whom He likewise loves, and likewise vouchsafes to bless. We should bear in mind that His power of blessing is not stinted, like that of the patriarch, who had only one blessing to give; but that His are manifold, yea, without number and end, infinite as His own infinite Wisdom and Goodness; and that, precious and dear as are those which He bestows upon us, those which He bestows upon others are likewise precious as coming from Him, and dear to the persons to whom He gives them.

This then is one of the main causes of errour, spreading far and wide, through every region of thought and action, —of errour, whereby we entirely miss the harmony and unity of truth, and become involved in endless controversies and contradictions. We have strayed away from the one divine universal centre, and have set up a multitude of arbitrary fictitious centres in its stead; so that each

people has its own centre, each class has its own centre, each party and sect has its own centre, nay, each individual man has his own centre; and that is himself. Hence, inasmuch as we all look out from a different point of view, and yet are persuaded that our point of view is the centre of the universe, we all see all things differently: each people has its own system of truth; each class and party and sect has its own system of truth; each individual man has his own system of truth. This too each will maintain, with pen and sword, or, it may be, with anathemas and *autos da fè*, to be the only true system, and that all others are false and counterfeit. Hereby we all fail of attaining to any right principle of unity. Instead of sailing out, as we might do under the guidance of the heavens, with one consent from all parts of the earth on the same great voyage of discovery after truth, we are broken up and scattered hither and thither, with no other help to steer through the darkness, than the reflexion of our own sternlights in the waters. The very faculties of our minds, which were given to us in divers proportions and combinations, to the end that each might bear its appropriate part in the one great work, being infected with the selfish taint, become propagaters of division, while they contend and jangle with each other for the supremacy. The poet asserts that the imagination is the one ennobling faculty in man, and so loses the substantial ground of reality, and bewilders himself among the clouds. The philosopher worships what he calls reason, and entangles himself in the mazes of formal abstractions. The man of the world can recognize no truth except in the practical understanding dealing with the objects of sense, and thus will run round a ring in

the dreary sandy wilderness of utilitarianism, until at length he sinks down exhausted in some epicurean oasis.

Thus we are come to the second great destroyer of unity and cause of division. The first is our setting up ourselves, our own will, our own fancies, our own notions, as the centre of the universe, instead of the will and mind of God. The second is our having given up our hearts to the creature, instead of the Creator, our having set our affections on earthly things, which are numberless, vague, fleeting, mob-like, and having drawn them away from heavenly things, which roll in imperturbable unison around the eternal throne. When we changed the glory of the incorruptible God into images made like to corruptible man, and to birds and fourfooted beasts and creeping things, then we lost the source, the principle, the very idea of unity: and as our desires attacht themselves to these things, and our lusts laid hold on them, and our covetousness and ambition tried to seize larger and larger masses of them, they became the occasions of perpetual contention and strife; whence every man's hand and every man's heart was set against his neighbour.

Nor is this division and contrariety merely a division and contrariety between man and man: a like division and contrariety and struggle is found in the heart and soul of each man. When we fell away from God, our hearts and souls were crackt and rent in twain by the violence of the fall. Hence, when we look into ourselves, instead of concord and unity, we see the dark chasm of sin cleaving the soul asunder; and whithersoever we look out of ourselves, we see the reflexion of it stretching across both earth and heaven. Sin, the universal solvent,

breaks up the heart and the mind into a multitude of insulated faculties and feelings; and since its first essential act was the rejection of law,—which is the outward bond, as love is the inward principle, of all union,—it can behold nothing but isolation and desolation around it. Nay, in its audacity it even dared to dissolve the unity of the Divine Idea into a multitude of fictitious deities, deeming nothing too base, nothing too foul, nothing too depraved, to be seated on a throne in the heavens. Thus man was lured and dragged so far away from the only true principle of unity, that he plunged into all the extravagances and all the abominations of Polytheism. Or, if some more thoughtful men, meditating on the traces of unity still left in their own minds, became desirous of seeing a counterpart of that unity in the outward world, they forgot what had marred that unity; they forgot that evil of every kind is utterly incompatible with unity, and destructive of it; and so, in shrinking from the fantastical and revolting absurdities of Polytheism, they fell back into the dead blank of Pantheism.

By these two causes, which pervade and taint all the workings of our fallen being, the desire of unity, which is inherent in man according to the idea of his nature, is thwarted and hindered from realizing itself either in thought or in action. When God said, *The Lord thy God is one God*, the true principle of all unity was proclaimed to mankind: but from this unity man had turned away, when he gave himself up to the love and worship of self, and to the love and worship of the creature. There is still indeed a principle of unity in our understanding, the part of our nature which has suffered the least from the Fall; and by this principle, as we have seen already,

its movements, whether consciously or unconsciously, are swayed and regulated: but all manner of principles of division sprout out of our will, and our ill-governed affections and passions. These, if they were allowed to run riot, would tear the world to tatters; and only by a hard, persevering struggle has the principle of unity been able from the beginning to keep these principles of division in check. It has united men into families: it has united families into nations: it has organized nations into a kind of unity under the authority of one ruling head: it has tried to bind the tumultuous wills and passions of the multitude by the chains of law. The history of these struggles with their various vicissitudes forms the history of the world. The only unity however that man could attain to in this way, is the negative, outward, abstract, formal unity of the understanding, which masses its objects together by overlooking or repressing whatever individualizes and would keep them apart,—the unity of unicity and of uniformity (z),—not the unity which discerns the divine central principle in them, and is no way embarrast by the endless variety of its manifestations, but rather rejoices therein, even as we rejoice when we look at the infinite diversity of the constellations in the one starry sky. In families indeed, where the spirit of love has always found the freest play, some approximations have from time to time been made to this higher unity, recognizing the individuality of each several member: but in states almost the only object of governments has been to repress that which would violate unity; and law has ever recognized that its office is purely negative, and that its appropriate voice is *Thou shalt not.* When it has aimed at anything beyond this, when it has attempted by human

means to build a tower the top of which should reach to heaven, and which should be a positive centre of union for mankind, the result has proved that it was passing out of its sphere: the band, which was strained too far, has burst; and, instead of unity, there has issued from the attempt multiplied and widened division.

These two causes of division, by which the Spirit of Evil contrived to mar the divine unity of the universe, so far as man has power to do so,—selfwill and the lust of the creature, — have been busy ever since the Fall at their Satanic work, breeding and fostering division and strife; and they are scarcely less busy or less powerful in these days than in the worst times of old. That the selfish principle is still dismally active, we see by divisions even in that Church, which was meant by God to be the reuniter and harmonizer of the world; we see it by all manner of divisions in the State, by divisions in every parish, and almost in every household. Everywhere we find an exaggerated estimate of each man's peculiar habits and usages and opinions, and a grievous want of deference and forbearance toward others, an utter want of that reverence which every man has a right to claim for such doctrines and feelings as are sacred in the eyes of his conscience. All men are convinced that they are thoroughly right, even in the notions and views which they have taken up the most lightly and unreflectingly; and they have just force of logic to draw the inference, which they deem inevitable, that everybody who differs from them must be wrong. Nor is the solvent, insulating power of that delusion, by which man gave up his heart and soul to the things of this world, less powerful or less efficacious than in former ages. Still too it produces the same

fruits,—on the one side Polytheism, or the idolatrous worship of the creature, and of everything about it that fascinates and intoxicates the senses, only stript of that imaginative halo which in some measure elevated the Polytheism of old,—and on the other side Pantheism, with its fatal denial of moral responsibility, its obliteration of the distinction between right and wrong, and its blind prostration before every phantom of power. More especially has this been manifested in the leveling, anarchal spirit, which has been so overweening in the last and in this generation. For Jacobinism is the form which Pantheism naturally takes in political life, when it is not restrained by those feelings and principles of a higher origin, which its more enlightened advocates practically recognize, even while they speculatively reject them. In the civil state, as in the universe, it is anarchal; and having cast away all moral distinctions, and the only true principles of law and order, it would also destroy all civil distinctions, and everything that bears witness to law and order, and to the permanence of rights, in the constitution of society. Surely every one who hears me must be aware in what terrible forms these aboriginal deadly heresies are still shewing themselves, even in this nineteenth century of the Christian era, even in England, which deems itself the favorite seat of all practical wisdom and moral truth.

Now with regard to both these causes we have seen, that the primary reason why they have hindered man from attaining to unity, is, that, when he gave himself up to their influence, he abandoned the only true Principle of Unity, and fell away from that Centre, whence alone all things can be seen working together and at one. Thus, whithersoever we look abroad over the earth, if we look

only with the eyes of our natural understanding, we behold nothing like unity and concord, but variety, diversity, multiplicity, contrariety, discord. And if we look into ourselves, into our own hearts and minds, at the utmost we see a crowd of reluctant faculties, bound together in some few men by the iron hoops of a stern will, but much oftener scattered about, and running confusedly to and fro. What then are we to do, in order that we may fulfill our inherent desire of unity? whither are we to go, that we may find a true principle of unity? how are the dashing waves of the world to be quelled and husht? how are the clashing elements of human nature to be harmonized and set at one? To these questions there is only one answer; and that is to be found in those words of the Apostle, which I read to you at the beginning of this Sermon: *There is one Body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one Hope of your calling; one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.*

As it was in falling away from God that man lost the principle of unity, so it could only be through his being brought back to God, that that principle could be revived within him. He needed to be reconciled to God: he needed to be set at one with God, or atoned. He needed, as we have seen, a twofold atonement: for, as his separation from God had been followed by division within himself, he needed at the same time to be set at one with God, and to be set at one within himself. The manner in which this great work was to be effected, the only way in which it ever was or ever can be effected, is set before us in these words of St Paul. What sublime and wonderful words they are! The Apostle lookt out over the face of the

earth; and what did he see? Nation warring against nation, faction against faction, school against school, man against man, struggling passions, battling interests, plots, snares, fraud, rapacious avarice, insatiable ambition, with the Roman empire waving its sword over the heads of mankind, and awing them into servile torpour, while voluptuousness had relaxt all the traditionary bonds of virtue and moral obligation, so that human nature seemed to be almost crumbling to atoms, or floating like ragged scum on the surface of hell. Even among his own countrymen there were endless dissensions, unceasing feuds. Countless swarms of bodies met the eye; but no spirit breathed life into them: everything like a spirit that had animated the nations in earlier ages, and infused some sort of unity into them, had fled away. And yet the Apostle, casting his glance over the world, seeing what was not to be seen, and feeling an undoubting assurance of that of which no token appeared, dared to say, *There is one Body, and one Spirit.*

For though these words were addrest primarily to the Christian converts at Ephesus, to certify them that they had been called to a participation in this one Body and this one Spirit, it cannot well be questioned that he, to whom, above all the Apostles, was vouchsafed the glorious vision of the reception and indwelling of the nations in the Body of Christ,—he whose especial mission it was to declare that the wall of partition had been taken away, and that there should no longer be Jew or Greek, circumcision or uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free, male or female,—that is, that no distinction of nationality, of customs or rites, of civilization, of social condition, or of sex, should in any way obstruct the perfect union and unity of those among whom these distinctions subsisted,—so that,

notwithstanding these distinctions, Christ should be all, and in all, and that through His indwelling they should all be one,—it cannot be questioned that here also the Apostle of the Gentiles was contemplating the reception of all mankind into the one holy Body of Christ. This is the one Body he speaks of: he saw that Christ's Church was to be one Body; and it was to be one Body, because it was to be animated by one Spirit: for thus alone do the material elements of our fleshly bodies become one, through the one living spirit that animates and pervades and organizes them; and when that living spirit has past away, they moulder into dust. But Christ's Church was indeed to be one Body, because it was to be animated by one Spirit, even the Holy Spirit of God, whom the Father sent down from heaven to dwell for ever in the hearts of all such as believe in His Onlybegotten Son. This too is the one hope of our calling, the sanctifying presence of the one Spirit, obtained for us by the merits and intercession of the Eternal Son.

Such, the Apostle saw, was to be the perfect unity of the Church, according to the will of God, who from the beginning purpost to shew forth His own Unity, no less than His own fulness, in the whole created universe. The Church was to be one Body, and one Spirit, one Body animated by the one Spirit of God, according to the one blessed Hope whereunto it had been called, by Him who became Incarnate to this end, that all mankind might gather around His all-atoning Cross (AA). We were to be restored to the Unity, which we had forsaken and forfeited. We were to be brought back to the One Eternal Principle of Unity, who is above all, and through all, and who also purpost to be in us all (AB). This however could not be

done immediately. We had turned away from God; we had hidden ourselves from Him; and when He called to us, we fled and hid ourselves more and more in the deep, sunless, pathless forest of the world; we hid ourselves in the groves of an idolatrous Polytheism. To the Jews indeed God had revealed Himself in His Unity. *Hear, O Israel,* He had declared, *the Lord thy God is one Lord.* He had declared also, what followed of necessity, from this His eternal Unity, that we, His reasonable creatures, being endowed with the faculty of knowing Him, were bound to love our one God *with all our heart and with all our soul and with all our mind.* But this we could not do with the simplicity and integrity of unbroken innocence; we could not do it even with the entireness with which a child gives its heart to its parents. For we had given up our hearts to the things of this world; and the world had fixt its fangs into them; and we could not free them, except by tearing them away; nor could this be done without blood. Hence the Jews could only approach God through the Law, every command of which was designed, as it were, to free men's hearts from the fangs of the world,. to loosen one of the nails whereby man was fastened to the cross of this world. Moreover, as man's departure from the one God was caused by his giving up his heart to the things of this world, God ordained that men should bring offerings of the things of this world to Him, both as an acknowledgement that He was the Lord of the whole material world, no less than of mankind, and as a token that they were bound and were willing to make sacrifice of the things of this world, whereby they had been withdrawn from their communion with the one God, in order that they might be received again into that communion. And as every act of obedience to the Law was

a binding and resigning of selfwill, and every offering was a giving up of the things of this world, so these latter sacrifices further shewed that the former in themselves were incomplete, and required a higher purificatory and sanctificatory power to make up for their deficiencies. They declared that man's obedience by itself could never take away sin; and while his reason and conscience pronounced that the higher could never be purified and sanctified by the lower, and accordingly that the blood of bulls and rams could not take away sin, they were a witness to him that he needed a purification and sanctification beyond himself, and carried his thoughts and hopes and desires onward to the fulfilment of that which they typified and foreshewed.

Thus the one God could not be approacht by the Jews, except through the works of the Law, and through typical sacrifices; and therefore He further declared Himself to be a Consuming Fire. For by the works of the Law no man can approach to God: no man could do so then; no man can do so now. If any man fancies he can approach to God by the works of the Law, the Law is still like the flaming sword of the Cherubim, turning every way, and keeping the way of the Tree of Life. The action of law, as law, is outward, and, if it produces any manner of unity, can only effect this forcibly, by destroying what resists it, and fusing things into one mass. Nor can any man really approach to God by means of types and ordinances, or anything symbolical; he could not then,—nor can he now, —unless he has already been brought nigh to God by the Spirit, enabling him to look through that outward veil, which has ever been so apt to arrest his sight, and to prevent his discerning what lies beyond and behind it. And

thus it came to pass here again, that men lost sight of the Divine Principle of Unity in the multiplicity of commands and observances: here again they turned from the worship of the Creator to the idolatry of the creature, from the reverent, self-sacrificing service of the Lawgiver to the disputatious, self-justifying observance of particular ordinances and ceremonies. For there is but one way in which we can really be brought back to the One God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and who dwells in all His servants; and that way is through the one Lord who has reconciled us to God,—through the one Faith in Him, whereby we receive Him into us,—and through the one Baptism, whereby we are purged from those sins which keep us away from Him, and are made partakers of the gift of the one sanctifying indwelling Spirit.

Through Christ, and through Him alone, we have power given to us to approach to the one God and Father of all. He is the fulfilment of the Law, so that the Law shall no longer keep us away from God, entangled in its meshes. He is likewise the fulfilment of the types and rites, so that, after we have beheld His glory, we can no longer be deluded by phantoms and shadows into mistaking them for realities. When He was lifted up on high, He was to draw all men to Him, teaching them by the lesson of His Cross, that they were to draw nigh to God, not by this work or that work, not by the sacrifice of this thing or that thing,—for that all partial obedience and service left them in their state of disunion and separation,—but by the entire sacrifice and resignation of their whole being to the will of God. In Him, the one Lord, the invisible Godhead dwelt visibly upon earth: in Him, the second Adam, the divine image was renewed, to be communicated

to the fallen race sprung from the first Adam. In Him, the one Head, and through Him, the Church becomes one Body, and receives the one Spirit to abide in it.

And how are we to become partakers of the Unity which Christ came to bring back to us? By Faith; by the one Faith, whereby we receive Him into our hearts as our Saviour, as our Mediator, as our Atonement, as the one Incarnate God, through whom our human nature is restored to its communion with the divine; by that Faith, which, according to our Lord's last command, was to precede the baptismal purification and renewal of the believer.

But while we continue under the dominion of sin, and under the condemnation incurred by it, Faith is almost powerless. The moment the eyes of Faith are unsealed, it recognizes its own blindness and feebleness: its first utterance is, *Help my unbelief.* Therefore, in order to vivify our Faith, our one Lord instituted His one Baptism, the Baptism in the name of the one undivided Trinity, wherein by one Spirit we are all baptized into one Body.

Thus, being led by our one Lord, and united to Him by one Faith, and incorporated into His Body by one Baptism, we are enabled to approach to the one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all.

These then, we are authorized to declare, are the essential, indispensable principles of Unity in that Body of Christ, which is ordained to embrace all nations and kindreds and languages. And the Unity thus infused into us is to be maintained by that Communion in the Body of Christ, wherein, as the Bread is one, we, being many, become one Body (AC). Without these there can be no unity. Without

these we cannot be reunited to God; and therefore we cannot have any stable principle of unity, powerful enough to calm and harmonize the discordant elements of our nature, and to sway the course of our lives among the manifold forces that would drive us this way and that. But when we are brought nigh to God in this manner, we are no longer left to the various precepts of the Law, which merely teach us to coast the skirts of the land of Duty. The one principle of Love, which alone fulfills the Law, and which spreads and branches out through our whole being, as the living source of a diviner law, is revealed to us; and under its calm and mighty impulses we may sail across the wide ocean, and circumnavigate the globe.

These are the living principles of unity in the Church, whereby the Church is made one with her Lord: these are the primary pervading principles of that unity; and beside these there are no other such. Other ordinances and institutions may be valuable in a secondary and instrumental manner, for the sake of preserving the unity of the Church unimpaired in the midst of an unfriendly and often hostile world,—with a view to the transmission of the one Faith and the one Baptism in their uncorrupted purity from generation to generation,—or in order to the maintenance of order and discipline. But these primary essential principles of unity are to be kept studiously distinct from whatever is secondary and accidental, however important and valuable as an accident. From all such things the principles enumerated by the Apostle are to be carefully distinguisht,—the one Faith and the one Baptism, whereby we become members of the one Body of our one Lord,

animated by the one Spirit of promise, and thus are brought home and reconciled to the one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in us all.

Nor is this caution superfluous. For as through the whole history of man prior to the birth of Christ we find a universal proneness to substitute the idolatry of the creature for the worship of the Creator,—a proneness betraying its carnal origin by its readiness and zeal in prostrating itself before objects physically the meanest and morally the most corrupt,—in like manner since the birth of Christ, and the setting up of His Church as the antagonist of the world, that Church has in all ages been grievously troubled and disordered by a similar proneness to look at the outward instead of the inward; to set up the secondary on a level with, if not above, the primary, and to cling more tenaciously and passionately to the formal than to the spiritual. This was the case from the very first: the Jews wisht to Judaize the whole Church: so in after times did the Romans wish to Romanize it: much reason therefore have we to beware lest we be infected with a desire of Anglicizing the whole Church, lest we be reluctant to recognize and acknowledge the Church of the Lord, unless her whole stature and gait and garb be exactly the same as we ourselves are familiar with (AD). The contest against this narrow selfish spirit within the Church was a main part of the mission assigned to the great Apostle of the Gentiles: and from him may we best learn to discriminate between those institutions and ordinances which may vary with time and place and national habits and condition, and those principles which are set before us in the text, and without which none can truly be members of the one Body, or animated by the one Spirit.

The time will not allow me to enforce these remarks by the citation of particular instances, in which false conditions of unity have been set up as indispensable in the Church, and which might need some investigation to explain their fallacy, and to trace their mischievous effects. I can do no more than refer to that one instance, which has been the most conspicuous and the most calamitous. And surely you will already have anticipated me in casting your minds back on that period of many centuries, during which the Church of Christ was not content with her one Lord, and her one Faith, and her one Baptism, but, having almost let slip that one Faith in her one invisible Lord, deemed it requisite to have a visible Head, and set up her one Bishop in the same category with her one Lord (AE). Alas, too, we know that this dismal errour is still holding captive a very large part of Christendom, benumbing the spirit, as its natural consequence, with a load of ceremonial and ritual observances, and strengthening the carnal tendency to elevate the outward and visible above the inward and invisible. And though the blessed Reformation was sent by God to redeem the Church from this idolatry, the propensities by which it had been corrupted, were not eradicated thereby, but have shot up from time to time, admonishing us that it is absolutely necessary, so long as we continue in our earthly tabernacle, that we should watch and pray diligently and assiduously against all idolatries, whether of the flesh or of the carnal understanding. So momentous is that lesson, with which the beloved disciple closes his Epistle, a lesson which at first we might incline to think belonged solely to long extinct ages, but which, foreseeing what an ever-sprouting crop of idolatries would in all ages contend with the love of Christ, and try

to supplant it in the hearts of His professing followers, he bequeathed with the emphasis of last words to the Church, *Little children, keep yourselves from idols.* Assuredly too we have great need of this lesson in our days,—no age ever had greater, — although by different classes it is needed in different, and almost opposite directions. For while the world is rioting unrestrainedly in numberless kinds of idolatry,—in the idolatry of the flesh, in the idolatry of Mammon, in the idolatry of machinery, in the idolatry of power, in the idolatry of the gifts of the understanding, and of the works of the understanding, in the idolatry of luxury and ease and comfort, and in every other form of the idolatry of self,—at the same time, in order to counteract these grosser worldly idolatries, which have been sprouting up in these latter years no less rankly than the giants were fabled of old to have sprung out of the first teeming throes of the elements, it has been ordained that we should return, after a long period of indifference and laxity, to a higher appreciation of whatever is valuable and venerable in the institutions and ordinances of the Church. Hence we are again exposed to a danger, which is more formidable to the Church than all the idolatries of the world, because it paralyses the arm wherewith we are to combat and cast down those idolatries,—the danger of cherishing new or antiquated forms of idolatry within our own bosom; the more so, as the very impetus of a rebound is apt to carry people into an opposite excess; while they seem to themselves to be merely discharging a debt, in fondling and exaggerating what has been unduly neglected and depreciated. Thus we are especially likely to revive the old errour of placing other conditions of unity on a par with the apostolic principles, the one Faith and

the one Baptism whereby, through the power of the one Spirit, we are incorporated into the one Body of Christ, and reconciled by Him to the one God and Father of all.

For still the selfish spirit is at work and as busy as ever. The self-glorifying negative spirit, which magnifies all the circumstances of its own condition, and despises and condemns whatever differs from them, is quite as active in this generation, as in the most narrowminded of those that have past away; and in no country does it exercise a greater sway than in England. We are still very apt to believe that God made and redeemed the world for us only, not for us along with the rest of His Church, but merely for us, and for those who agree with us, so far as they do agree with us. Still in the stiffness of our minds we find it hard to conceive how unity can mean anything but unicity; whereas the higher idea of unity is that which is identical with universality or catholicity. The one Church, which is the one Body animated by the one Spirit, is the universal catholic Church, comprising all who are united to Christ by the one Faith in Him, and the one Baptism ordained by Him; even as the One God and Father of all, who is above all, is also through all and in us all. We know how it ever has been, and still is a great stumblingblock to the understanding to recognize the mysterious union of the Trinity in the Unity of the Godhead. The understanding can comprehend one, as a unit standing by itself, but not as unity embracing the fulness of all things; whereas the unity of the Church is a divine unity, the unity of infinite fulness. Therefore St Paul, after the verses in which he speaks of the unity of the Church, and of the principles and conditions of that unity, goes on to declare, that this unity of the Church implies a diversity

of gifts: *But to each one of us is given grace according to the measure in which Christ gives it.* And then, having set forth the great power and glory of Him from whom these manifold gifts come, how they came from Him who had ascended up on high, and led captivity captive, and who thereby shewed that He had previously come from the place whither He reascended, *far above all heavens, that He might fill all things,* St Paul goes on to enumerate some of the gifts which He had given to His Church: *He gave some to be apostles,—and some, prophets,—and some, evangelists,—and some, pastors and teachers,—for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the building up of the body of Christ, until we all come to the unity of the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God, to perfect manhood, to the state when Christ shall be fully formed in our hearts* (AF).

In selecting this subject, brethren, as one which would be appropriate for this occasion of our solemn meeting, I was chiefly influenced by the reflexion that the purpose for which this meeting is assembled, the purpose for which our Association was originally establisht, was to realize, and in some measure to fulfill that unity, to which the Church of Christ is called, that unity which, so far as the Church is indeed the Body of Christ, must needs be one of its chief characteristics. The bands of that unity had been sadly relaxt. Slender evidence was to be seen in our Church, during the last century, of the one Body that it ought to have been,—still slenderer of the one Spirit that ought to have animated it. For why? it held but loosely to the one Faith: it had many faiths, if that word would admit of plurality: each man had his own faith, more or less remote from that which unites the Body of Christ to its Head, a faith in many lords, of whom Christ might be

one, and perhaps nominally the chief. Hence men, having lost the one centre of unity and of union, sought to unite around other centres of their own devising. Many asserted that interest was the only true centre of human nature, that it was the living centre of every man's heart, and that a clever conjuror might make it a centre whereby nations also might be held together. Others brought forward some fantastical or fanatical maxim as a principle of union. Instead of clustering round centres of love, people coagulated round centres of hatred. Their watchword was, *Death to all who will not join us.* Of these conspiracies and combinations there were many at the close of the last century; and the same combining spirit is wofully active in this land now. Men combine to carry some scheme of their own, to realize some notion, to enforce some union. They are rightly convinced that strength lies in union; but not knowing the only living principles of union, they fail of attaining to it. So too must all fail, so must the statecraftsmen of our days fail, who deem they can hold men together by the ties of interest. The principles and feelings which united men in days of old, patriotism, loyalty, the love of freedom, were living principles, and had a power over the heart and soul: they gave men a centre out of themselves, and attacht them thereto. Thus they had force to suppress and almost extinguish lesser personal motives, and to make men encounter hardships, submit to sacrifices, exercise selfdenial. But interest has no power to awaken any heroic feeling: it can extract no sacrifices, no selfdenial; or, if it does, they are a mere mockery. Therefore the attempt, which is accounted the consummation of modern wisdom, to render a people obedient to the laws by convincing them that it is their

interest to be so, is like binding the strong man with withes, which anon he starts up and rends asunder. Most thankful indeed should we be that this is so,—that interest has not the power to curb man's will, and to tame his passions,—that his nature, in spite of its corruption, is still too noble to sink quietly into such abject bondage. We should give God thanks that no earthly motive can bind men lastingly together, and that selfishness cannot do otherwise than sever them, from the first in heart and spirit, and sooner or later in act also: for terrible would be the power of evil, if it did not thus contain the germs of its own dissolution. We should give God thanks that it is impossible for men to be cemented in a lasting indissoluble union by any feebler power than the Love which proceeds from Him, and which the One Spirit infuses into the One Body of Christ.

But while men are combining on all sides for worldly, and not seldom for plainly evil and lawless purposes, the Church also has been reminded of her own unity, has been roused out of her languid torpour, has been bracing her limbs anew, and gathering her members together. As her principle is unity, her form ought to be union; and it is only by and through the union of her members that her great ends can be accomplisht, this union itself being one of the first and greatest, as is proved by the earnest desire for it exprest in her Lord's last prayer. Hence in the early ages of the Church, when the One Spirit was poured out with that abundance which was indispensable for the work of establishing her foundations, men were so entirely delivered from their inborn selfishness, that they laid their possessions at the feet of the Apostles, deeming the whole of their substance a slight return for

the priceless blessings which they had received. *And the multitude of them that believed*, the Evangelist tells us, *were of one heart and one soul; neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possest was his own; but they had all things common. And continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, they ate their meat with gladness and singleness of heart.* In this simple account we see what perfect unity the love of Christ ought to produce in His disciples, and how this unity ought to manifest itself, by the removal and giving up of everything whereby men in their natural state are kept asunder. Now it is as an attempt to renew something like this feeling of unity in the One Body of Christ, to revive a faint and distant likeness of this union, that we rejoice and are thankful for the establishment of our Association. It is merely a beginning, a first attempt, a very remote approximation, but still it is an attempt to lead the members of our Church in this Diocese, all her members, lay as well as clerical, to feel that they are indeed members of the One Body of Christ, to lead them to feel that, as such, it behoves them to help and minister to each other, that, as such, they ought not to live to themselves, but to each other and to God. The spirit of Charity, as manifesting itself in noble works to the glory of God, and in a largehearted bounty to the poor, had waxt faint in the land. The spirit of Mammon had become so powerful, and had wrestled so mightily and craftily against it, and had assailed it with such an ever-increasing swarm of luxuries and vanities, that Charity was hardly able to lift up its head. Even the rich, if they gave a few shillings now and then in casual alms, and subscribed their yearly guinea to one or two

beneficent institutions, deemed that they had fulfilled their duty. And are there not many who think so still? are there not many who even fall short of this? Meanwhile few had a notion that it behoved them to relieve any other than the grosser physical wants of their neighbours: moral and spiritual wants were scarcely taken count of by the great majority of those to whose stewardship the riches of England had been committed. And the pious men, who effected so much in the latter part of the last, and at the beginning of this century, for the revival of a higher spiritual life in England, as their views of religion revolved almost entirely about the wants and hopes of the individual soul, and as they found little answerable to their own feelings in the main body of our Church, although they were zealous, as every true Christian must be, to promote charitable works, were thus led by circumstances, as well as by the peculiar character of their religion, to form societies composed of unconnected individuals, who took an interest in the furtherance of godliness, from all parts of the country. But as these societies emanated from persons invested with no ecclesiastical authority, they could not be connected with our ecclesiastical organization: nor could they take advantage of the means afforded by our ecclesiastical system for bringing home the duties of Christian liberality to every member of the English Church. Now this is the end which our Association is designed to accomplish. It addresses itself to the whole body of the Church in this Diocese: it desires to embrace every member of the Church, all who have anything to give for the promotion of God's glory in the well-being of His people, and all who have any spiritual want to be relieved. Its object, according to

the purpose of its pious and benevolent founder, is to remind us that the members of Christ have not merely bodies, but souls also, to be taken care of, souls to be trained from their childhood in the knowledge and love of God, souls to be fed with the bread of life, when they come to maturity. It admonishes us of these wants, and tells us that it is a momentous part of our duty, and that we ought to esteem it a blessed part of our Christian privileges, to contribute of our substance, so that Christ's poor may not perish for lack of those blessings which He came to give them.

Toward the accomplishment of these works something has been done already; a beginning has been made; and therefore we rejoice. But we trust that it is only a beginning; or our joy will be turned into sorrow. We trust that we are to mount from strength to strength; else we shall sink from strength to weakness. Every undertaking has a period of bloom in its spring: the novelty awakens an interest; the energy of the founder imparts itself to those around him. But the novelty passes away, and with it the excitement: the energy, which was merely caught from the reflexion of another's, fades: and unless there is some higher principle to uphold it, the undertaking gradually and not slowly decays. Therefore are we met together in the house of God today, to confess the one Faith, whereby we are united to our Lord, and to seek access through Him to the One God and Father of all. As by the One Baptism we have been incorporated into the One Body of Christ, we are assembled to profess ourselves members of that One Body, and to pray for a more plenteous outpouring of the One Spirit upon ourselves and upon the whole Church, so that we

may indeed be living members of Christ's Body, knit together by love, and ministering to each other in lowliness and joy. We are assembled together after the example of the first Christians, who *continued daily with one accord in the temple:* and would it not be well that we should follow their example still further, by *breaking bread*, so that we might be strengthened for our work of charity by the spiritual nourishment of the Body and Blood of the Saviour? As there is no perfect union without communion, would it not be well that, on this only occasion when the whole Diocese is gathered together in the presence of its spiritual Father, for works of charity, and for the edifying of the Church, we should perfect our feeling of unity by Communion at the Table of the Lord?

Moreover, if we are indeed One Body, if we desire and trust that One Spirit is animating us, if we have set One Hope of our calling before us, what manner of men ought we to be in all our dealings with each other? How ought we to speak of each other? How ought we to think of each other? Brethren, I beseech you, ponder this thought. If we are indeed One Body in Christ, and animated by the One Holy Spirit of God, ought we not likewise to be of one heart and of one soul and of one mind? And yet there are dissensions and divisions amongst us: and yet there are parties in the Church. Contradictory as the words are, there are parties in that Church, which calls itself, and ought to be the One Body of Christ. Consider what it is, when there are divisions in the body, when limb is torn from limb, when a gash is hewn across the trunk. Does not the body perish? So too must it be, after a kind at least, with the Church.

A divided Church cannot be the One Body, cannot be animated by the One Spirit of Christ. It may indeed happen that a wound will at times prove salutary to a diseased body: the morbid humours may gather in it, and escape through it. But the wound must not continue to fester, or the body dies. When the Church was grown torpid, the revival of animation might unavoidably be accompanied by some convulsive throes: it might again be necessary, as of old, that He who came to send peace, should begin by sending a sword: but His desire and purpose was to send peace. Though the tumultuous tossing and raging of the waves is better than stagnation, that tossing also is only to be for a time. The Sun of Righteousness cannot be mirrored in that tossing: He can only be mirrored in the calm and peace of the waters. Let us then earnestly seek peace through Him, the peace which He alone can give, the peace which proceeds from His righteousness, which is given to all such as are made partakers of His righteousness, the peace which sets us at one with the One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all; which peace if we have, we must needs be at peace also with each other. To Him, in the Unity of the eternal Trinity, be glory in the Church throughout all ages, in earth and in heaven, world without end.

THE WORTH OF KNOWLEDGE,

OR

THE JUDGEMENT OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA:

A SERMON PREACHT

IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CHICHESTER,

ON THURSDAY, JUNE 9th, 1841,

IN BEHALF OF THE CHICHESTER CENTRAL SCHOOLS.

THE WORTH OF KNOWLEDGE,

OR

THE JUDGEMENT OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA.

LUKE xi. 31.

The Queen of the South shall rise up in the judgement with the men of this generation, and condemn them: for she came from the utmost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold, a greater than Solomon is here.

THERE are two common mistakes with regard to knowledge, lying in opposite directions, by one or the other of which almost everybody is more or less deceived. By a certain class of men it is overvalued; by the rest it is undervalued. For such is the perversity of our nature, that in all things we are prone to err, either by excess or by defect: and it is mostly by a sort of compensation of errours, by tacking to and fro, by oscillating from one side to the other, that the world makes any advance toward truth. The mass of mankind, so far as they are left to themselves, are utterly unconscious of the worth and dignity of knowledge, and would lie contentedly in blank ignorance, with little other exertion of their intellectual faculties, than is imposed on them by the necessity of staving off the most pressing wants of the body; while they who have been taught to discern that knowledge is a good and excellent thing, too readily persuade themselves that knowledge, as a mere possession of the

understanding, is the one thing needful both for individuals and for nations. Now of both these mistakes, each of which has divers shades and degrees, a clear and satisfactory refutation may be drawn from the words of the text; in which we see on the one hand that all knowledge is to a certain extent desirable and commendable; and on the other hand that, the objects of knowledge being manifold, the business of wisdom is to observe their right order and subordination. These questions have been much canvast of late years with no little vehemence of contention; and though the violence of the controversy has somewhat subsided for the present, while most persons of soberminded discernment have come to a conclusion in accordance with that which we should deduce from the text, yet this decision is very far from having become the regulative principle of our practice, which is still grievously crampt and maimed by the influence of both the above-mentioned errours, lingering ineradicably in the bulk of men, and perpetually sprouting up afresh, however we may fancy we have got rid of them. Therefore, as these questions are intimately connected with the special occasion of our present meeting,—and as it is of primary moment to the conduct of education that the relative importance of the various objects of knowledge should be fully and distinctly understood, not merely by men of philosophical speculation, but by every teacher and every parent, as a rule whereby they are to be guided in their dealings with the children committed to their charge,—I have thought it might not be inexpedient, if I endeavoured, with God's help, to draw forth some of the light which the text throws on this paramount question of our nation

and age, and to point out how it at once corrects the undervaluers and the overvaluers of knowledge.

In the first place it will hardly be questioned that our Saviour in the text commends the conduct of the Queen of the South, in coming from the utmost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon. His words plainly imply, that the object for which she undertook her long and laborious journey was a worthy one, and that the zeal which led her to undertake it was deserving of praise and imitation,—in other words, that wisdom, such wisdom as Solomon possest, is in itself a thing to be greatly admired and sought after, and that, among the feelings and pursuits of the natural man, the love of such wisdom is one of the noblest; seeing that a queen, who left her dominions, and came from the utmost parts of the earth to hear that wisdom, is spoken of by our blessed Saviour in terms betokening approbation. As to the character of Solomon's wisdom, *the fame of which was in all nations round about*, and drew the Queen of Sheba to his court, we know that it embraced all the science of his time: *he spake of trees, from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon, to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes.* Moreover we know, from the monuments which remain of it, that, while it comprised the whole vegetable and animal world, it was not unmindful of him who was set to be the lord over those two worlds. Indeed this latter branch of knowledge, as specially belonging to his kingly office, is that which, we are told, he besought of God in his vision, in order that he might have *an understanding heart to judge the people* placed under his rule:

and it is because God's gifts are always sun-like, and accompanied by a train of subordinate minor luminaries, that, when Solomon received *a wise and understanding heart*, to discern the feelings and purposes of mankind, he also received the power of understanding the lower orders of creatures. This knowledge of man too is that, the record of which still remains in that treasure of practical wisdom stored up in the Book of Proverbs. Hence, and from the uniform manner in which Solomon's wisdom is spoken of in Scripture, we perceive that knowledge, even the knowledge of earthly things, is in itself, within its due limits, deserving of esteem and admiration: and the same truth might be confirmed by many other passages in the Sacred Volume.

This however, it may be thought, is a proposition which needs little argument to establish it in these days; for that, if our age has any good quality, any particle of right judgement, this is the very field on which it may feel confident of surpassing all former ages; since it has emancipated itself, as its boastings will never allow us to forget, from the blindness and ignorance of its predecessors, and has thrown aside every ancient prejudice and superstition in its earnest desire to get at the truth, and busily employs all manner of stimulants for the sake of exciting men to seek after knowledge, and pays its chief homage, its ready admiration, not to rank, not to station, not to probity, but to talents. Yet I know not whether it is quite the best proof of our being able to enjoy and make use of the daylight, that, instead of enjoying and making use of it, we spend our time in talking contemptuously of the darkness we have escaped from. Nor does the love of knowledge delight to manifest itself in negations, in

disputing and refuting, in demolishing and overthrowing, but much rather in watching its objects with the patient care of a parent watching his child, in receiving their informing spirit, in combining them together according to their affinities and analogies, and in building them up into a harmonious whole. Surely too the necessity of using stimulants does not betoken strength, but rather weakness. And the exclusive homage paid to talents, that is, to the intellectual machinery which is to work up the raw material of knowledge, seems to imply that we have lost the perception of the worth of knowledge itself, that we have forgotten how the elementary faculties of the mind can only receive a definite form and substance from the truths stampt upon them. So that it may not be altogether idle and superfluous to remind the men of this generation, that knowledge in itself, according to its degree, is a thing good and laudable.

At all events there is a very large body, far the largest part of the whole nation, who have no conception, or at the utmost a very faint and confused one, that knowledge is to be desired for its own sake. In the lower orders, and in those which are called the middle classes, very few persons, here and there one, it may be, has such a notion. Among that portion of the middle classes who dwell in towns, and are engaged in trades, or in any of the mechanical arts, many persons are glad to have knowledge of a certain kind, such as may help them forward in the daily business of their outward life, and may be the means of making money, or be subservient to some other immediate practical end. But hardly one in a thousand desires knowledge for its own sake, as a thing worthy to be among the chief objects of life for an

intelligent and moral being. Yet, if the higher classes were really animated with a pure, fervent love of knowledge, it is hard to conceive that no portion of that love should be imparted to the lower. When life is strong and healthy, it will circulate through the whole body: only in cases of oppressive disease do we find a rush of blood toward the head, and a cold palsy in the nether extremities: and most deplorable is the condition of a people, when the lower classes are smitten with such a deadly palsy, when the spirit which animates the higher, does not penetrate to them. In all our efforts for the education of the lower orders, we find ourselves impeded at every other step by manifold hindrances, which arise, more or less directly, from the one main hindrance, the blank want of any real love for knowledge, of any sincere desire for it. Hence it is that parents so readily embrace the slightest inducement to keep their children away from school, and will only send them to school when they have nothing else to do with them, as though the education of a child were a matter of less importance than his gaining a few pence a day. In those who have never had the means from their own experience to understand the benefits of knowledge, to taste and see how sweet and goodly it is, this inability to appreciate it may be just what we should expect. But surely it denotes that there must have been something wrong on the part of those whose business it is to train and guide the minds of the lower orders. It must denote at least that we have set to work in the wrong way. For in simpler ages, on which we look back with scorn for their darkness, many parents were found glad to deny themselves, and to submit to great privations, for the sake of obtaining an education for their

children, which parents nowadays are quite careless about, if it stands in the way of the slightest outward gain. What is the reason of this? Is it not that in former days people were taught to discern that the business of education is to elevate a man in the scale of being, to draw forth his highest powers, to cultivate his whole humanity, not merely to fit him out with certain dexterities for making his way in life? that it was to prepare him for another world by raising him above this world, not to render him more thoroughly and sagaciously the creature and slave of this world, and by so doing almost to incapacitate him for ever rising above it? The higher doctrine was that of the teachers of the age; and certain maxims deduced from it found their way into cottages. Now for the former object they who desire it, with faith in the means of attaining it, will readily make sacrifices. But when the final result held out is nothing more than some earthly advantage, an immediate certain gain will easily be esteemed to outweigh a remote and problematical one, by those around whose hearts and spirits we throw a fresh chain of worldliness, at the very moment when we should be endeavouring to lift them up to something above the world.

These facts, it seems to me, afford too much ground for concluding, that the men of this generation,—not only the lower orders, but those who deem themselves far wiser, —cannot have that pure, ardent love for knowledge, on which they would fain plume themselves. It is true, the base unchristian dread, by which so many were haunted some years ago, lest by educating the children of the poor we should unfit them for their station in society, though it may still linger here and there, like patches

of snow in cold sunless spots long after a thaw, scarcely ventures to utter itself now. Very few, it is to be hoped, in these days dare to speak of the poor, as though the great end and purpose of their existence were to labour for the rich, and as though their intellectual and moral being were to be represt and stunted, lest they should be indisposed to drudge like the beasts that perish, on finding out how greatly and awfully they differ from them. Still, it is to be feared, a real love of knowledge, resting upon a right-principled conviction, is far from common; and that which we have not, we cannot inspire. Were such a love commoner among those which are termed the educated classes, we should not be hampered by so many difficulties in providing for the education of the uneducated. But when we consider the use which the bulk of the educated classes make of the faculties they have acquired,—when we consider that their chief intellectual diet lies in the literature of the day,—and when we further consider what kind of knowledge, if knowledge it can be called, this literature supplies,—we shall hardly wonder that literature of this kind does not foster a strong healthy love for knowledge, or that so many are slow to believe that the ignorant will be much the better for receiving this in exchange for their ignorance.

Nor is it solely in our dealings with the children of the poor that we betray our want of a real love for knowledge. Ample evidence of it may be found in all our modes of education, from the universities down to the village-school. Everywhere it is sadly apparent that we have lost the faith in the worth of knowledge, and the faith in its power, in any other sense than as a power of producing certain outward results. We dare not trust

to the charm which knowledge in old times seldom failed to exercise on ingenuous youths. We cannot believe that they will seek it for its own sake. We bid them seek it as the means whereby they will be enabled hereafter to make their fortune, as the means of rising in the world, as the means of gaining reputation, as the means of pushing before their comrades. It is by emulation above all, that we endeavour to stimulate the young men in our universities: it is by emulation that we would spur on the boys in our pettiest schools. This is the moral steam-engine, which is to effect every purpose, to manufacture every kind of article, and to bear us over every obstacle by land or by water. And to what is emulation to stimulate the young? Not to a love of knowledge. On the contrary it declares to them that there is no such thing as a love of knowledge, or that, if there be, it is weak and powerless. It declares that truth has no charm, that learning has no charm, that the words of the wise have no charm, to draw the youthful mind toward them, and that the only temptation by which men can be induced to seek anything so unattractive, is the unchristian desire of getting ahead of their competitors. Surely an age which holds up emulation as the one main instrument of education, — an age which converts knowledge into the means of something so incalculably beneath it as outward wealth, or personal distinction and aggrandizement,— such an age can hardly be regarded as having any right esteem, or consequently any true love for knowledge. A man who marries a wife for the sake of her fortune, or for the sake of her rank, can have no true love for her; and such a marriage must needs deaden love, and degrade him who enters into it. So too must it be with those

whose minds have been wedded to Knowledge on any other ground than their love for her. They will forsake her on the first temptation. Instead of being strengthened with principles, they have been taught to be regardless of principles; and in afterlife, it may reasonably be expected, the seed which was sown in emulation, will spring up in strife and division.

Thus we see that the men of this generation, notwithstanding their vaunts that they surpass all former generations in their zeal in amassing knowledge, and in their pursuit of naked, unadulterated truth, betray, by divers plain symptoms, that they are very far from having a pure love of knowledge, or a just appreciation of its value. There are few now who would vie with the Queen of Sheba, and journey from the utmost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, or even to gain that wisdom; though multitudes would readily go as far to see the riches of Solomon, and almost everybody to gain his riches. Indeed only when Wisdom proclaims, *Riches and honour are with me,* can we believe that anybody will listen to her voice: and the chief part of those who do thus listen, turn away, when they hear that her riches is *durable,* not perishable *riches,* and her honour *righteousness.* Yet on the other hand, as it is the nature of extremes to be ever found standing side by side, there never was an age when knowledge was more overvalued. I do not mean, absolutely, nor the highest kind of knowledge; for that can hardly be esteemed beyond its worth. The knowledge which we overvalue is of an inferior kind, both in itself, being lifeless and external and empirical, and with reference to its objects; its dealings being, not with the highest objects of human contemplation and

speculation, but about lower objects, about the things of this world, and about the best ways of arranging and systematizing, with a view to taking possession of them. One of the strange outbreaks of this exaggerated estimation of knowledge is sufficiently notorious. All who take an interest in the questions which are agitating men's minds with regard to the wellbeing of society, have heard of the panacea which has been devised for the evils of the times by I know not what lessons of political and domestic economy. The very persons who hold that men cannot be allured to seek knowledge, except as the means of gratifying some of their more sordid and selfish appetites, have also, some of them, maintained that such knowledge, poor and impotent as knowledge so pursued must needs be, will have power to quell men's tumultuous passions, and to reduce the insurgent elements of society to order and harmony. The time will not allow me to enter into any course of argument to demonstrate the fallacy of such a proposition; nor can it be needful in this place. I merely refer to it as one among many symptoms of the tendency to overvalue knowledge, a tendency prevalent among the very persons who in other respects undervalue it. The only refutation which I will oppose to them is supplied by the last words of our text, *A greater than Solomon is here.* When our Lord commended the Queen of Sheba for coming from the utmost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, it was plainly implied in His words, that Solomon was at that time the wisest man upon earth. Therefore did her zeal find favour in His eyes. But if He who was greater than Solomon, had been living in the days of Solomon, the case would have been changed. The Queen of Sheba would not

then have come to Solomon, but to the greater Teacher; and with Him would she have communed of all that was in her heart; with Him, with whom we may commune of whatever is in our hearts also,—to whom we may reveal all their secrets, all their weaknesses, all their doubts, all their frailties,—who knows them all, and yet to whom we may reveal them,—and who, if we do reveal them to Him in humble and penitent yearning, will look with compassion upon them, and will answer our questions with the silent whisperings of His Spirit. This is the Teacher, to whom, had He been living in her days, the Queen of Sheba would have come. This is the Teacher, to whom it behoves us to come, favoured as we are in having been born in these latter ages, after the revelation of the mystery hidden from the beginning,—to whom it behoves us to come ourselves, and to bring our children, that we may all be filled with that saving knowledge which He alone can bestow.

This knowledge it is impossible to overvalue. This however is not the knowledge which the soothsayers and magicians of these days are fond of exalting. Their knowledge is nearer akin to the knowledge of the Egyptians and of the Chaldeans. It is not unlike the wisdom of Solomon, according to the representation of it given just now, as a knowledge of the objects of the outward world, and a reflexion on the ways and dealings of men. Not however that their wisdom comes up to that of Solomon. It wants that feature in Solomon's wisdom, which I omitted to mention above, but which gives it its highest value and truth. As Solomon's wisdom descended from above, there is a perpetual reference in it to the wisdom from above; and this is what distinguishes the Book of

Proverbs from all similar collections. It is not a collection of mere prudential aphorisms, inculcating the business of this life, and the art of dealing with mankind, looking wholly at worldly gain and loss; but the fear of God is the beginning and the end of it, and runs through every precept, and is the principle of every maxim. Now this very principle is left out of sight in the worldly wisdom of these days. Its supreme doctrine is a kind of science, or philosophy, as its votaries are fond of terming it, an empirical, reflective, analytical science of man's nature, —a science which resolves all things into their elements, but which, having strayed from the one Principle and Source of unity, cannot recombine them again,—a science which, like the lying harlot, betrays that it is not the true parent of its objects, — that it does not possess their seminal ideas, — by consenting to their being split into parts, and by leaving them thus divided. So long as knowledge is sanctified by the spiritual element which sanctified the wisdom of Solomon, it cannot be overvalued: the fear of God will keep it in its due place: it will seek the source of law, not in the attractions of inanimate things, but in the wisdom and ordinance of God: the chain wherewith it surrounds the earth, will be fixt to a staple above. But, as Science is ever mainly employed about the things of the creation, in contemplating the wonderful proofs of wisdom which the universe displays by the symmetry and harmonious adjustment and working together of all its parts, there has been a constant aptness in Science to forget the Creator, while gazing on the creature. Indeed the story of the life of Solomon may be regarded as in some measure a type of the history of Science, in most nations in which it has flourisht. As every good

gift comes from above, Science also, like every other higher intellectual exercise, has always sprung at the first from some sort of perception of a Divine Unity pervading the multitudinous objects presented to our minds by our senses, from some perception of a Divine Cause, of a Divine Ruler, of a Divine Order, from a faith in something invisible. But here again the visible things in course of time have mostly eclipst the invisible; and the same dismal and appalling degradation, which we deplore in the old age of Solomon, has been exemplified again and again in the history of Philosophy and Science. They have fallen from the worship of the Creator to the idolatry of the creature: they have lost their perception of a spiritual principle, and have been fascinated and bewildered by material forms. Religion, which in early ages, under one form or other, is the mother of the arts and sciences, is gradually supplanted by her offspring, and driven more and more into the background: and thus at length it comes to pass that systems of education gain currency, as has been seen even in the universities of Christian countries, where those branches of science which treat especially of religious truth and doctrine, are almost wholly neglected.

Such being the obstinate and almost unconquerable proneness of man, in the pursuit of knowledge, as in all other things, to follow the bent of his carnal nature, and to give himself up to that which addresses itself to his worldly interests and sympathies, it is the duty of the Church to be ever sounding her heavenly trumpet, with its clear, sweet notes breathing out of a higher and purer region,—to be for ever admonishing and reminding man, that there is something better and nobler than himself, after which he must continually strive, toward which he

must lift himself up, to which he must seek to be lifted up, and that, if his amphibious nature does not rise into the higher element, for which it was destined, it will infallibly be swallowed up by the lower, and gradually debased into a more thorough congeniality thereto. It is the duty of the Church to be for ever admonishing and exhorting her people, that, in the pursuit of knowledge, they are not to be content with coming to hear the wisdom of Solomon; much less with coming to those whose wisdom stops short of what was best in the wisdom of Solomon: but they are to come to Him who is immeasurably greater and wiser than Solomon, and who is still here, here in England now, as really and effectually as He was in Judea when He spoke the words of the text. They are to come to Him, not, like the Queen of Sheba, from the utmost parts of the earth; they are not to travel over the earth in search of Him: for He has come to us, in whatsoever region or quarter of the earth we may be dwelling, and, so infinite is His grace, has built Himself a house in every parish, to which all may come, and where all may hear His words of wisdom far surpassing that of the wisest of mankind. How terrible then, yet how just must be our condemnation,—how will the Queen of the South rise up in the judgement and condemn us,—if we, who have a Teacher so much greater than Solomon, a Teacher whose wisdom has been confirmed by the never-varying experience of eighteen centuries, and who have no journey to undertake in search of Him, still refuse to come to Him, nay, turn away and depart from Him although He comes to us, and will not hear Him! It may seem strange that this should be so, when our coming to Him is represented to be thus easy: but alas! it is not easy;

for, though we are not to come from the utmost parts of the earth, we are to come from the lowest depths of our carnal nature, from the furthest region of our godless souls.

We are to come to Him moreover, and to bring our children to Him, from the first, not through the school of Solomon, but immediately. If He were not here, if He were far off, we could not do so: we should have to go through a course of previous training, before we could presume to approach Him. But this is the great and blessed privilege of the Gospel. In the education of the world, God ordained that mankind should pass in the first instance through the Patriarchal school, and then through the school of the Law, and then through the school of the Prophets, in order that they might thus be trained and fitted for receiving the fulness of wisdom in the school of His Incarnate Son. But we, who have the privilege of being born in these latter days, when all that the Patriarchs lookt forward to, all that the Law foreshadowed, and the Prophets foretold, has come to pass,—we are no longer under the hard necessity of going through this preparatory discipline. For this is the blessed character of the wisdom brought down from heaven by Him who is greater than Solomon, that it is revealed to babes. Yea, not only is it revealed to them, along with the wise and prudent; but, as our Lord gives thanks to His Heavenly Father, it is revealed to babes, and not to the wise and prudent: and surely, brethren, we should all join with Him in giving thanks that this is so,—that we have no high ladder to scale, stair above stair,—that we have no range of mountains to climb, Alp beyond Alp, by our own strength,—that we are not set to make ourselves wings wherewith to pierce through the lowest to the

highest heaven,—but that, wherever we may be, in the lowliest spot on the whole earth, we may find our Teacher there, if we will but open our eyes to see Him, and may listen to His wisdom there, if we will open our ears to hear Him. The wisdom and prudence of this world are so far from being a necessary preparative for the wisdom of the Gospel, that they have often been found to be much rather an impediment to it. For this reason we are not to bring our children to the school of Solomon, before we bring them to Christ: we are not to train their eyes in measuring the high places upon earth, before we allow them to look up to heaven: heaven "bends over all;" and every child is to look up to it from the first opening of its eyes: indeed the child that is lying in its weakness on the ground, looks up more naturally than the man who is standing in his strength. We are not to bring our children to the school of Solomon, lest they too fall into the errour of Solomon; we are not to bring them into the school of the Egyptians, lest they too be tempted by the fleshpots of Egypt; we are not to bring them into the school of the Chaldeans, lest they too bow down to the visible host of heaven: for this is the deceitfulness of visible things, that, though to the unsealed eye they reveal the wisdom of their Maker, they beguile the natural eye into fancying that the wisdom is in them; and thus, the more it discerns of that wisdom, the more it is inclined to make them the chief and sole objects of its worship. Therefore we are not to let our children be trained in secular knowledge, as a preparation for religious knowledge, being certified by the history of Solomon, and by ever-renewed experience in all classes of life, as well as by our Lord's words, that such a preparation may often

prove a grievous hindrance. Nor are we to recognize a separation and division between secular knowledge, as it is called, and religious knowledge, and to halve the souls of our children between the two. This would be renewing the sin of the pretended mother, and establishing a union and co-ordination between God and Mammon, when we know that the carnal heart in such a case will ever turn away from God, and cleave wholly to Mammon. For what is Mammon, but the world, as viewed by the carnal heart and mind, without reference to God? Wherefore secular knowledge, severed from religious knowledge, is merely the knowledge of Mammon.

What then! are we not to teach our children any portion of what is called secular knowledge? Yes assuredly. The wisdom of Solomon did not cease to be wisdom, after the wisdom of Christ came into the world: it only ceast to be the highest and most perfect wisdom; but in its own place it retained its dignity and worth. As our children are set to live and act in this world, we should teach them whatever is fitted for qualifying them to act vigorously and efficiently, without waste of their powers. Moreover we should teach them whatever we can, that will open their eyes to behold the wonderful works of their heavenly Father, whereby they are surrounded. We should teach them too, so far as we may, whatever will enable them to understand their position and duties as men and Englishmen. Only these lessons should be given to them, not insulatedly, not independently of the rest of their teaching, but connectedly, as parts of a great whole, of an organic system of truth, every part of which is illumined and animated by the light flowing to it from the centre. Let not this be deemed an exaggerated

phrase as applied to that scantling of knowledge, which is the utmost the poor can receive. The lowliest plant belongs to the same order of being with the loftiest tree, and is nearer akin to it than a mast or a maypole: for it has a living power in it; and this, not the size, forms the essential character. Meanwhile we should bear ever in mind, that the great purpose for which Solomon was endowed with all his wisdom, was, that he might build the temple of God in the beauty of holiness: and we should tell our children that they too have the same glorious work to accomplish,—that they too have a temple of God to build, even in their own hearts and souls,—that all their gifts, natural or acquired, are to be regarded as materials for the building of this temple,—and that, poor and lowly as it may seem, if it be but clean and simple, the Holy Ghost will dwell in it, and it will endure for ever.

My brethren, the Judgement of Solomon has been reiterated in these days. The Church has claimed the whole education of her children, all or none: there has been a party in the State, who have cried out in behalf of a divided education. The nation has had to decide between them; and we cannot doubt that the decision has been in favour of the Church. The Church tells her children that they are the children of God, that He who is greater than Solomon is here, that they have been brought to Him, that He has made them the children of God,—that they are to live as such amid the temptations of the world, that they are to stand as such against the assaults of the devil,—and that, if they strive so to live, and so to stand, they will have the Spirit of God to guide and support them, and the strength of God wherewith to overcome their foes. On the other hand,

the wizards of this world tell them, that they can have no wisdom, except their own, to guide them, that they can have no strength, except their own, to support them, and that therefore they must try to get all the knowledge they can scrape up, in order that they may make their way through life, without being cheated or trampled on by their neighbours, and may gain all they can from them and over them. Now you, my brethren, — may I not assume it?—are convinced that the former is the true principle of Christian education; and you have maintained that it is so during the recent controversies. This however is not enough. Contentiousness, and unreasoning prepossessions, and jealousy, and the notion that our own honour or interest is implicated, may lead us to fight for a principle, when it is attackt: but, if we hold it as a living principle, we must be equally zealous in maintaining it, when there is no opposition to inflame our zeal. The true way of asserting a principle is to act upon it, to follow it out diligently, consistently, into all its workings, to realize it in all its practical details. And this, which is a duty incumbent upon every Christian, is a responsibility pressing especially upon us, to whom a distincter perception of this truth has been granted, and who have undertaken the office of asserting it before the English nation. A small portion of this work you are this day called on to perform, by contributing to the support of the Central Schools in this city. A small portion, I say, a very small portion: for let none think that he has fulfilled his duty to the cause of Christian education for the year, when he has put his soverein, or even if he were to put a hundred sovereins, into the plate today. We cannot so easily get quit of our duties: we cannot

discharge them by a single payment. God be praised that we cannot! that they abide with us always, and go with us whithersoever we go, to brace us up against the relaxing temptations of indolence, and to fence us in from the insinuating snares of self-indulgence. In every duty what we owe is ourselves, our substance, where it is needed, but still more our hearts and souls, our thoughts and wishes, our diligence and perseverance in taking advantage of every means and opportunity for furthering the cause entrusted to our keeping.

I was led just now to note divers indications, which seem to shew that there is little genuine love of knowledge in these days; and inasmuch as the only sure proof that a man is animated by a sincere love of truth, and by an earnest faith in its preciousness, is his active desire to make the truth known as widely as possible, the slackness of most of our efforts hitherto for the promotion and improvement of our national education might be added to the list. It may be thought perchance that this our meeting here today is a sign that in this city at least such a slackness does not prevail. But is this indeed so, brethren? Or does not the necessity of such a meeting for the support of the funds of your school rather betoken that, even in this large and rich cathedral city, the stimulus of an annual sermon is needed to excite the inhabitants to perform such a common, simple, every-day duty as that of providing for the Christian education of the poor in their immediate neighbourhood? How then will they ever be brought to perform any great work of Christian charity, when such forces and motives must be called into play, before they can be brought to perform this, one of its least works? Verily, if we look at them

from this point of view, such meetings seem rather to cry *Shame* against the Christian nation in which the spirit of charity is so torpid: and in this way, if they remind us of our shortcomings, instead of puffing us up on account of the grand works we are apt to fancy we have been engaged in, they may conduce to edification.

There is another view of them however, in which they are indeed deeply interesting. We believe and learn from our eyes more readily than from any other teachers. We are imprest by the spectacle of multitudes; and though a slight calculation would convince us that all these children, and far more, are growing up here close around us, the effect of such a calculation would be much feebler. But when we see them thus gathered together, as they are here today, here in the house of God, how can we fail to bethink ourselves that every child whom we see has an immortal soul, has been made a child of God, has been made an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven, —that this inheritance may be secured,—and alas! alas! that it may be forfeited? nay, that we too may be instrumental, through God's blessing, in securing it, — that we too, by our negligence, by our indolence, by our niggardliness, may contribute toward its forfeiture? It was but a week ago, on this very day sennight, that I was present at one of the sublimest spectacles which this earth can afford, the assembly of the children of all the Charity Schools in London, ranged in tier above tier beneath the dome of our magnificent cathedral. It is a sight of almost overpowering grandeur and awfulness. Nine or ten thousand childly souls stand round in array; nine or ten thousand childly voices join in singing the praises of God, in singing the song which the angels sing before

the throne of the Saviour. And that which they do now, they may do for ever before that throne; or their heavenly songs may be quencht and drowned in endless wailings and gnashings of teeth. So may it be, my brethren, with these children whom you now see before you: so may it be with every child that ever meets our eyes. O let us keep this constantly in mind! then shall we learn to look upon a child as a holy and awful being. We shall remember that, as Christ was Himself an Infant and a Child, so He is still in every infant and child that has been made a member of His sacred Body: and as it was in His childhood that gifts were brought to Him of the riches of this world, so shall we rejoice to hallow our riches by bringing gifts of them to the children in whom He is.

Our text itself too, if we interpret it rightly, will admonish us that we ought to bring our best gifts to Christ. The Queen of Sheba, when she came to hear the wisdom of Solomon, came from the utmost parts of the earth. This, I observed above, we are not called to do, although the wisdom we are to hear is that of One who is far greater than Solomon. For He who is greater than Solomon is *here*, here in England, here in every part of His Church, through every region of the earth; and they who have once been brought to Him in the arms of His Church, may always find Him, may always come to Him: in whatsoever part of the land they may be living, they may hear His words of heavenly wisdom. There have indeed been times in the history of the Church, when this blessed truth was more or less obscured, when people fancied they must make pilgrimages to distant shrines, or to the land which had the privilege of bearing the human form of the Saviour, in

order to come to Him who is greater than Solomon. It was forgotten that we are no longer living under the covenant of outward forms and types, but under the revelation of the Spirit of truth. It was not discerned with sufficient distinctness, that the journey we are to take in coming to Him who is greater than Solomon, is not from the utmost parts of the earth, but, as I have already reminded you, from the utmost parts, from the nethermost depths of our carnal godless nature. Now in these days the errour just spoken of is not one we are likely to fall into: we are not likely to make pilgrimages in search of Christ. Easily and readily as we are transported from one end of the earth to the other, and though we undertake such journies without hesitation for every imaginable inducement, we are not likely to undertake them for the sake of coming to Him who is greater than Solomon. Thus far at least we may be said to know that He is *here*,—negatively, in that we know we are not to seek Him in any other region of the earth. But if we are content with this mere negative riddance of errour, —if, instead of believing that we are to seek Christ at Jerusalem, or at Loretto, or at Compostella, or at Glastonbury, we take up with the belief that He is nowhere,— our gain will be small indeed, less than our loss: for it were far better to believe that we may find access to God somewhere upon earth, than that we can find it nowhere. If we seek Him somewhere, although it be far off, we may at length find out that He is near at hand: whereas, if we seek Him nowhere, we shall never find Him. Much care is always needed, lest, in casting off the superstitious observance of the types that have past away, we also reject the sacred realities which were shadowed forth in them.

While we cling to the persuasion that Christ is *here*, that He is not to be sought far off, but to be found by those who will seek Him in every part of His Church, let us call to mind that He is not *here*, so as to be found by us if we lie torpidly in the dark depths of our carnal nature: He is not *here*, in the land of sin: so long as we continue in our sins, we cannot find Him, we cannot hear His heavenly wisdom. From the land of sin, from the land of our carnal nature, from the world, and its thoughts and its feelings, its passions and its desires, we must come forth. If we tarry in the world, if our hearts stick fast in the pride and luxury and unbelief of the world, we shall not find the wisdom of Christ.

Moreover, when the Queen of Sheba came from her own country to hear the wisdom of Christ, she did not come emptyhanded. She came, we read, *with a very great train, with camels that bare spices, and very much gold, and precious stones. And she gave the king a hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store, and precious stones: there came no more such abundance of spices as those which the Queen of Sheba gave to King Solomon.* Her journey itself was a strong proof of her desire to hear his wisdom: but she did not think this enough: she desired to give a further proof of her conviction that *the merchandise of wisdom is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold,*—that *it is more precious than rubies*, and that *all things we can desire are not to be compared with it.* So too would it be with us, if we longed heartily after the wisdom of Christ, for ourselves, and for our brethren. We should not only bring our hearts to Christ, but plenteous offerings of our worldly riches: if we do not, our riches will be a clog and a chain,

draging back our hearts to the place where our treasure is. This therefore would be the plainest proof that England does indeed love wisdom, if she shewed herself as ready as the Queen of Sheba in giving of her riches for its sake. And when I speak of England, I do not mean the government and state of England, but every Englishman, every man who feels that his life and character and honour are bound up with his country. When such a spirit is diffused widely through the land, when every true Englishman has a heart as liberal as the Queen of Sheba, to bring his gold and spices and precious stones as offerings to Him who is greater than Solomon, then may we hope that, as *King Solomon gave the Queen of Sheba all her desire, whatsoever she askt, beside what he gave her of his royal bounty*, so will our heavenly King and Teacher give us all we ask and desire, beside that which He gives us of His royal bounty. His highest, most precious gift is given to us in free royal grace, without money and without price: but only if a spirit of largehearted munificence spreads through England, can we hope that our wishes for the temporal prosperity and moral wellbeing of our country will be fulfilled. Then, and then alone, will our sons grow up as the young plants, and our daughters be as the polisht corners of the temple: then, but not till then, shall we taste the blessedness promist to the people who have the Lord for their God.

THE DUTY OF PREPARING THE WAY OF THE LORD:

A SERMON PREACHT

IN THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, LEWES,

ON FRIDAY, APRIL 23rd, 1842,

ON OCCASION OF A MEETING
FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MISSIONARY ASSOCIATIONS
IN LEWES AND THE SURROUNDING PARISHES.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

HENRY THOMAS, EARL OF CHICHESTER.

My dear Lord,

I cannot deny myself the pleasure of dedicating this Sermon to you. Indeed there are several considerations, which seem to convert this pleasure into a duty,—your position at the head of one of the chief Missionary Societies in our Church,—the zealous interest you take in whatever tends to promote the Glory of God, and to enlarge and strengthen the Kingdom of His Son, both at home and abroad,—and your earnest desire to further the spiritual no less than the temporal welfare of the town of Lewes, which, as it has the happiness of being placed in your immediate neighbourhood, you are thus led to regard as having a special claim to your tutelary care.

It is a great happiness when our duties thus coincide with our pleasures; and it is a happiness which, you well know, is ever bountifully granted by the Giver of all good gifts to the Christian. Even heathen philosophers were enabled to discern, that duty is, or at least ought to be, the one source of all genuine pleasure: but, as the love whereby it becomes so had not yet been made manifest, their doctrine was held to be paradoxical, and was impugned

too successfully by those who asserted the opposite proposition, that the pursuit of pleasure is the only duty. Christianity however has explained and reconciled these seeming contradictions: for, when the love of Christ constrains us, our affections themselves draw us to do, and to find our highest delight in doing that, which at the same time we recognize that we are bound by every obligation to do for the sake of our Saviour and Redeemer. Still indeed, in the warfare of extermination against evil, which we are called to wage both within ourselves and without, the performance of duty will often be painful; but the love of Christ has a transubstantiating power of changing that pain into pleasure.

This union of pleasure with duty extends through all the relations of the Christian life, and, in proportion as that life pervades any community, will branch through all the relations of that community. To me a distincter perception of this truth has been frequently afforded, ever since I was raised to an office which has given me a wider sphere of action in the Church. All manner of cheering encouragements have been vouchsafed to me; but none has been more cheering, than the ready, cordial, friendly, active co-operation, which I have received from you, in everything that has been undertaken for the good of this Diocese. It is indeed a happy day for a country, when those who are foremost in rank are also foremost in every good work. O that God, looking down in mercy upon England, would endow a greater portion of our aristocracy and gentry with a zeal like yours! We should then be far better prepared to meet the coming dangers. With a more confident assurance do I pray that He may

continually make you still more active in His service, and clothe you more and more richly with every grace of His Spirit. And may He render me duly thankful for the blessing of your friendship and help.

Your grateful and affectionate Servant

J. C. HARE.

THE DUTY OF PREPARING THE WAY OF THE LORD.

ISAIAH xl. 3.

Prepare ye the way of the Lord: make straight in the desert a highway for our God.

THERE is something wonderfully grand in these words. The very sound of them thrills us with awe and admiration, when we hear them read in church, or sung, as many of you doubtless have heard them, in one of the noblest works of Christian music. No words can more strongly bear the mark of inspiration. Even without reference to their special prophetic signification, and to the accomplishment which they received centuries after they were spoken, it is plain on the very face of them that they are a message from God. And what a divine fulness of meaning there is in them! They bring a command from God. By a single word they remind the persons to whom that command is addrest, of their dreary, forlorn condition, in the midst of *a desert*. They direct these persons what they are to do in this desert: they are *to prepare a way, to make straight a highway;* a work which, in its literal sense, is of scanty interest to the workmen, and yields them little pleasure, and which moreover is commoner in thickly peopled countries than in deserts: but this way is to be a way of a new kind: it is to be *the way of the Lord, a highway for our God.* Thus the work becomes one of

the utmost importance, and in which it is a privilege and glory to be employed: nay, the words themselves imply that it must be a great blessing to be employed in such a work. For, as the command comes from God, and none of God's words can be vain,—as it is impossible that He should command a work, unless it be His purpose that the end, for which that work is commanded, should be fulfilled, conditionally at least, provided the preparatory work be completed, if not absolutely,—it is clear that the words of the text convey a promise and assurance, that, if the way be prepared, if the highway be made straight, the Lord God will pass along it.

Thus much is plain on the face of the words themselves, without regard to their specific place in Scripture, or to any subsequent references to them in other parts of the Bible, whereby their purport may be more distinctly brought out. But when we have seen thus much of the glorious meaning contained in these words, we must needs wish to discern still more of it. We cannot be content to turn away and pass on: we cannot well refrain from asking, To whom was this command delivered? who were the people living in the desert? and in what desert? what manner of way were they to prepare in it? has that way ever been prepared? has the Lord God ever past over it? does He pass over it still? O where? let us hasten to the place, if so be we may see Him pass.

Now when we look into that portion of the prophetic volume, from which the text is taken, and at the head of which it stands, we find that in one sense, the literal and primary sense, both the command and the promise involved in it were fulfilled more than two thousand years ago. For there can be no question that the text, like the chief

part of the books of the prophets, had an immediate reference to the events of the time, and received an immediate accomplishment. The desert was indeed such: it was the desert which then, as ever, separated Babylon from Jerusalem, and which all such as quit Babylon, and desire to go to Jerusalem, must traverse. The way too was prepared; the highway was made straight; and God did pass over it. He past over it, when He led His chosen people from Babylon through the wilderness back to His city upon His holy hill of Zion, even as He had led them through the wilderness out of Egypt, He who alone can lead men, whether out of Egypt or out of Babylon, to a place where they shall see Him walking before them. God did pass over the way, and brought the children of Israel along it from Babylon back to Jerusalem. Now even if the bearing of the text did not reach beyond this one event, it would still be a passage of much interest. For when regarded from the lowest point of view, as a mere historical event, this return of the Jews from their captivity is a wonderful crisis in their history, a crisis without a parallel in the history of the rest of the world. Nations, after they have reacht a high pitch of power and glory, have fallen and perisht: in this there is nothing singular. The law of death,—*Thou shalt surely die*,—was not merely uttered against every child of man individually, but against every combination and society also in which men can unite themselves together; the Church of God alone excepted, which, as proceeding from Him, is indestructible. Life is prolonged by such unions; but death is not averted. Nations will endure for many generations; but their turn also has always come hitherto, sooner or later. Often too has the arrival of that term been accelerated by human

agency. Death has many instruments wherewith to accomplish his purposes; but the most destructive and the commonest have ever been the sins of mankind. For this has from the first been the work of Sin, to feed and glut her insatiable child; and in this her work man has always lent ready aid. As though the onslaught of Death, according to the course of nature, were not sure and rapid enough, men have hurried him on by their clamorous vices, and have rusht over the earth to prepare his way. Ambition has drawn his sword; Cruelty has wielded his scourge; Fraud has darted his arrows; the Lusts of the Flesh have mixt his poisons, and sow slow-working seeds in their victims, of which anon he comes and reaps the harvest. Nor is it solely the decay of individuals that is hastened by the sins of mankind. As man draws his sword to slay his brother, so do nations also go forth sword in hand to destroy each other. Here again men chide Death for being so tardy, and bid him quicken his onset, and blot their rival out of the number of nations. This therefore, although no mark of Death's footsteps, as he has walkt to and fro among the generations of men, can be contemplated without a stirring of the waters pent up in our bosoms, is not that which is peculiar and singular in the event of Jewish history referred to in the text. The destruction of Jerusalem and of the kingdom of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar is an occurrence the like of which has often come to the top, among the revolving destinies of mankind. It merely shews how the law of death has gone forth against nations, as well as against individuals; and how for the march of Death against nations also man will prepare a way, and make straight a highway. This is the ordinary course of humanity:

as men both die and kill, so do nations perish and destroy. The peculiar and singular feature in Jewish history is not this, but the reverse of this; not that the kingdom of Judah was destroyed, but that it was restored. This is what marks out the Jewish history from all other histories, and shews that a higher power was overruling the murderous ministrations of man: and hence the history of the Jews is not, like other histories, an example of the usual course of human life, but a type and foreshadowing of a higher order, by which a way is opened out of death to a new life. So that, when we learn that the way was to be prepared, the highway to be made straight, in order that the nation which had perisht, might come back from the grave over it, we may feel sure even from this that the way which was to be prepared, was to be the way of the Lord, who alone can bring back the dead to life,—that the highway which was to be made straight, was a highway for our God.

Thus, even confining ourselves to this its primary meaning, the text, we perceive, is rich in matter for deep and wondering contemplation, in that it sets forth the immediate workings of God in history, counteracting the death-dealing operations of man, and calling back those whom man had destroyed, to live a new life. This is the prophetic thread, which runs through the history of the Jews, and makes it the counterpart and complement to all other histories. While other histories tell us how nations have arisen, and grown up, and spread, and flourisht, and decayed, and perisht, in accordance with that great law to which man and all his works are subject, the history of the Hebrews on the other hand foreshews and typifies a higher, spiritual order. At its very outset it shews us how by nature we

are born in bondage, and how we need to be delivered out of that bondage by a power beyond ourselves, and even beyond our conceptions and desires, — how we need to be raised by the power of God out of the corruption of our natural life, before we can become His people; wherefore we are reminded of this second supernatural birth of the Jewish nation every time a child is brought to the baptismal font. In like manner that restoration of the Jewish nation, to which the text refers, is a type of the twofold resurrection to which God has called mankind. It is a type of the first resurrection from sin, and also of the second resurrection from death; as may be seen for instance in the vision where Ezekiel, inverting this order between the type and the antitype, beholds a sign of the resurrection of the Jewish nation in the valley of dry bones: and as both these resurrections are God's works, which can only be wrought by Him in us, the helpless children of sin and death, whatever preparations may be made either for the one or for the other, must be preparations for the coming of the Lord.

If we were to follow out this view of the text, we should be led to perceive that it is not merely of deep interest in consequence of the wonderful historical event to which it refers, but also still more from its bearings upon our spiritual life, upon the path to be trodden by every one who desires to pass out of death into life, from Babylon to Zion. We might discern this from the text itself, even if there were no other passages in Scripture directing us thus to apply it. But we all know that there are other most impressive and memorable passages, standing in the very front of the Gospels, which declare that the words of the text were not merely uttered with reference to the

restoration of the Israelites out of their Captivity, but also in anticipation of a far higher, more glorious, and more blessed event, in comparison with the importance of which that restoration of the Israelites fades away. We know that by all the Evangelists, and by the holy Baptist himself, the words of the text are declared to apply in their fullest force to his sacred mission, and that this was the special work for which he was set apart from the womb, in order that he might *prepare the way of the Lord, and make straight in the desert a highway for our God.*

This was the Baptist's great work; and this work, we know, he accomplisht. He spent his whole life in preparing the way of the Lord; and the promise involved in the command, we know, was also fulfilled. When the fulness of time was come, the Lord did pass over the way which had been prepared for Him. But does the command in the text, and the accompanying promise, sink back therefore into the bygone ages of history? Is its sole reference to events long since past, and its sole value, that it attests how those events were foreseen ages before? Has it no immediate bearing on our present condition and duties and hopes? Surely all the events in the sacred story had not merely a single outward temporal existence, but were meant to be ever renewed spiritually. That which Christ did once, when He was on earth in the flesh, is to take place in a certain sense over again in the hearts of all His servants. That which was done by His forerunner and His disciples, when He was dwelling with them and amongst them, must be done over again by us now, even as the relation in which we now stand to Him is, or ought to be, the same as that in which they stood. Or was it enough that Christ came once, and

trod the way which had been prepared for Him? Surely, if He had not purpost to come to others, beside those to whom He came in the body, His coming would never have been ordained from the beginning, or announced so distinctly centuries before. The evangelical history would then only have borne witness how the wisdom and power and mercy of God had been utterly baffled by the obstinate wickedness of mankind. When we look round on the face of the earth, we cannot but be convinced that, although the Baptist laboured so diligently, and gave up his life in preparing the way of the Lord, the way of the Lord has not yet been prepared sufficiently: it is not yet wide enough: it does not yet reach over the earth: mankind have not yet, cannot yet walk after the Lord along it. Even the roads made for earthly traffic need continual repairs; else the storms will wash them away, or time and the changes of the seasons will break them up. So too is it with the way of the Lord: the pleasures of the world are ever undermining it; the storms of the world are striving to break it up and wash it away; and unless the servants of the Lord laboured perseveringly to maintain and repair it, no trace of it would ere long be seen upon earth. So that the command in the text was not merely issued primarily to the children of Israel in the days when God was pleased to deliver them out of their Captivity, and to set up His people again in the land which He had given to their fathers; nor merely to them, and secondarily to the holy Messenger, who was sent, with the power of Elias, to prepare a way for the coming of the Saviour; but also, in a wider sense, to all the servants of the Lord in all ages, from the Apostles who dwelt before His sight, down to the end of the world,—to every one

whom He has called to be among His labourers, in order to the preparation of that blessed time, when He will walk to and fro upon the earth, holding communion with all its inhabitants, even as He walkt with Adam, and talkt with Adam in Paradise.

But who are they, whom God has appointed to labour for Him in this great and glorious work of preparing His way before Him? In the first place, the application of these words to the holy Baptist would direct our thoughts to those who are in like manner specially ordained and set apart for the ministry of preparing the way of the Lord, by turning the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just. And if my main purpose in this Sermon were to preach to my brethren in this sacred ministry, it would be my endeavour to draw forth some of those treasures of divine truth,—the treasures of exhortation, and admonition, and warning, and encouragement,—which are stored up for us in the text. I should have tried to point out how these few words comprise the sum and substance of our duties,—how it behoves us to bear always in mind, that this, and nothing short of this, is the task to which we are called,—how our business is not merely, or mainly, to make our parishioners comfortable and industrious and sober and honest and peaceable and kindly, but to prepare the way of the Lord in their hearts,—how, if we are enabled to effect this, we shall at the same time do all the rest, but, if we aim at anything less than this, we shall assuredly fail, both in accomplishing that which ought to be the end of all our efforts, and that lesser end, on which we may have fixt our desires. Again, the text would have led me to consider the high motives which the text places before us to spur us on in

our work,—how we are commissioned to prepare the Lord's way in the midst of a desert, and to bring His people out of that desert; and this very expression might have furnisht me with encouragement for those who, through the infirmity of their nature, may be over-ready to despond at the sight of the desert around them: for it teaches us that this is the region in which we are especially set to work,—not in a garden, as Adam was in Eden, where the flowers and fruits sprang up as the natural growth of the soil,—not in a rich, cultivated country, where the labour of the husbandman is rewarded by a plenteous crop, —but in a desert, where consequently there is greater need of our labour, and where stronger motives of compassion constrain us to help in saving and feeding those who are wandering and pining in that desert, and who, without timely care, must perish. Moreover the text would have warranted me in urging a still higher motive for our diligence, a motive drawn from the end set before us, from the assurance given to us by Him whose word can never fail, that, if we do indeed labour strenuously and perseveringly in preparing His way, if we make straight a highway for Him in the hearts of our people, He will pass over it. He who, when His way had been prepared in the wilderness, led back the children of Israel out of their captivity to Zion,—He who, when the Baptist had prepared His way by calling the Jews to repentance, walkt along that way, with the Gospel of the Kingdom in His hand, in the person of His Incarnate Son,—He still desires to walk over the earth, to walk over every part of it, in the sight of His redeemed people, if so be that His servants and messengers will give up their hearts

and souls and minds and strength to the blessed work of preparing a way for Him.

I am not set here however today to preach to my brethren in the ministry: I am set to preach to all of you, to whatever class or order you may belong, as many as are assembled today here in this house of God: and it would little profit the chief part of you, were I to confine myself to speaking to a few amongst you, when the rest, it is certain, must be still more in need of godly admonition and exhortation. Therefore I should have chosen my text very injudiciously, if it afforded no occasion for such admonition and exhortation as may come home to the bosom and the business of every Christian. But is this the case? Are the consecrated ministers of the Gospel the only persons who are ordained to prepare the way of the Lord, and to make straight a highway for our God? Surely this cannot be: indeed if this were so, if others did not work along with them, if you, my lay brethren, do not work along with us, your ministers, in preparing the way of the Lord, our labour must be vain: so far as you are concerned, at all events, it must be utterly vain. Even when our Lord Himself was upon earth, His mighty, soulpiercing words often fell powerless at the moment, because men would not open their ears, and would not soften their hearts, and would not cast down their imaginations, and would not throw away those sins, which stopt their ears, and hardened their hearts, and puft out their imaginations. So too must it be now. If you, my brethren, will not work along with us, even though the Spirit of God put His word into our mouths, that word will produce no effect upon you. If you stop your ears,—

if you do not unstop them,—if you do not purge them of that which makes them deaf to the voice of the heavenly Charmer,—you will not hear it. If you harden your hearts,—if you do not strive to tear off that triple coating of selfishness and wilfulness and worldliness wherein they are encased, so long as they continue in their natural state, —the word will not enter into your hearts. If you puff out your imaginations, — if you continue to feed them with that which swells them out and bloats them,—if you do not bring them down to a sparer and wholesomer diet,—the word of God itself will only pamper your idle conceits. Yes, brethren, you must work along with us. All of you, every single one of you, is called to do so, to work along with us, your ministers, in preparing the way of the Lord, in making straight a highway for our God. To this glorious ministry, to this holy priesthood, you have all a vocation. And the field in which you are to exercise this vocation, with you, as with us, is twofold. There is one field within you, and another in the world without you: we have to work in both these fields; and so have you. The only difference is, that we are more especially and solemnly bound to devote the whole outward activity of our lives to labouring in the field of the world around us, with a direct view to the preparing of God's way in it; whereas the main part of your occupations relates to increasing the powers of the world, and maintaining its progress, and establishing and upholding its order. But in the inward field, the field of our own hearts and souls and minds, both of us, you and we, we and you, are bound to labour continually in preparing the way of the Lord: and if we neglect this portion of our work, whatever we may attempt to do in the outward

field, even though we should toil in it from morning to night, will be futile and unprofitable.

Some of you indeed may not improbably think, that, even though the rest of the text may be applicable to you, no less than to the persons to whom it was immediately addrest, still there is one expression in it, and one which in no slight degree modifies the meaning of the whole, in which you cannot be concerned. *For how can we*, you may say to yourselves, *be called to prepare the way of the Lord in a desert? we who are dwelling in a rich, civilized, orderly town, a town memorable for many centuries in history,—we who have been baptized into the Church of Christ,—we who have been trained from our infancy in the knowledge of God,—we who are wont to gather together in His house for His worship,—what can we, who enjoy all these advantages, all these blessings, have to do with labouring in a desert? And inasmuch as we are not in a desert, our work must be far less arduous, far less laborious, than that of making a highway in such a wild region: we can only have to keep the ways around us, which were made by our ancestors long ago, in repair; and this may easily be done by working now and then, when we have nothing more profitable or important in hand.* Now I am far from intending to undervalue any of these advantages, any of these blessings, as you rightly deem them, all of which, unless they are abused, may be great, and some of which are beyond all price. Nevertheless a seeming paradox, which is frequently coming across us in the course of our Christian contemplations, holds true most certainly in this matter also: for if we have no feeling of our being in a desert, this is the surest proof of our being for the present utterly bewildered in it. This seems a paradox;

but it is not one: for it amounts to no more than this, that a man totally blind may possibly be unconscious of his blindness, but a man partially blind cannot. If you conceive that you cannot be living in a desert, because you are living in a rich and well-ordered town, with all the means and garniture of comfort and luxury, this would only prove that you know not what a moral desert is. Even the Epicurean sceptic found out, that "To sit on rocks, to muse o'er flood or fell, To climb the trackless mountain all unseen, is not solitude;" but that the true, dismal, forlorn solitude is "Amid the crowd, the hum, the shock of men, To hear, to see, to feel, and to possess, With none who bless us, none whom we can bless." And surely the temples of Baal, the temples of Moloch, the temples of Ashtaroth were deserts, notwithstanding their thronging worshipers, notwithstanding the grandeur of their architecture and the splendour of their adornment. Or what would you say of Pandemonium? Our great poet has represented that, "Not Babylon, Nor great Alcairo its magnificence Equaled in all their glories;" and that "the airy crowd Swarmed and were straitened" in it. Yet every spirit in that thick, straitened crowd was alone: the solitude, the barrenness, the forlornness, the desolation of hell was around and in every spirit in all that ghastly swarm. For why? God was afar from them: and he who is afar from God must ever be in a desert, even though he dwell amid the splendour and the pressing throng of Pandemonium. And as God was afar from them, so was love, the only bond of union; while every spirit was filled with hatred and fierceness and cruelty and covetousness and lust and jealousy and envy, and whatever splits and rends and shivers the divine unity

of the universe. In like manner we too, my brethren, whatever our condition and situation, whatever our occupation may be, insomuch as we are afar from God, are in a desert, whether we know it or not. By nature we are all entirely so, and know nothing of it. In proportion as we are brought to a knowledge of God, of His surpassing Holiness, and of His infinite Love, and how that Holiness is no less essential than that Love to His eternal Unity, we feel more and more vividly how that portion of us which lingers afar from God, amid the toils of the world and the snares of sin, is in a desert; we discern that this is the Eden, from which we were banisht by the Fall, the presence of God; and that, only so far as every portion of our nature has been sown with the seed of the Word, and as that seed is springing up in it, can we escape out of that wilderness, and return back to the Paradise for which we were created.

Yet at all events we who have been baptized into the Church of Christ, we who have been bred up in the admonition of the Lord, we who are wont to gather together in His house, cannot possibly be in a desert. In one sense, it is very true, you cannot. So far as depends upon God, you are not: for He has brought you out of it: He has placed you in the rich and beauteous garden of His Church. But, inasmuch as it depends in great measure on ourselves where we are,—inasmuch as our circumstances are mainly what we make them and deem them to be,—so that a heart which brought the passions of hell into heaven, would be haunted, even in the courts of heaven, by the fears and pangs and black horrour of hell,—it has ever happened that, even within the pale of Christ's Church, wide regions have lain waste, deserts have spread themselves out, and

in the most fruitful fields many a spot has been bare. After the Israelites had been redeemed out of their Egyptian bondage, and had past through the baptism of the Red Sea, they had still to abide many years in the wilderness before they could reach the Promist Land: and after they did reach it, how many desert places do we come to in their history, deserts which seem to have become more and more destitute of all foodful grain, while the weeds in them became ranker and more luxuriant! This too is only a type of the history of the Church, a history which is continually acted over again, with greater or less variations, in every individual soul. Yes, my brethren, undoubtedly God has brought you out of that dismal desert wherein you were born; He brought you out of it, when He planted you in the garden of His Church: but you have brought large expanses of that desert along with you into His Church; you have brought them in your own hearts. All your feelings, which are afar from God, belong to the desert: all your thoughts, which are alien from God, belong to the desert: and in this desert you are called to prepare a highway, in order that God may pass over it.

Here we are met by the question, how is the way of the Lord to be prepared? The text commands us to prepare it: does it throw any light on the manner in which this work is to be accomplisht? Yes; there is one expression in the text, from which we may learn the specific character of our task: for we are commanded to *make straight* in the desert a highway for our God. Hence we may perceive that, as the desert in which we are called to prepare this way is a moral desert, so is the way itself to be a way of moral straightness: in other words, it is

the way of righteousness. The desert is not straight. It is full of ups and downs, of rugged mounds and steep precipices, of pits and chasms; and all these are to be made straight. Thus, you will remember, is our task set forth in the verse which follows the text. *Every valley is to be exalted, and every mountain and hill to be made low; the crooked is to be made straight, and the rough places plain.* This description is well known to represent the labours incumbent upon the pioneers who preceded the march of an Eastern king. As armies in those ages and countries had often to pass through wild and pathless regions, the pioneers went before to prepare a way for them, by filling up hollows, and leveling mounds, and cutting down woods and thickets. We too in these days are still better able to realize this description, seeing that so large a portion of the wealth and strength of England has been expended for some years past in this very work of making highways straight, by exalting the vallies, and laying the hills low, and making the crooked straight, and the rough plain. Accordingly, if we were more careful in seeking the spiritual purpose and meaning of the temporal gifts with which we are so richly supplied, we should regard these highways as types of the way which we have to prepare and make straight for God in our own hearts, and in the hearts of all mankind. For here too every valley is to be exalted; every base and groveling feeling is to be lifted up: every mountain and hill must be made low; every proud and lofty and swelling imagination, and whatsoever raises itself up against God, must be cast down: whatsoever is crooked, all the paths of cunning and falsehood and fraud, whatever swerves from truth and honesty to the right hand or to the left, must be made straight;

and the rough places, the stubbornness of our will, and all unkindness and hatred and malice and envy and jealousy, must be made plain, and smoothed down to that evenness and gentleness and sweetness, which becomes the followers of Christ.

Such, my brethren, is the work which is enjoined upon us, when we are commanded by the prophet to make straight a highway for our God. In this manner had the holy Baptist prepared a way for the Saviour in his own heart; and in this manner did he endeavour to prepare it in the hearts of his countrymen. We know how all base fears had been banisht from his soul, and how boldly he lifted up his voice to rebuke sin, under whatever form it confronted him. We know with what humility he shrank from the honour forced upon him by the Saviour, and how willingly and joyfully he decreast, in order that Christ should increase. We know the lessons of kindness which he inculcated on the rude soldiers. We know how he eschewed all crooked paths, how straightforwardly he bore witness of the truth. We know too how God did pass along the way which had been thus diligently prepared for Him, and gave His servant the power to continue faithful unto death, and to glorify Him thereby. So that in this example we may find an additional assurance of what our own reward will be, how glorious, how blessed, if we also labour diligently like the Baptist in preparing the way of the Lord.

In other words, the command imposed on us in the text is a summing up and concentration of the Law. For this was the great end and aim of the Law, to prepare and make straight a highway for the Lord in the midst of that desert, with which the heart of man, since his fall from Paradise,

had been overspread. Thus in this respect also was the Law a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ: it commanded us to make straight a highway in our hearts, in order that God might pass over it. But does not the prophet's command then enjoin far more than man can possibly accomplish? Yes, brethren, even as the Law does. Every one of God's commandments enjoins more than man, in his native state of infirmity, can accomplish: nay, many of them enjoin far more than man, when he first hears them, can even understand or conceive. An infant will stretch out its little hand to lay hold on the stars: the uneducated fancy they are stuck in the blue vault, a few miles off over their heads: and only by the researches of science carried on for century after century have we been enabled to discover their enormous distance, and that each little speck of light is a world. So it is with God's Law. Some of its commandments are within the reach of all: there are some, that all may keep; and by keeping them we find out how many there are that we have not kept, and cannot keep: the further too we advance in any part of it, the further the horizon recedes before us. Every one can at all events make straight the path before his own door. He may lift up some of his baser thoughts, or at least lift up his heart from them to something loftier and more ennobling: he may humble some of his prouder and vainer thoughts, by fixing his mind steadily on that which is blameworthy, rather than that which may be comparatively praiseworthy in his conduct, on that which is weak and frail and faulty in his nature: he may straighten some of the crookednesses in his life, and smoothen some of its roughnesses. He may keep from falsehood, from deceit, from vainboasting, from gross self-indulgence, from cruelty, from violence, of language

as well as of action. And when the dawn has once begun in a man's soul, every succeeding moment ought to be lighter than the preceding, and indeed will be so according to the order of nature, unless we forcibly shut out the light, seeing that the light does not issue from ourselves, but descends upon us from above. If indeed the command that we are to make straight our ways, had come from a human lawgiver, meditating on the idea of what ought to be, without due consideration of what can and may be, we might have been utterly incapable of obeying it: but God's commandments necessarily imply that they may be fulfilled, that is, partially,—at first poorly and feebly, but by degrees better, and still better. For God's word is a living word, and breathes strength into him who receives it willingly, even as in the vision of the prophet the spirit of the living creature is in the wheels, and whithersoever the living creatures go, the wheels go, because the spirit moves the wheels.

Moreover, as the first motions toward this our work of making straight a highway for our God, flow from God,—and indeed must do so, since without His express command we could never have dreamt that we could be employed in so glorious and blessed a task,—so do we find the most powerful of all encouragements in the assurance conveyed to us by the text, that, if we do prepare the highway, God will pass over it. That assurance is confirmed by the evidence of history. God did bring His people back through the wilderness from Babylon to Zion. When the Baptist had gone before Him to prepare His way, the Son of God did come, bringing us redemption and salvation, victory over all our enemies, and an inheritance of everlasting glory. In like manner, during the eighteen

centuries since, whenever a man has seriously endeavoured to make straight a highway for the Lord in his heart, God has come to him; nor has there ever been a single instance in which His promise has failed. Sooner would the sun have failed to rise, or the earth to roll round in her daily course. It may indeed be alledged, that there have been men who have attained to a considerable pitch of moral excellence, and who yet do not seem to have been visited by the Spirit of grace. Such men however, if we could search their hearts, we should find, have not been employed in preparing a way for the Lord: they have only been labouring to make straight a highway for themselves, for their own will and ambition, for their own glory and renown; and they have had their reward. On the other hand we may assert, with the most unhesitating confidence, that no man has ever made straight a highway for the Lord, but God has come to him, and walkt along that highway. Nay more; not a single earnest effort to prepare such a way has ever failed of obtaining a blessing from on high. He who prompted that effort in the first instance, has come to His obedient servant, and prompted him to still higher exertions. Of this you may feel thoroughly assured, brethren: no earnest effort in God's service has ever gone without its reward. If, giving heed to the motions of His Spirit, you bring forth thirtyfold, He comes to you, and calls on you, and helps you to bring forth sixtyfold. If you bring forth sixtyfold, He will help you to bring forth a hundredfold. There must be those among you who can avouch the truth of this from their own experience. Many of you, I would fain hope and trust, must be able to discern, when you look back on your past lives, how blessed the result has ever been when you have indeed

laboured diligently in preparing the way of the Lord. O may you all be enabled to taste this blessedness! May you all be stirred to look upon this as the great business of your lives, to prepare a way for the Lord, and to make straight in the desert a highway for your God! And then, when God does pass along the highway that has been prepared for Him, the wilderness and the solitary place will be glad, and the desert will rejoice and blossom like the rose.

This, brethren, is one of the modes in which every Christian is bound to obey the commandment in the text, by preparing the way of the Lord in his own heart. But there is also another mode of fulfilling it, as was observed above, by preparing the way of the Lord in the hearts of our brethren: and the occasion which has brought us together this day, will not allow me to conclude without saying a few words on this head also. For this too is a duty incumbent upon every Christian. Certain portions of it do indeed belong more especially to us who are ordained to the ministry of reconciliation: but every one who has any part in Christ, should deem that he too is called to bear his share in this great and glorious duty. As a member of Christ, he should take part in this, Christ's great work. And what a work is it to be employed on! a work of faith, a work of compassion, a work of mercy, a work of love, a work by which souls are to be saved, by which Satan is to be cast out, and the Kingdom of Christ is to be spread over the earth. Here, we know too well, there is no lack of deserts through which to prepare the way of the Lord. Without reckoning the dismal deserts which are still to be found in every part of every Christian land, look at any map of the world,

and you will see how large a portion of it is an utter desert, not even bearing the name of Christ. The souls that are pining amid that desert are said to amount to six hundred millions, three fourths of the whole human race. This desert is covered with the most abject ignorance, with humanity scarcely emerging from, or sinking back into the nature of the beasts that perish, with every imaginable form of sin, with the smouldering ashes of an extinct civilization, with the lees and dregs of earthly grandeur and beauty, with many rank, putrid hotbeds of crime, with thick masses of gaudy and poisonous weeds. Everything may be found in it except the way of the Lord, and those graces which only spring up by the side of that way. Here then is abundance of work before us, — work to which we are stimulated by the blessed results sure to arise from it,—work to which England is especially called, and for which she is markt out from all nations. For assuredly it is the special calling of England to prepare a way for the Lord over the earth. Or to what end are we gifted with our enormous, unexampled wealth? to what end are we gifted with our universal empire? to what end are we blest with a Church, which, while it is charged with the pure lamp of evangelical truth, at the same time, by retaining its ancestral constitution, is enabled to spread its arms on every side through all lands without impairing its unity? To what end have all those newly discovered mechanical powers been committed to us, by which the old tight-pressing bonds of time and space, whereby man had been shackled for so many ages, have suddenly been stretcht and expanded, so that what was far off is brought near, what was unknown is become well known? To what end, I ask, are we entrusted with all these great

and wonderful gifts? Is it in order that the wealth of England, and the power of England, and the intellect of England, should be consumed in preparing a way for Mammon, and making straight a highway for Belial and for Ashtaroth? God forbid! Let England do her duty: let her work, according to the mighty means committed to her, in preparing a way for the Lord, and casting across the wide ocean a highway for our God.

In this work it behoves us all, the highest and the lowest, the poorest as well as the richest, to take part. I have been speaking of the mechanical wonders which have come to light of late years; but these are not the only wonders wrought of late years. Had they been so, had there been no evidence of a diviner power stirring amongst us, it might have been a question whether they should not rank among the wonders of Pandemonium: and assuredly, if we do not sanctify them, if we do not consecrate them to the service of God, if we employ them solely in the service of Mammon and of Belial and of Ashtaroth,—as the means of increasing those huge piles of wealth, which are already toppling over from their unnatural highth, and threatening to spread devastation around,—or in pampering our morbid and ravenous luxury, our restless self-indulgence, our frivolous, superficial curiosity,—then these also will belong to that class of lying wonders, wherewith the spirits of evil are from time to time allowed to deceive such as desire to be deceived. But, like everything earthly, they may be wrested from Satan, and devoted to God. This is the purpose for which they were designed; and it lies with us,—I do not mean with us, who are here present, but with us and our fellowcountrymen, with the whole people of England,—to take care that

this purpose be accomplisht. We have much to atone for, numberless blessings to make return for. We have to atone for the disgraceful negligence of England during centuries; we have, many of us, to atone for our own negligence hitherto. Let the thought of our poor puny efforts during the past stir us up to redoubled energy for the future. And, as I said just now, other wonders have been shewn forth of late, beside those mechanical wonders which dazzle the children of this world, spiritual wonders, wonders which bear the mark that they come immediately from God. We are not left to the assurance of ancient prophecy, that, if we prepare a way for the Lord, He will pass over it: He may be seen passing along at this day. Whithersoever the eye turns, East or West or South, or if it pierce through to the Antipodes, wherever the preachers of the Gospel are making straight a highway for our God through the desert, our God may be seen passing along it. Conversions, which used to be rare, now take place by hundreds: tribes are flocking into the Church of Christ: the rudest savages are bowing down their humbled and softened hearts in adoring love before the name of the Redeemer.

At such a time, when God is doing so much, let not us, His poor servants, whom He has honoured with such a high calling, be wanting to His service. Let us do what we can in order to prepare His way. Make your offering to God this day with thankful hearts for calling you to this glorious work; and let your offerings be worthy of the work to which you are called. But I am not merely wishing to rouse you for the moment. I would not have your service in this great work a single fleeting impulse, like a falling star, glimmering for an instant, and then expiring

into rottenness. Let it shine steadily, constantly, as every heavenly impulse should, like the true stars in their unwearied course. Let it be a stedfast rule of your lives to keep in mind that you are called to prepare the way of the Lord in this manner also, as well as in your own hearts. You cannot do it in either effectually, unless you do it in both at once. Endeavour then to do it in both at once; and may you enjoy the twofold reward of seeing the Lord manifest Himself more and more clearly within your own souls, and more and more gloriously and mightily over the face of the earth! The way which we labour to prepare, shall then be *the way of holiness; and the redeemed of the Lord shall walk there; and the ransomed of the Lord shall come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads.*

THE PURPOSE OF MAN'S CREATION,

OR

THE WALK OF GOOD WORKS:

A SERMON PREACHT AT DUNCHURCH,

ON THURSDAY, SEPT. 7th, 1843,

AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHURCH-ASSOCIATION FOR THE RUGBY AND DUNCHURCH DEANERIES.

THE PURPOSE OF MAN'S CREATION,

OR

THE WALK OF GOOD WORKS.

EPHESIANS, ii. 10.

For we are God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them.

THIS is one of those pregnant verses, which we find so often in St Paul. It contains the germs of a whole system of theology, and, in its simple enunciation of divine truth, supplies us with a refutation of more than one noxious heresy, by which the Church of Christ has from time to time been troubled and divided. It sets forth the origin of our being, and its purpose, and teaches us how, and how alone, that purpose can be fulfilled. It declares the great threefold mystery, of our creation, of our redemption and regeneration, and of our sanctification.

We are God's workmanship. This is the first proposition conveyed in the text; and if we understand these words in that which would be their primary meaning, when they are taken by themselves, without reference to any special determination which that meaning may receive from the context, they express the great fundamental truth of all religion, the essential relation between man and God. *We are His workmanship.* This is the one main truth, the recognition of which severs Theism from Pantheism. It teaches us that there is a personal God, to whom we stand in the relation of creatures to a Creator. Think, brethren, for a moment, before we proceed, what an awful, what a

grand and ennobling revelation this is, to beings finding themselves placed on a wide never-ending floor, with a blue, spangled, ever-changing roof hanging beyond their reach over their heads, in the midst of multitudes of other beings, some of the same, many more of totally different kinds, coming they know not how or whence, going they know not whither, at one moment cherisht and ministered to by the elements, at another buffeted, overwhelmed, and crusht by them, haunted by a swarm of wants and appetites and cravings and desires, by dim, shadowy thoughts, and feelings that understand not their objects, and ever and anon seeing some of the beings of their own kind smitten, struck down, cut off, bereft of motion and strength, and mouldering away till they are mixt up with the mass of inanimate things, — what an awful and yet ennobling revelation must it have been to such beings, when a voice first sounded in their ears, and pierced to their hearts, saying, *Ye are God's workmanship! There is a God above you; and ye are His creatures, ye, and everything else that your eyes look upon. You are not the empty sport of chance: you did not sprout out of the ground, or drop from the sky: the winds did not waft you out of their caves; nor did the sunbeams draw you forth by their magical power out of any combination of the things around you: you are not mere shells or seaweeds left behind on the shores of this world by the receding waters of time. You, and all the other beings, and all the other things in the universe, are the workmanship of One Almighty, Allwise God.* For the declaration that we are God's workmanship cannot be narrowed to man exclusively. Although it may not of necessity imply that all other things were likewise made by the same power out of nothing, yet, if there be a Being so far above man,

as that the race of man is the work of His hands, it is plain that the same Being must at least exercise a supreme dominion over all other things, swaying and moulding and fashioning them according to His will, linkt as they are to mankind by innumerable all-embracing ties, and made to be subservient in so many ways to his various wants, physical, social, and political, and to his life itself. So that the assertion that we are God's workmanship must be nearly equivalent to that fuller account of the whole work of the Creation, which is revealed to us in the first chapter of Genesis.

What a change then must the recognition of this one truth have produced in every region of man's consciousness, in the whole frame and character of his heart and mind, in all his thoughts and feelings, whether directed toward himself, or toward the things and beings around him! I do not mean, that such a change can have been accomplisht in a single instant. According to the order of progression in this world, all transitions must be gradual. But it is one of the commonest processes of thought to sum up a series of consecutive acts, and to contemplate them only in their result, as though this were instantaneous. Indeed in a number of habitual acts, — as for instance in sight, hearing, speech,—we do this instinctively, in such a manner that it requires a subtile psychological analysis to resolve them into their component parts, and even to discover that they admit of resolution: and the application of this process to things, which to our microscopic organs appear far distant from each other, is sanctioned by the usage of the Scriptures, inasmuch as they utter the mind of Him before whom a thousand years are as one day. Thus the change wrought in man by the Gospel is

often spoken of as sudden and immediate; whereas the transition from the state of darkness to that of light is in most cases very gradual, and, unless it be so, is likelier to have been effected by a transient flash of lightning, than by the dayspring of the Sun of Righteousness. From the constitution of the human mind, it would be utterly impossible for any man to emerge at once from a condition of blind godlessness into an intelligent recognition of a Divine Maker. Still this is the cardinal point in the passage from savage ignorance to civility and culture, the recognition that we are not self-sprung, that we are not the offspring of the earth, nor of the elements, nor of chance, but the creatures of an overruling Mind, the workmanship of a God. For consider what this recognition implies. It implies that the condition of the universe, and of man in the universe, is not a condition of chaotic turbulence and capricious wilfulness, but of law and of order. It implies that there must be some bond whereby we are united to other beings of our own kind,—that,—to adopt the image to which the race of men was compared by the ancient poet, — we are not like fallen leaves, drifting along confusedly before every casual breeze, but like living leaves, that grow from the same stem, and form part of the same tree. It implies too, that there must also be some bond of union, some connexion and interdependence, nearer or more remote, between us and all other creatures, however different and even discrepant in appearance; inasmuch as all are the workmanship of the same God, and must therefore bear the stamp of the same Almighty Will; which, being One with a perfect unity, far beyond our conception, must at least cast a shadow of this unity on the Creation, wherein it has manifested itself.

Moreover, seeing that every work of an intelligent will is made to answer some purpose, which purpose will become more refined and profound and vast and complicated in proportion to the degree of intelligence wherewith that will is endowed, the declaration that we are God's workmanship further involves, that we must have a purpose to accomplish, an end for which we were made.

Hence this declaration puts us in the way of gaining an answer to another of the great questions which must needs puzzle and agitate every mind, as soon as it begins to meditate on itself, and perceives on the one hand that it has a certain power of regulating its own conduct, of determining its actions, of doing or not doing, of pursuing or refraining,—while on the other hand every act is felt to be a link in a chain, and to bring on a train of consequences, stretching illimitably along, and fraught oftentimes with weal or woe to the agent. The declaration that we are God's workmanship, not only reveals to us whence we came, and how we became what we are: it will also guide us to an answer to the question, *Why are we here?* Without the light shed by this declaration, that question merely quickens our intellect to discern the thick mass of clouds spread round about us. For if we put it to the outward inanimate world, that is silent, and tells us nothing of man. If we put it to our own consciousness, that may give us a multitude of varying, and almost contradictory answers, according to the momentary predominance of some one impulse or feeling or thought. When we look at the other objects in the natural world, we perceive that each has a path markt out for it, a course set before it, a law inwrought into it, and therefore overruling it. But when our eyes wander searchingly among the generations of mankind, to

discover the purpose and end of man's being, according to the idea of his nature, as realized in his actual condition,—the purpose and end for which he is what he is, and where he is,—then the definite becomes indefinite, the fixt vague, the simple infinitely entangled, the regular and orderly irregular and disorderly; and instead of a plain determinate law, we see little but indications of lawless will, and passion, and appetite, and chance, and caprice. Hence it became one of the favorite enquiries with the philosophers of antiquity, what is the end and purpose of man's being, the end and purpose which it behoves man to set before him. The importance of this enquiry excited their deepest interest: its perplexities sharpened their curiosity, and stimulated their ingenuity: but in investigating it they were led astray more or less by following the bias of their own minds, under the influences of their accidental position in the world; and thus they came to various and often very discordant conclusions, because they drew their arguments mainly from the examination of what man is in himself, or rather from what he appeared to them, when modified by all the circumstances of his age and country, without sufficient reference to his relation to his Divine Maker; without which reference all our knowledge of man must needs be fragmentary and very imperfect, even as our knowledge of a building, say of a church or cathedral, would be, unless we took into account that it is the work of a human architect, and that all its aisles and columns, its shafts and windows, were meant to be the expression of human thoughts, the symbols of human feelings, and to minister to human worship. But when we bear in mind that man is God's workmanship,—that he is so, not merely in his individual character, but also as a member of a race,

with all his relations, whether springing from his affections and desires, or from the wants of his nature, to the other members of that race, — that he is so moreover as a member of the whole created universe, occupying his peculiar station among all the other parts of the universe, not insulatedly, but so as to be connected therewith by innumerable fibres stretching to and fro, the bursting of which is tantamount to the destruction of life itself,—then we may plainly infer that the purpose for which man was created, is not a purpose which he was to set himself, of which he himself was to be the arbitrary author and absolute lawgiver, but a purpose which his Maker set him, and for the accomplishment of which his Maker made him such as he is, and endowed him with all his faculties and capacities. Hence, as the Will of God is One, and there cannot but be a harmony and consistency and unity pervading His manifold purposes, it follows that the purpose for which man was created, must in some measure harmonize and correspond with those purposes of his Maker, the marks of which we discern in the rest of the creation.

Thus the knowledge that we are God's workmanship must be a material help to us in our endeavours to ascertain the purpose of our being. What then, if we make use of the criterion hereby afforded to us, independently of any more positive revelation, shall we find that purpose to be? I know not in what plainer words to express it, than in those of the text: *we are God's workmanship, created unto good works.* The more we know of the creation, the larger survey we take of all the orders of created things, the deeper insight we gain into them, and into their mutual relations and modes of operation, the more convincingly do we perceive that God has willed to manifest

His own infinite Goodness in every part of the universe, and in this respect above all, that He has made all the members of it work together, not solely or mainly for their own good, but equally and coordinately for the good of each other. Hereby He has stampt the image of His own Goodness on all orders of creatures. He said to them, *Ye shall bear witness of your Maker in this, that ye shall all work together for good,*—for the good of the whole, and of every part; even as all the members of the body work together for the good of the whole, and each for the good of every other member, in which its own good is concluded, and without which its own good must suffer diminution. Now this purpose, we readily see, is abundantly fulfilled by all inanimate things, which, having no individuality, no self to minister to, seem to exist and to work after their kinds entirely for the benefit of others,—by the earth and the sun, by the revolution of the seasons, by the rain and the dew, by the light and the darkness, by the winds and the waters, by fire and ice, by the grass and corn, by herbs and trees. In brute animals also, in their conformation and distribution, their habits and their relations, more especially to man, we may detect sufficiently clear traces of the same overruling purpose. But when we come to man, when we view him in his natural state, at whatever stage of it, from the infant rudeness of blind ignorance down to the expiring torpour of an effete refinement, one of the very last things we should dream of saying of him, is, that he was *created unto good works.* If we ask ourselves, our own unregenerate and unenlightened consciousness, for what purpose we were created, one of the very last answers that we should obtain to such a question, would be, that we were *created unto good works.* In the

lower stages of savage life a man might answer, that he was created to eat and to drink, to beget children, to fight, to kill, and to die. With the progress of civilization other appetites and passions and desires come forward more prominently, and demand to be gratified. Men grow to deem that they were made to rule over the earth, to rule over their brethren, to heap up riches, to heap up power, to heap up knowledge,—that these are the noblest objects set before the noblest members of their kind, and that the rest exist for little else save that these pinnacles and spires should stand upon them and rise out of them. In the highest and purest state of the natural speculative mind, as exemplified in the wisest and best among the philosophers of antiquity, man did indeed advance so far as to discover that he was made to shew forth a certain class of virtues, those which imply strength, energy, courage, those which shine in the eyes of the world, those by which fame and glory are to be won, and mainly for this very reason, in order to win fame and glory. But in every view which the natural man has formed of the purpose of his being, even in the highest and purest, his eye has been fixt upon self as the centre of the picture, rising too almost like a pyramid out of a sandy flat. That which he is to do, he is to do for his own happiness, for his own glory, for the dignifying and ennobling of his own being. There is hardly any reference to the happiness and benefit of others, hardly any to that divine purity, which is ordained to be the bond of likeness and union between man and God: thus there is hardly any mention of what the Scriptures especially designate by the name of *good works*. According to all heathen philosophy man is his own end and aim. As it had never attained to a full perception of

the great primary truth, that *we are God's workmanship*, it could never deduce the inference, which we have seen to flow from that truth, that we are *created unto good works*.

And if, even in the highest flights of speculation, man was unable to look so far beyond the narrow horizon wherewith the spirit of self had fenced him in, much more, we may be sure, would he fail to realize this great purpose of his being in his practical conduct. Nay, the very last sight we must expect to meet with in any province of the heathen world, is a man living under the practical conviction that he was created unto good works. On the contrary, if we might allowably infer from the actual lives of men for what purpose they were created,— if, as from beholding the operation of the sun we conclude that he was made to give light and warmth, and from the operation of the earth that she was made to bring forth food for the creatures that dwell on her face, or at all events that these are among the foremost purposes for which the sun and the earth were created,—if, I say, we were in like manner to argue that the fruits which men bring forth must also be after their kind, and should therefore assume that we have in this manner got a clue to the purpose for which man was made,—surely the conclusion to which all the records of the heathen world would lead us, would rather be that mankind were created for evil works, than for good. Under the poisonous contagion of selfishness, exaggerating and bloating whatever relates to ourselves, and shriveling and withering what relates to others, men's feelings became passions, their wants became appetites, their desires became lusts; and none of these could be gratified, could gain that which they craved as essential to their

gratification, without more or less of injury to their neighbours. Thus every man's fist was clencht against every man; and every man's heart was whetted against every man: and though the instincts of natural affection, and friendship, and the bonds of society, and the obligations of law, and patriotism, checkt the universal devastation and desolation, which such a state of things would otherwise have produced, still, beyond the charmed circle over which these feelings extended their influence, strangers, as the very languages implied, were accounted enemies, who were to be eyed with jealous fear, and might be maltreated without any breach of duty. So far too were men from recognizing that their relation to their Divine Maker imposed any obligation to good works upon them, that they invested the beings whom they worshipt as gods with their own evil feelings and appetites, and made them live accordingly, not in good works, but in evil works, in the unrestrained indulgence of every carnal and spiritual lust.

Consequently we seem to have found a purpose of God with regard to mankind, which man thwarted and totally baffled. Man, we were led to conclude, was created by God unto good works: yet evidence which cannot be controverted or questioned, proves that, wherever he has been found, in every region of the earth, in every age and sex, in every state of society, in every class and rank, he has lived much rather in evil works. Nay, without ascending into that sphere of thought, where the very best works which man can perform are discerned to be frail and faulty, — that sphere of divine truth, where the heavens are seen to be impure, and the angels not exempt from imperfection,—even according to the conceptions of human morality, we may say, that man, who was created unto good

works, is proved by the testimony of all history and all experience, to have lived, so long as he continued in his natural state, almost entirely in evil works, or at best in works, which, if not plainly and grossly evil, had no claim to the title of good. Now can we suppose that God would allow His Almighty Will to be thus frustrated? Surely this cannot be. Were a man to stand in the path of the earth, and to stretch out his arm to thrust it back, he would either be crusht, or whirled along by its sweeping force: in like manner that which opposes itself against God, must either be dasht to destruction, or borne along upon the wings of His Will. If man, who was created by God unto good works, would only walk in evil works, what sentence could we look for? except, *Cut him down: why should he cumber the innocent, fruitbearing ground? why should the darkness of his sins rise up in the face of the pure, lightgiving sun? Man, who gives himself up to evil works, shall not be the lord of a world which was made to bring forth good works.* Surely, brethren, when we reflect on this awful perversion and audacious resistance, we may expect to hear the voice of doom, *I will destroy man, whom I have created, from the face of the earth; for it repenteth Me that I have made him.* Supposing therefore that the words we have hitherto been considering stood alone, — were there nothing further in the text, than that *we are God's workmanship created unto good works,*—even while we recognized and blest the glorious purpose for which God made man, we should be forced to confess that these very words, in declaring that purpose, do also pronounce a most righteous sentence of condemnation against us. For if we are God's workmanship created unto good works,— seeing that God's workmanship must needs be perfect after

its kind, and thoroughly adapted for effecting His purpose, —it would be plain that, when we issued from the hand of our Maker, we must have been amply fitted out with the powers and faculties needful for our living in good works: and yet where are those powers and faculties now? what has become of them? how have we marred them? how have we stifled them? whither have we cast them from us? In the natural man they are nowhere to be found. In the whole heathen world we cannot find anything more than, here and there, in rare instances, an image and likeness of them much maimed and defaced; whereas their opposites, the powers and dispositions which manifest themselves in evil works, are to be found in throngs and hordes. It is much as though the sun had turned into a volcano, and were pouring forth volumes of lurid smoke instead of light. Therefore the declaration which we have hitherto been examining, if it stood alone, would only give us a distant glimpse of the glory for which we were created, and by this contrast awaken a more painful consciousness of the darkness and shame in which we are living, without opening a prospect of any way whereby we may escape from that dark shame, and enter into the inheritance of glory, for which we were originally designed. But, blessed be God! the words which we have hitherto been considering do not stand alone in the text. St Paul is not calling on the Ephesians to mourn over the greatness which they had lost, ages before they came into the world, but to rejoice and stand fast in that which had just been obtained for them, and of which they were chosen to partake. His declaration is not, that we are God's workmanship created in the beginning unto good works, but that *we are God's workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good works.* So

that the words do not refer to the glory of our original creation in Paradise, which glory was forfeited irretrievably at the Fall, and which the natural man was incapable of even wishing to recover: they refer to the glory of our new creation in Christ, in whom and through whom the curse of feebleness and barrenness, after clinging to the whole race of man ever since the Fall, was repealed; and in whom we are indeed created anew unto good works, being endowed by His Spirit with all the strength needful for performing them, provided we seek it earnestly and perseveringly in His prevailing name (AG). It might be urged indeed, that in the beginning likewise were we created unto good works in Christ Jesus; for that the Scriptures declare that by Him God *made the worlds*, and *by Him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible*, and *without Him was not anything made that was made.* But when we look at the whole bent of the argument in the midst of which the text occurs, it is plain that the creation spoken of is not the original quickening at the beginning of the world, but the regenerative *quickening* of those *who were dead in trespasses and sins*, and whom, when they *were dead in sins*, God *quickened together with Christ.* Hereby the words of the text, which, if they stood alone, would come upon us with a dismal sound of lost strength and forfeit glory, are rich in comfort, since they tell us of what we may become, if we will strive in faith to follow Him, who came down from heaven for this very end, that we might be created anew unto good works, and might indeed walk in the way foreordained by God for us to walk in.

This is a truth which it is of the deepest importance that we should clearly and rightly understand. We must

be brought to confess, not in word and in thought merely, but in feeling and in life, that we are created in Christ Jesus unto good works. It is not enough for us to acknowledge that we were created in the beginning unto good works. For although this, as we have seen, is thoroughly true, it is a truth the knowledge of which will not profit us, unless we at the same time recognize how entirely we had withstood and frustrated God's purpose in our original creation; how the blast of sin had past over us, and had blighted our whole moral nature, so that we were become utterly incapable of bringing forth those good works, which God had ordained us to bring forth; how for this very reason it was necessary that, if the barrenness and deadness, with which we had smitten ourselves, were to be healed, we should be created anew; and how the Son of God therefore descended from heaven purposely in order that we might be grafted into Him, and by receiving His life into us might be enabled to bring forth, what we could not bring forth from the stock of our degenerate nature. This, I say, is a truth which it is of the utmost importance that we should keep constantly in mind: for we are very apt to forget it: even those who readily confess it with their lips, and would shrink from the thought of denying it, are sadly prone to lose sight of it and disregard it in their habitual feelings and resolutions. Very few are so entirely freed from the guileful spirit of pride, as to feel an abiding conviction that they are incapable of performing any good works of themselves, by their own strength, except so far as that strength has been renewed, and is continually replenisht, by the higher life which flows into us from our new creation in Christ Jesus, and from our constant

communion with Him. Even they who are living in evil works, in sloth, in luxury, in self-indulgence, would fain persuade themselves and others, that, if they chose, they could turn forthwith by an act of their own will from their evil works to good. In fact this is one of the delusions whereby the Tempter keeps us from seeking and gaining that real strength, which can only be ours so far as we live by the power of the life infused into us at our new creation. Surely the words of the text imply this: for, if we had been anywise capable of performing good works of ourselves, it would not have been requisite that we should be created anew, in order that we might perform them: nor would the Son of God have descended from heaven, in order that we might be created in Him for that purpose, if any power acting upon our will from without, by exhortation or admonition or intimidation, could have availed to make us fulfill it.

Again, we are created anew in Christ Jesus *unto good works*, not *by good works*. Good works are the end of our new creation, not the means of it. This too is a truth which needs to be graven livingly on our hearts. We cannot gain any share in Christ Jesus by any good works of our own, as our pride would gladly believe. We cannot create ourselves anew in Him: we cannot graft ourselves into Him, any more than the branch of a fruit-tree can graft itself into a new stock. We must be created in Him, we must be grafted into Him, not by our own act, but by the power and grace of God: then alone shall we have ability given to us to bring forth good works. The grace of God alone is the efficient power whereby we are to be grafted into Christ Jesus, and created anew in Him. And what must there be in ourselves, whereby we may receive

that grace? *Good works?* Surely not, brethren: good works are the end for which we are thus grafted and created anew, the fruit which, when the operation is completed, we are to bring forth: but a gardener will not think of grafting fruit into a new stock. If we are grafted into Christ, if we are created anew in Him, it must be through faith. This great truth, that our new creation in Christ Jesus is an act of pure grace, and can only be received through faith, is urged with earnest repetition by the Apostle in the verses which precede the text. *God, who is rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ,—by grace ye are saved,—and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus; that in the ages to come He might shew the exceeding riches of His grace in His kindness toward us through Christ Jesus. For by grace are ye saved, through faith,—and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God,—not through works, lest any man should boast.* By faith we take hold of whatever exercises a strong influence over us in this world: faith is the channel of union between our souls and whatever acts upon them: and it is only when our faith is strengthened by the operation of the Spirit, that we can take such firm hold on Christ as to be grafted into Him: only through faith can we become members of the new creation, inmates of the world of faith: only through faith can we pass out of the world of sense and of the carnal mind, into the world where the spirit dwells in communion with Christ in God.

Thus the text warns us against that delusive errour, to which the pride of our nature renders us so prone, that by our own strength we are to make ourselves what

we ought to be,—that through our own good works we are to be created anew. Indeed the very word *created* is a complete refutation of that errour; not only because it implies that we must be created by some other being, inasmuch as the expression *self-created* would contain a contradiction; but also because the being *created* anew involves a very different change from any that our own actions, whatever they may be, could effect in us. For although habit is not unreasonably said to be a second nature,—in other words, though a series of acts, which we are accustomed to go through frequently and in regular sequence, will in time become so familiar that we go through them almost instinctively, — and though all our actions do in some sense modify our hearts and minds and wills, and leave a sediment behind them, whether for good or for evil,—yet the only case in which a habit can produce any powerful effect on the character, is where it is constant and unvarying: else opposite habits will check and counteract each other. That is to say, our nature must already have been so totally transformed as to bring forth good works in abundance, before it can do anything in the way of bringing forth those good works, which alone would be able to transform it.

On the other hand the text is no less conclusive in refuting an opposite errour, to which, through the slothfulness of their nature, many have too readily given ear. For it declares that *we are God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works.* As these words should convince us that we cannot be created effectually unto good works, except in Christ Jesus, so do they likewise prove that we cannot be really created in Christ Jesus, unless we manifest this our new creation, by shewing forth its effect in good works.

There is no passage which more clearly explains the whole relation of good works to the Christian life. We cannot perform any good works, unless we are created unto them in Christ Jesus; and hence that creation in Christ Jesus cannot be anywise the effect or consequence of our good works: *we were saved*, as the Apostle tells us, *by grace*, when we *were dead in trespasses and sins*. But if we are indeed created anew in Christ Jesus, our good works must follow, as a necessary, certain, irrepressible result. They are the only evidence of that creation to others; and they are no less indispensable to ourselves, to certify us of its reality. If we do not bring forth good works, we ought to be convinced that we cannot have been created anew in Christ Jesus, that in one way or other the process of our regeneration has been marred. Good works are the mark, the proof, the evidence of the Christian life: they are the badge of a Christian community: and they are the means through which the members of that community are bound together, and the Christian life is brought to pervade them all. When they are scanty, the Christian life must be feeble: when they are totally wanting, whether in an individual or a community, the Christian life must be all but extinct. They are the evidence of the Christian life; and they are also the means of growing in it: for it is by exercise, by action, that every living principle is strengthened. This is no way at variance with the assertion that the Christian life is not the effect of our good works. The primary creative cause is, in all instances except the highest, distinct from the secondary nutritive causes. The bread which feeds, will not beget a man. By study we do not acquire the power of knowing; but we improve and increase that power, and may

do so almost indefinitely. By practising any art,—be it music, or painting, or statuary,—we do not acquire that particular faculty of the mind, which fits a man for becoming a musician, or a painter, or a sculptor, any more than we acquire our eyes by seeing: indeed, if a man has not that faculty already within him, no teaching or practising will draw it out of him: but when he has it, practice will greatly sharpen and better it. Such too is the case with the Christian life. It is not created by our good works, but is to be fostered and nourisht by them, and may be so to a wonderful extent, if we always bear in mind how it originated, and are careful to have it replenisht from its only Source; while on the other hand without them it will pine and die. Indeed in this instance we have the special assurance, the truth of which extends to every field of human action, that *to him who hath shall be given; and from him who hath not shall be taken away even what he hath.*

Therefore have we the utmost reason for thankfulness to our heavenly Father, who in His infinite lovingkindness has prepared good works for His children to walk in, for all such as have become His children by being created in Christ Jesus unto good works; since without this new creation, and without the ordinance of good works, whereby we are to fulfill its purpose, we should have been left to follow the lusts of the flesh, and to do what seemed pleasant to our own self-idolizing hearts. Now what are these good works, which God has foreordained for us to walk in? From the contrast which St Paul draws in the former part of our chapter between the prior state of the Ephesians, when they were *dead in trespasses and sins, having their conversation in the lusts of the flesh, and fulfilling*

the desires of the flesh and the carnal mind,—and their state after they were *created in Christ Jesus unto good works*,—it is plain that these good works must be the direct opposites of the works in which they had previously walkt. In other words, they are the direct opposites to the works of those who fulfill the desires of the flesh and the carnal mind,—the works of those who mortify and crucify the flesh and the carnal mind,—works of purity and holiness, which are repeatedly urged upon the Ephesians in the latter part of this Epistle. These however are not all. In the description which St James gives of the pure and undefiled worship of God,—that is, of the good works wherein we are ordained to walk,—that worship is represented as consisting of two parts, the keeping oneself unspotted from the world, and the visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction. That is to say, there are two great classes of good works, those which relate to ourselves, and are connected with the right government of our own hearts and minds, and those which relate to our fellowcreatures, works of holiness, and works of love. In like manner, at the beginning of the fifth chapter of our Epistle, where St Paul is about to warn the Ephesians to shun the very mention of the impurities, in which, after the fashion of heathendom, they had been living, he urges the highest motive for doing so upon them, in that divine exhortation, *Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children; and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given Himself for us an Offering and a Sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour*. In both these classes of good works indeed we are called upon to be followers of God, and to perfect that likeness of Him, which is restored to us when we are created anew in Christ Jesus: we are called to be holy

as He is holy, and to be merciful as He is merciful. In each too our eyes and our hearts should be constantly turned toward Him, who has so graciously prepared good works for us to walk in: we must seek our strength from His Spirit, our guidance from His law, our pattern from the life of His Son; and our end should be the glory of God, and the manifestation of that glory in the way in which He has especially chosen to manifest it, by pouring forth the riches of His goodness upon His creatures.

How surpassingly beautiful and glorious are the pictures which the Apostolic Epistles every now and then set before us, of the blessed graces which ought to adorn a Christian community! To a youthful imagination, which has not yet learnt how feeble the mightiest words are to contend with the rooted evil in the heart of man, it might seem that such a heavenly revelation, when set by the side of the darkness and misery and unutterable abominations in which the world was at that time wallowing, must have won mankind to cast away their hateful sins, and to strive with all their energies after the glory and blessedness in which they were invited to partake. Yet how far would such an imagination be from the truth! Near eighteen centuries have past away since this Epistle to the Ephesians was written; and what is the state of the world at this day? what is the state of the most favoured parts of it? What, to bring the question home, is the state of England? Does it resemble the apostolic picture of the pure and spotless Church, of the Church walking in love and good works? Or does it not rather resemble the picture of the heathen world, lying dead in trespasses and sins, having its conversation in the lusts of the flesh, and fulfilling the desires of the

flesh and the carnal mind? Surely, brethren, there is too much reason to fear that the works of darkness are more thickly strewn amongst us, than the works of light. In the heavens the stars may be so thick as to blend into the Milky Way; but where is the Milky Way upon earth? Can we hope that it will ever be found there? Yet why not? Are we no longer God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works? We cannot plead such an excuse in our palliation. The cause lies with ourselves. It is, that the children of light are still less wise in their generation than the children of darkness,—that they are not rightly diligent and earnest and unweariable in working the works of light,—that they do not go forth like bridegrooms from their chamber, and rejoice like giants to run their race,—that they do not let their light shine before men, so that their good works may be seen, revealing the glory of their Heavenly Father, who created them anew unto those works in Christ Jesus. Alas! there are hundreds of millions of human souls at this day, who are lying dead in trespasses and sins, in various parts of the earth: and what have we done for them? There are millions in England, who are in a like dismal state: and what have we done for them? When God looks down from heaven, and beholds all the misery, and all the sin, the ignorance, the falsehood, the strife, the uncleanness, the sensual and spiritual idolatries, which are still spread over almost every spot upon earth,—and when He sees how little His Church has done in eighteen centuries, how little, compared with the vast exigencies, it has been doing until now, to overcome and drive out all these evils, and to heal the unfortunate beings who are lying dead beneath them,—might He not justly

say? *I will take away My Church from the face of the earth: My Spirit shall no longer go down to strive vainly for the sanctification of mankind.* Might He not say of England, whom He has chosen above other countries, to manifest His truth in her? *I will take away My word from England; I will take away the knowledge of My truth from her; My Spirit shall no longer strive with a people, who give themselves up to the worship of Mammon.*

Again I would ask you, dear brethren, seeing that the darkness and misery and sinfulness of England, and of the world, is so vast and overwhelming, what have we done, any of us,—what have we done, each one of us,—to withstand and repell, to lessen and heal these terrible evils? Have we done nothing? Then how can we believe that we are the workmanship of God, created in Christ Jesus unto good works? We are not so: we cannot be so: the one proof of our being so is wanting in us: we were indeed called to be so; yea, and a beginning of this new life was infused into us, when we were first received into Christ's Church: but we have turned heedlessly away from that call; or, if we have given ear to it for a while, it was merely as to a pleasant song, for our amusement, and not for the building up of our souls. I would fain believe however that this is not the condition of any person who now hears me: indeed the very occasion of our solemn assembly this day here in the house of God is a kind of proof that you have been and are in some measure desirous of fulfilling the purpose of Him, who created us in Christ Jesus unto good works. You desire this in some measure; but in what measure? Seeing that God has done so much, that the Son of God has suffered so much, for the accomplishment of this our new creation unto good works, surely

we ought not to be content with a scanty measure of such works: we ought not to rest satisfied with giving the crumbs and remnants of our lives to this their main purpose and end. We should think what Christ endured for the sake of this our new creation; we should think what God has done and given for it; and we should make it the stedfast aim and main business of our lives to walk accordingly.

There is one, and only one sure way of remedying all the evils with which England is now opprest; there is one, and only one sure way of remedying all the evils spread over every part of the world; if they who prize their Christian calling would act consistently and constantly under the living conviction that they are God's workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good works,—and that therefore they must never waste their powers and means in fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the carnal mind,—but must walk in love, even as Christ loved us. Christ has called us to imitate His love, to fashion ourselves after its likeness. And what was that Love? Not a love which vented itself in words: not a love which contented itself with occasional acts of kindness: not a love which deemed it enough to give a small portion of its substance in works of charity now and then. The love with which Christ loved us, and which St Paul exhorts us to imitate, is the love wherewith He gave Himself for us an Offering and a sweet-smelling Sacrifice to God. It was by that portion of this selfdenying, selfsacrificing spirit, which was vouchsafed to the holy Apostles, and to their immediate followers, that they gathered the nations with such wonderful rapidity into the Church of the Lord. It was by that portion of this same spirit, which was granted

to the blessed Reformers, that they delivered the Church from its bondage, and purified it from its corruptions. And it is only by this same spirit, by the spirit of self-sacrifice for Christ's sake, by the endeavour to carry out the great purpose of our new creation in Christ Jesus, that we shall be enabled, with God's ever-ready help, to contend successfully against the terrific evils, which are threatening to destroy this nation, and to blot it out from the Book of Life, like the Cities of the Plain.

My brethren, coming amongst you as a stranger, without any local knowledge of the specific object which has brought you hither today, I have felt that it would not be appropriate for me to enter into any argument on the peculiar character and advantages of the Association which is this day celebrating its first Anniversary. It seemed to me more becoming the relation between us, that I should speak to you on the common Christian ground, of our all being God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works. We are so individually; and we are so collectively: and this is one of the blessings attendant on our being incorporated into the Church of Christ, that we are called to work together in the good works which are the purpose of our new creation. Individually, amid the distractions of daily cares, and under the stress of daily business, we may often feel as though we had little power for any good works, beyond the sphere of our immediate neighbourhood: but collectively, as members of the Church, all may help, each according to his means, in furthering those good works of infinite range and compass, for the sake of which the Son of God became incarnate, and shed His blood on the Cross,—in furthering them over the whole earth; and to do this according to

our means thus becomes the duty of every one, and the privilege of every one. A great benefit of such associations is, that they bring this duty home to the mind and conscience of every member of the Church, and enable every member of the Church to exercise his grand Christian privilege of helping on the work of his Lord and Saviour over the whole earth. Therefore fulfill this duty, brethren, exercise this privilege, thankfully and joyfully, now and whenever an opportunity of doing so is vouchsafed to you. Be assured that this is one of the good works which God has ordained for you to walk in. But bear in mind at the same time that it is only one of those good works. We are too apt in these days to think money the chief, and almost the only gift, that we have to give to the service of God. This itself is one of Mammon's delusions: he makes his slaves believe that money is the lord of the earth, the one spring of all action, the one means of effecting every end: and for this very reason, in consequence of our inordinate estimate of the value of money, we give our money itself less largely than we otherwise should do. But Christ did not give money as the price of our Redemption: He gave Himself, His humiliation, His labours, His agony, His death. The Apostles gave themselves: they bore their lives in their hands, offering them up daily by walking in good works, and ready to offer them up, whenever they were called, by death. This, brethren, is what it behoves us also to do, seeing that we are exhorted to follow the glorious example of our blessed Master. We should give ourselves up soul and body for the sake of our Lord and of our brethren, by giving up all our sins, all our slothfulness, all our self-indulgence of whatsoever kind,—by living a pure and holy life, and

thus also letting the light of our heavenly Father's glory shine in the eyes of men, — by perseverance in every kind of welldoing, — and by striving with earnest prayer to bring down the power of God upon earth. Thus shall we hasten the time when all nations shall be gathered into the Church, and when the Church herself shall be pure and without spot: and thus, through the working of the Spirit in our hearts, shall we ourselves be gradually fitted for that Holy Communion of Saints and Angels, where all walk unintermittingly in all such good works as the will of God ordains and prepares for them.

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THE MISSION OF THE COMFORTER,

AND OTHER SERMONS,

WITH NOTES.

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BY JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M.A.

ARCHDEACON OF LEWES, RECTOR OF HERSTMONCEUX,
AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

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NOTES.

ERRATA.

P. 581, l. penult. read De hoc *sine* Verbo.
664, l. penult. — and *form* of words.
695, l. 1, — — there *is* no more.
725, l. 1, — — after *smart* put a comma.

NOTES.

Note A: p. 7.

Since this Sermon was preacht, I have found that Bishop Andrewes, in his Sermon on the same text,—the fourth among those *On the Sending of the Holy Ghost*,—has tried to explain the expediency of our Lord's departure by a like illustration. The passage powerfully confirms the argument in the text. "Christ it is that telleth it us, and telleth it us for a matter of great truth, these were,—and whose case is better than these?—but, if these, some there are, in that case, it may be said to them truly, *It is expedient I be gone.* And what case may that be? Even that case that maketh the mother many times withdraw herself from her young child, whom yet she loveth full tenderly, when the child groweth foolishly fond of her; which grew to be their case just: Christ's flesh, and His fleshly presence, that, and none but that. So strangely fond they grew of that, as they could not endure He should go out of their sight: nothing but His carnal presence would quiet them. We know who said, *If Thou hadst been here, Lord;* as if absent He had not been as able to do it by His Spirit, as present by His body. And a tabernacle they would needs build Him, to keep Him on earth still. And ever and anon they were still dreaming of an earthly kingdom, and of the chief seats there, as if their consummation should have been in the flesh. These fancies, indeed errours, they fell into about the flesh: they had need have it taken from them. The Spirit was gone quite: they had more need to have Him sent. This was at no hand to be cherisht in them. They were not to be

held as children still, but to grow to man's estate, to perfect age and strength; and so consequently to be weaned from the corporal presence of His flesh, nor to hang all by sense, to which, it is too true, they were too much addicted. The corporal therefore to be removed, that the spiritual might take place; the visible, that the invisible; and they, not in sight or sense, as hitherto, but in spirit and truth henceforth to cleave to Him; to say, with the Apostle, *If we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth we know Him so no more.* This was for them: and we should have been no better, as now we are: the flesh will but hinder the spirit, even the best."

The good Bishop indeed merely takes the instance where the relation between the parent and child is perverted by the "foolishly fond child;" while the argument in the text draws its analogy from the common order of human life. And after his fashion he gives one of his strong glances at the illustration, and passes on; whereas the congregation to whom I was preaching led me to dwell on the thought, and to expand it more than would have been warrantable in any other place.

Augustin too makes use of a similar illustration, when commenting on this passage (*In Joannis Evang. Tract.* xciv). "Tanquam diceret, Expedit vobis ut haec forma servi auferatur a vobis: Caro quidem factum Verbum habito in vobis; sed nolo me carnaliter adhuc diligatis, et isto lacte contenti semper infantes esse cupiatis. *Expedit vobis ut ego vadam: si enim non abiero, Paracletus non veniet ad vos.* Si alimenta tenera quibus vos alui, non subtraxero, solidum cibum non esurietis; si carni carnaliter haeseritis, capaces spiritus non eritis."

Augustin's illustration, like that of Andrewes, is taken from the earliest in the series of transitions by which our moral life ascends out of total helplessness and dependence into a more and more distinct consciousness of personal responsibility. In the Sermon I have spoken of several of those transitions, through which the child gradually advances into a wider and freer field of action, until he becomes a student at the university; and I have hardly alluded to the transition which still awaited my

hearers, when they were to be emancipated from the last restraints of tutelary discipline, and to go forth into the world to act under the sway of the principles, which they had hitherto been imbibing. This moment, which naturally affords the closest parallel to the condition of the disciples as described in the text, is the one which Schleiermacher, in his *Glaubenslehre*, compares with it. In explaining the proposition, that the complete communication and reception of the Holy Spirit could not take place till after Christ's departure from the earth, he says (vol. ii. pp. 288—290), "We must here look back to the two primary movements of our vital principle, our faculty of receiving lively impressions, and that of free personal action, the reciprocation of which constitutes our life, a life the more perfect and the more fully developt, the wider the range of each is, and the more complete their correspondence. Now so long as the disciples abode with Christ, their receptive faculty was developt; and by their constant assimilation of what He gave them, the foundation was laid for their future activity in spreading the Kingdom of God.—On the other hand they were not called at that time to any positive personal activity: what Christ imposed on them in this way was merely for the sake of practice, and for this very reason was not independent, but needed a particular impulse for each several occasion.—The more however all depend upon one, and each receives his movement from that one, the more are all merely his instruments or members; and the whole is only an enlargement of his single personality,—rather resembling a household or a school, than a community. Thus the ancients regarded a state, in which all are unconditionally subject to the will of one, as an enlarged household, in which a number of living instruments move according to the will of a single individual: and a school is an intellectual community, which depends entirely on the mental power and train of thought of one man, imprest on a number collectively. Now the communion between Christ and His disciples was in one sense like a household, in another like a school. A family however will disperse after the death of the father; and unless some new bond be framed for its members, they are

scattered abroad. In a school too, unless some fresh common impulse arises, beside their original desire of knowledge and their personal attachment, no further development will take place after the death of the master; but the previous union gradually wears away. Now it could not be otherwise during the life of Christ, than that every one of the disciples should cling almost entirely to Him, and desire to receive from Him, without feeling ripe to act independently for the formation of the Kingdom of God."

NOTE B: p. 19.

When our Church has the courage to undertake the task of revising the Authorized Version of the Bible, the account of the work of the Comforter, given in the 13th verse of our Chapter, will be corrected, along with a number of other inaccuracies arising from inattention to the force of the Greek article. The neglect of this force is one among the many proofs that our Version of the New Testament is too dependent on a Latin translation, probably that of Erasmus. For a competent Greek scholar, even in those days, would hardly have rendered *ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, He will guide you into all truth;* though this would be a natural rendering of *ducet vos in omnem veritatem,* as Erasmus had translated the words. Even the preposition *into* points to the Latin *in,* rather than the Greek *εἰς.* Wiclif, translating from the Vulgate, *docebit vos omnem veritatem,* has *he schal teche you al truthe.*

It is noticeable that Luther also renders this verse without regard to the article, *der wird euch in alle Wahrheit leiten;* which is retained even in Meyer's recent corrected edition. Nor is the objection removed by De Wette's translation, *So wird er euch den Weg zu aller Wahrheit leiten.* The meaning is happily exprest in that of Scholz: *dann wird er euch zur vollen Wahrheit leiten.*

The coincidence between our Version and Luther's might be urged as an argument in favour of the notion entertained by Bishop Marsh, that our Version bears marks of the influence

of Luther's, exercised in the first instance upon Tyndall. But the grounds brought forward in support of this notion have been much shaken by Mr Walter. Nor is Marsh more successful in establishing the influence of the Vulgate on our Version. A slight comparison of our Version with the Original Greek and with the Vulgate will suffice to convince us that it is totally independent of the latter; or at least that, if our translators made use, as they doubtless did, of the Vulgate, they did so with a strong conviction of its defects, and a free exercise of their judgement in avoiding them. When our Version is inaccurate or inadequate, this does not arise, as it does throughout in the Rhemish Version, from a coincidence with the Vulgate: yet its inadequate renderings often seem to have arisen from an imperfect apprehension of some Latin substitute for the word in the Greek text,—from taking some peculiar sense of the Latin word, different from that in which it was used to represent the Greek original. Let me illustrate this by a single instance. Among the works of the flesh, St Paul, in the Epistle to the Galatians (v. 20), numbers διχοστασίαι, which we render *seditions*. But *seditions*, in our old, as well as in our modern language, are only one form of the divisions implied by διχοστασίαι, and assuredly not the form which would present itself foremost to the Apostle's mind, when writing to the Galatians. At first too one is puzzled to understand how the word *seditions* came to suggest itself in this place, instead of the more general term *divisions*, which is the plain correspondent to διχοστασίαι, and is so used in Rom. xvi. 17, and in 1 Cor. iii. 3. Here the thought occurs, that the Latin word *seditio*, though in its ordinary acceptation equivalent to its English derivative, yet primarily and etymologically answers very closely to διχοστασία; and one is led to conjecture that our Translators must have followed some Latin Version, in which the word *seditiones* was used, not without an affectation of archaic elegance. Now the Vulgate has *dissensiones*; but in Erasmus, whose style was markt by that characteristic, we find the very word *seditiones*. Hence Tyndall, whom we know from his controversial writings to have made use of Erasmuses Version, took

his *sedition*, not minding that the sense in which Erasmus had used the Latin word, was alien to the English; and from Tyndall it has come down, through Cranmer's Bible, with a mere change of number, into our present Version; while Wiclif and the Rhemish render the Vulgate by *dissensions*.

To return to the passage in St John, Middleton has of course noticed the omission of the article in our Version. Campbell, who corrects his text, remarks that Wesley's is the only English Version he had seen, which retains the article, yet that it ought not to be omitted, as "it is not omniscience that is promist, but all necessary religious knowledge." It may be pleaded indeed that, however the verse be rendered, everybody will clearly understand this to be its meaning, and that therefore it matters not whether we correct it or no. Now this notion, that slight errours and defects and faults are immaterial, and that we need not go to the trouble of correcting them, is one main cause why there are so many huge errours and defects and faults in every region of human life, practical and speculative, moral and political. Nor should any errour be deemed slight, which affects the meaning of a single word in the Bible; where so much weight is attacht to every single word; and where so many inferences and conclusions are drawn from the slightest ground, not merely those which find utterance in books, but a far greater number springing up in the minds of the millions to whom our English Bible is the code and canon of all truth. For this reason errours, even the least, in a version of the Bible, are of far greater moment than in any other book, as well because the contents of the Bible are of far deeper importance, and have a far wider influence, as also because the readers of the Bible are not only the educated and learned, who can exercise some sort of judgement on what they read, but vast multitudes who understand whatever they read according to the letter. Hence it is a main duty of a Church to take care that the Version of the Scriptures, which it puts into the hands of its members, shall be as faultless as possible, and to revise it with this view from time to time, in order to attain to the utmost accuracy in every word.

It is true, though theologians may differ in their interpretation of this passage, as they do more or less with regard to almost every verse in the New Testament, their differences will not be occasioned by the neglect of the article in the Version. Thus Luther, though he omits it, interprets the words very characteristically: "This truth, which the Holy Ghost is to teach them, is not such a doctrine and knowledge as reason of itself can understand and hit upon, as the perverters of this text prate; for the Holy Ghost and Christ's Church do not concern themselves with things which are subject to man's understanding, and belong to this temporal life and to worldly rule; such as the enacting of laws as to what one shall eat or drink, that one shall be a monk or a nun, have a wife and children, or remain unmarried, that one shall make a distinction between laity and clergy, shall maintain and enlarge church-lands, shall build and endow churches, and so forth,—but treat of far other matters, how God's children are to be begotten out of sin and death unto righteousness and everlasting life,—how God's kingdom is to be establisht, and the kingdom of hell to be destroyed,—how we are to fight against the devil and to overcome him,—how to cheer, strengthen, and uphold faith, so that a man shall continue alive in the midst of death, and even under the consciousness of sin shall preserve a good conscience and the grace of God."

In like manner Tauler, in his Sermon on our text, represents the truth which the Comforter was to teach, as coinciding with the essential doctrines of his mystic theology. "The Holy Ghost will not teach us all things, so that we shall know whether there will be a good harvest and vintage, whether bread will be dear or cheap, whether the present war will come to an end soon; but He will teach us all things which we can need for a perfect life, and for a knowledge of the hidden truth of God, of the bondage of nature, of the deceitfulness of the world, and of the cunning of evil spirits.—Thus, when the Holy Ghost comes to us, He teaches us all truth; that is, He shews us a true picture of our failings, and confounds us in ourselves, and teaches us how we shall live singly and purely for the truth, and teaches

us to sink humbly into a deep humility, and to cast ourselves utterly down beneath God, and beneath every creature. This is a true art, in which all art and wisdom is concluded, and which we indispensably need for our true perfection and felicity. This is a true hearty humility; and this must be truly in us, wrought into our souls.—Man can do nothing whatever as before the Lord, unless he has this humility really at all times within him."

On the other hand Hammond, in his Paraphrase, also according to his wont, cuts down this whole truth, which the Holy Ghost is to teach the Apostles, to something merely temporary, transient, and external: "He shall instruct you what is to be done, teach you the full of my Father's will for the laying aside of the ceremonial external law of the Jews, freeing all Christians from that yoke, &c." These narrow historical expositions of Scripture are among the evils which our theology has derived from an exaggerated reverence for the Fathers. With them indeed such applications have a living force: for the reception of the Gentiles into the Church was still an event of deep personal interest, which, while living in conflict with heathenism, all could feel, and in some measure appreciate. But in later ages such interpretations, when they are given as the whole or main sense, deaden the words of Scripture; and whereas Scripture, in speaking of temporary things, always sets out the permanent idea, they invert this process, and subordinate the ideal truth to that which was merely its occasional type and exemplification. In this respect also do we owe an incalculable debt to the great Reformers, to Calvin, Beza, Melanchthon, and above all to Luther, who, as they and their compeers set free the words of Scripture from their prison of a dead language, in like manner set free its spirit from the load of mere historical expositions and fantastical allegories, wherewith it had been overlaid, and who brought out the fulness of the truth, that the Bible "is not of an age, but of all time." If we find them, Luther especially, applying the words of Scripture with endless iteration to the controversies of their own days, this only shews the strength of their conviction that the Bible was no less a living book in their age, than in those when it was first written:

and the way in which we are to imitate them is, not by clinging to their application as the chief or only true one, but by applying the principles and promises of Scripture in like manner to the great warfare waging between the powers of good and evil in our days, by discerning and shewing how the Bible is equally a living book in the nineteenth century as in the sixteenth, and as in the first, how it contains a key to all the mysteries of our age, a clue through all its perplexities, and a staff of comfort to bear us up under the despondency which might otherwise crush us. This is its office now, as then; and this office it will discharge. The spirit which the Reformers set free, will continue free, in spite of all that Arminian and Socinian and Romanist and Rationalist commentators can do to cage it again.

But, though the want of the article will not occasion the learned to misapply our Lord's declaration concerning the truth to which the Comforter is to lead us, the preceding extract from Luther shews that this declaration was so misapplied grossly in his days: and assuredly the misprision of this passage has aided in fostering the delusive notion that the Bible is a kind of encyclopedia of universal knowledge, and that every expression in it bearing however allusively upon astronomy, or geology, or history, has the same divine attestation of its infallibility, as what it reveals concerning God, and concerning man in his relation to God. This notion in fact is one of the idolatries, by means of which man would save himself from the labour of patient and continuous thought, an idolatry akin to that of the Caliph Omar for the Koran, and of many among the Greeks for the Homeric poems, as containing all that is worth knowing about all things. Man would fain believe himself to be omniscient, without taking pains to become so. This notion has ever been still more injurious to Religion than to Science: for Science soon overleaps and treads down the fences which are thus erected to check it; but, as Religion cannot possibly maintain the positions, which she is thus engaged to defend, her failure in this field shakes the confidence in her power even within her own province.

At the same time there is a sense in which, it is quite certain,

the Spirit of God alone will lead us to all truth, even with regard to temporal and human and earthly things. Two opposite classes of phenomena indeed might dispose us to question this,—on the one hand the sceptical, unbelieving spirit, which has so often been found united with high attainments in knowledge, — and on the other hand the narrowmindedness with which self-sufficient bigotry has perpetually set itself in opposition to all manner of knowledge beyond the range of its own shortsighted vision, as though the God of truth could only dwell in darkness. So imperfectly do we yet understand the redemption wrought for us by Christ; and so obstinate are we in separating what God has united, as though it were impossible for the Tree of Knowledge to stand beside the Tree of Life. Yet in the redeemed world they do stand side by side, and their arms intermingle and intertwine, so that no one can walk under the shade of the one, but he will also be under the shade of the other. On this point I have already had occasion to speak more than once, for instance in the Sermon in this Volume on *The Church the Light of the World,* in those on *The Victory of Faith* (pp. 181, foll.) and in that on *The Law of Selfsacrifice* (pp. 278—284). Therefore I will not renew the argument here; although it is most important in these days that all should be convinced that the pure love of Truth cannot be severed from the love of God, nor the perfect knowledge of Truth from the knowledge of God; and that the Spirit of God alone can purge our intellectual eye from the manifold films which disguise and distort all objects, and prevent its seeing them; even as He alone can enable us to discern the true essence and relations of all things, the idea in which they were made, and the relation in which they stand to their Maker.

NOTE C: p. 20.

This is the ground taken by Augustin in his Sermon on this passage (Serm. cxliii). "Spiritus Sanctus hoc magnum munus attulit credituris, ut eum quem carnalibus oculis non viderent, a

carnalibus cupiditatibus mente sobria et spiritualibus desideriis ebria suspirarent. Unde et ille discipulus, qui se dixerat non crediturum, nisi cicatrices ejus manu tetigisset, cum contrectato corpore Domini quasi evigilans exclamasset, *Dominus meus et Deus meus!* ait illi Dominus, *Quia vidisti me, credidisti; beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt.* Hanc beatitudinem Spiritus Sanctus Paracletus attulit, ut ab oculis carnis servi forma remota, quam de virginis utero accepit, in ipsam Dei formam, in qua Patri aequalis, etiam cum in carne apparere dignatus est, permansit, purgata mentis acies tenderetur; ut eodem Spiritu repletus Apostolus diceret, *Et si noveramus Christum secundum carnem, sed nunc jam non novimus.* Quia et carnem Christi non secundum carnem, sed secundum spiritum novit, qui virtutem resurrectionis ejus, non palpando curiosus, sed credendo certus agnoscit; non dicens in corde suo, *Quis ascendit in coelum? hoc est Christum deducere; aut Quis descendit in abyssum? hoc est Christum a mortuis reducere: sed prope est,* inquit, *verbum in ore tuo,* quia Dominus est Jesus; et *si credideris in corde tuo quia Deus illum suscitavit a mortuis, salvus eris. Corde enim creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem.* Cum ergo hanc beatitudinem, qua non videmus et credimus, nullo modo haberemus, nisi eam a Spiritu Sancto acciperemus, merito dictum est, *Expedit vobis ut ego vadam.* Semper quidem divinitate nobiscum est: sed nisi corporaliter abiret a nobis, semper ejus corpus carnaliter videremus, et nunquam spiritualiter crederemus; qua fide justificati et beatificati, idipsum Verbum Deum apud Deum, per quod facta sunt omnia, et quod Caro factum est, ut habitaret in nobis, corde mundato contemplari mereremur."

To the same purport, in Serm. cclxx. he says, calling on us to consider the meaning of the words, *Non potest ille venire, nisi ego abiero,* " Quasi aliquid, ut secundum carnalem sensum loquamur, in supernis Dominus Christus servaret, et inde descendens hoc quod servabat, Sancto Spiritui commendasset, et ideo ad nos venire non posset, nisi ille rediisset qui commendatum reciperet; aut quasi nos utrumque ferre non valeremus, nec utriusque possemus tolerare praesentiam. Quasi vero alter ab altero separetur; aut

quando ad nos veniunt, ipsi angustias patiantur, ac non potius nos dilatemur.—Videtur mihi, quod discipuli circa formam humanam Domini Christi fuerant occupati, et tanquam homines in homine humano tenebantur affectu. Volebat autem eos potius affectum habere divinum, atque ita de carnalibus facere spirituales: quod non fit homo nisi dono Spiritus Sancti. Hoc ergo ait: Mitto vobis donum, quo efficiamini spirituales; donum scilicet Spiritus Sancti. Spirituales autem fieri non poteritis, nisi carnales esse destiteritis. Carnales vero esse desistetis, si forma carnis a vestris oculis auferatur, ut forma Dei vestris cordibus inseratur. Ex hac enim humana forma — Petri etiam tenebatur affectus, quando eum quem multum amabat, mori timebat. Amabat enim Dominum Jesum Christum, sicut homo hominem, sicut carnalis carnalem, non sicut spiritualis majestatem. Unde hoc probamus? Quia cum interrogasset ipse Dominus discipulos suos, quis ab hominibus diceretur,—ait illis, *Vos autem quem me esse dicitis?* Et Petrus, unus pro caeteris, unus pro omnibus, *Tu es*, inquit, *Christus Filius Dei vivi.* Hoc optime, veracissime: merito tale responsum accipere meruit, *Beatus es, Simon Bar-Jona, quia non tibi revelavit caro et sanguis, sed Pater meus qui in coelis est. Et ego dico tibi,—Tu es Petrus:* quia ego petra, *tu Petrus;* neque enim a Petro petra, sed a petra Petrus; quia non a Christiano Christus, sed a Christo Christianus. *Et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam;* non supra Petrum, quod tu es, sed supra petram quam confessus es. *Aedificabo* autem *Ecclesiam meam:* aedificabo te, qui in hac responsione figuram gestas Ecclesiae.—Deinde coepit Dominus Deus suam praedicere passionem.—Hic Petrus expavit, et timuit ne periret morte Christus Filius Dei vivi. Utique Christus Filius Dei vivi, bonus de bono, Deus de Deo, vivus de vivo, fons vitae, et vera vita, perdere mortem venerat, non perire a morte. Tamen ut homo Petrus exterritus, cujus erat circa Christi carnem humanus affectus.—Nollemus ergo ut talibus dicatur, *Expedit vobis ut ego vadam? Nisi ego abiero, Paracletus non veniet ad vos;* nisi aspectibus carnalibus vestris humana forma subtrahatur, divinum aliquid capere, sentire, cogitare minime poteritis."

I have made these long extracts, not only on account of their intrinsic value, and for the light they throw on the text, and on the other passages which they bring into juxtaposition with it, but also because the latter extract is an interesting proof, among a multitude of others, how totally at variance the common Romish interpretation of our Lord's speech to Peter is with the opinions of the early Church. Augustin indeed speaks in his *Retractations* (I. 21) of having interpreted the declaration as applying to Peter himself, in an earlier work against the Donatists; but it is plain that this must have been done without any reference to Rome. The chief part of the Fathers on the other hand understood Peter's recognition of the Divine Nature and Office of his Lord to be the Rock, on which Christ purpost to build His Church. Yet of course this confession is not to be taken apart from him who makes it. The Rock is Peter's faith, confessing the divinity of Christ, and standing as the representative of all in all ages who were to hold the same faith in Christ the Son of the living God; as this is nobly exprest by Origen (in Evang. Matth. xii. 10). *Εἰ δὲ φήσαντες καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς ὁ Πέτρος, Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, οὐχ ὡς σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος ἡμῖν, ἀποκαλυψάντων, ἀλλὰ φωτὸς ἡμῶν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐλλάμψαντος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς Πατρὸς, γινόμεθα Πέτρος, καὶ ἡμῖν ἂν λέγοιτο ἀπὸ τοῦ Λόγου τὸ Σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Πέτρα γὰρ πᾶς ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητὴς, ἀφ' οὗ ἔπινον οἱ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην πέτραν οἰκοδομεῖται ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς πᾶς λόγος, καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτεία· ἐν ἑκάστῳ γὰρ τῶν τελείων, ἐχόντων τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν συμπληρούντων τὴν μακαριότητα λόγων καὶ ἔργων καὶ νοημάτων, ἔστιν ἡ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκοδομουμένη ἐκκλησία.*

It is curious to see the shifts by which the Romish commentators, at least that portion of them who are zealous in asserting the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, such as Maldonatus, try to make out that the view of this passage taken by the Fathers agrees with their own: and the contemplation will be profitable to us, if it leads us to reflect how apt we ourselves are to twist and warp and clip the most reluctant evidence, in order to fit it into our scheme of thought, and thus renders us more self-distrustful and

more watchful. Yet after all St Peter, as Schelling has remarkt, is in divers respects a type of the Romish Church. In the recent piratical publication of Schelling's Lectures, by which one of the shallowest and noisiest babblers in German theology has been disgracing the decline of his life, an ingenious comparison is traced between the character of the Church of Rome and that of St Peter; and among other things the two sides of Peter's conduct on the occasion referred to are said to typify "the combination of stedfast faith with the meanest worldliness in the Romish Church." Of course such publications, taken from reports of lectures unrevised by the author, will very often fail of doing justice to his expressions. But true it is that, while it is the glory of the Church of Rome to have preserved the confession of Christ the Son of the living God through so many ages, notwithstanding the open assaults and insidious snares of numberless forms of heresy, that Church has ever been especially apt to lose sight of the spiritual and divine truth in the outward human form. She has been unable to recognize how it was indeed expedient for Christ to go away. She has never been content, unless she could get something present, a vicar, images, outward works, actual sacrifices, with priests to offer them up, real flesh and real blood. She chose rather to defy the evidence of the senses, than not to have an object of sense. Yes, assuredly it is the great sin of the Church of Rome, that, in the words just cited from Augustin, "amabat Dominum Jesum Christum, sicut homo hominem, sicut carnalis carnalem, non sicut spiritualis majestatem." This however has been the great difficulty in all ages and under all forms of the Church. Some cling to persons, some to institutions, some to ordinances, another class to visions, dreams, immediate supernatural experiences. In one way or other we all want to touch the hem of Christ's earthly garment. If we can do this, we think ourselves safe; but we cannot conceive how it is possible that a man should believe and be saved. "Quia carnales sumus," says Calvin in his Commentary on our text, nihil difficilius est quam praeposterum hunc affectum ex animis nostris revellere, quo Christum e coelo ad nos detrahimus."

NOTE D: p. 21.

Luther, in his *Exposition of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Chapters of St John,*—one of the most precious of his works, and which he himself called the best book he had ever written,—sets forth this argument with his usual simple power. "If I remain with you (our Lord says), you will have nothing in Me but a bodily, natural comfort, and will be unable to attain to the high spiritual authority and everlasting life ordained for you. Therefore My departure, which troubles you now so greatly, should be your chief joy. Let Me go away, and be afflicted to the utmost, and put to a shameful death; and be ye without anxiety; for know that all this is for your good.—It is declared in the Scriptures, and foretold by all the prophets, that Christ shall suffer, and die, and be buried, and rise again, and shall thus begin a new everlasting Kingdom, in which men shall have eternal life, being redeemed from sin and death and hell. This must be fulfilled; and the hour is at hand when it shall come to pass.—Therefore your joy and salvation are now beginning; only you must learn a little to forget My bodily presence, and to wait for the Comforter. For My Kingdom cannot begin, nor the Holy Ghost be given, until I have died and left this life. My death and rising again will make everything new in heaven and on earth, and establish a state of things in which the Holy Ghost shall reign everywhere through the Gospel and through your office, so that ye shall sit, as I have before told you, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel, and have rule and power over sin and death, unto righteousness and eternal life, and that all who wish to be saved must hear and follow you. This is the treasure and the glory which I shall obtain for you: but it cannot be yours, until I have done that which is to gain it for you, and purchast and won it by My death.

"This is the meaning of these words. *Unless I go away,* that is, unless I die, nothing will be done; you will continue as you are; and everything will continue in its old state, as it was before, and

is now,—the Jews under the law of Moses, the heathens in their blindness, all under sin and death; and no man can be redeemed from them or saved. No scripture would then be fulfilled; and I should have come in vain; and all would be vain, that the holy fathers before you and you have believed and hoped. But if I go and die, and do that which God in His counsels has decreed to accomplish by Me, the Holy Ghost will come to you, and work in you, and give you such courage, that you shall be My ambassadors, and shall sit with Me on My throne, shall convert the whole world, shall set aside the Law of the Jews, and destroy the idolatry of the heathens, and shall reprove and change the whole world; and your doctrine shall stand fast for ever, and shall spread on every side, although the devil and the world shall be offended thereby. This is the blessing and the glory which My departure brings you. Therefore you must not trouble yourselves about My going away from you, but should think whither I go, and what I am to accomplish. Think not about My going away, but about this, that I am going to the Father. Thus, instead of the pain and grief which you now feel at My going away, you will find pure comfort, joy, and life; because I am going where I shall receive power from the Father, and be Lord over all things, and shall send you the Holy Ghost, who will glorify Me in the world; and thus through you shall establish and spread My Kingdom, which shall never come to an end, and shall work such miracles that the devil and the world shall be confounded, and be subject to you, and you shall help many, and make many blessed. All which would remain undone, if I did not go away and die."

Luecke, in the first edition of his Commentary, which has lost something, as well as gained much in the subsequent ones, says on the text: "The history of the disciples, of the light they received, and of what they did, after the Ascension and the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, explains and confirms our Lord's words. None but He who had been crucified, had risen, and been glorified, the Son of God, who sat at the right hand of the Father, could be preacht by the Apostles as the Saviour of

the whole world, and as the Lord of a new, eternal and spiritual Kingdom of heaven. None but the Son of God, who had overcome death, and returned in triumph to the Father, could the Paraclete proclaim to the world as the Fulfiller of all righteousness, as the Conqueror of the Prince of this world, and as Him unbelief in whom was sin."

NOTE E: p. 21.

This argument also has been urged by Bishop Andrewes, who seldom lets any rational view of a subject escape him, and does not always confine himself to such; as indeed it is difficult for a man to do, who is at all spellbound by a reverence for the exegetical fancies of the Fathers. As the disciples, he says, in the Sermon already quoted, "were to be sent abroad into all coasts, to be scattered all over the earth to preach the Gospel, and not to stay together still, in one place, Christ's corporal presence would have stood them in small stead. He could have been resident but in one place, to have comforted some one of them, St James at Jerusalem: as for John at Ephesus, or Thomas in India, or Peter at Babylon, as good for them in heaven as in earth; all one. The Spirit, that was to succeed, was much more fit for men disperst. He could be, and was present with them all, and with every one by himself, as filling the compass of the whole world." In the edition of 1641, and in the new Oxford reprint, the last sentence stands thus: "He could be, and was present with them all, and with every one *by Himself*, as filling the compass of the whole world;" where *Himself* is markt by the capital as referring to the Spirit. To me it seems that Andrewes meant to express an antithesis: *the Spirit could be and was present with them all*, collectively, when they were gathered together, *and with every one by himself*, severally, when they were scattered over the earth. As his Sermons were publisht after his death from his manuscripts, by Bishops Laud and Buckeridge, although the old edition is remarkably accurate, a slight emendation from conjecture is more warrantable than in

a book revised by the author himself: more especially is it so in a writer of such a singular, abrupt, jagged, tangled style, in reading whom one seems to be walking through a thicket, crammed with thoughts and thoughtlets, and is caught at every tenth step by some outjutting briar.

NOTE F: p. 22.

The argument on this point comes forward again at the end of the third Sermon, in the observations on the words, *And ye see Me no more.* It is urged by Augustin, *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione*, II. 52. "Quamvis multa Dominus visibilia miracula fecerit, unde ipsa fides velut primordiis lactescentibus germinaret, et in suum robur ex illa teneritudine coalesceret (tanto est enim fortior, quanto magis jam ista non quaerit); tamen illud quod promissum speramus, invisibiliter voluit exspectari, ut justus ex fide viveret, in tantum ut nec ipse qui die tertio resurrexit, inter homines esse voluerit, sed eis demonstrato in sua carne resurrectionis exemplo, quos hujus rei testes habere dignatus est, in coelum ascenderit, illorum quoque se oculis auferens,—ut et ipsi ex fide viverent, ejusque justitiae, in qua ex fide vivitur, praemium, quod postea erit visibile, nunc interim per patientiam invisibiliter exspectarent. Ad hunc intellectum credo etiam illud esse referendum, quod ait de Spiritu Sancto: *Non potest ipse venire, nisi ego abiero.* Hoc enim erat dicere, non poteritis juste vivere ex fide, quod de meo dono, id est, de Spiritu Sancto habebitis, nisi a vestris oculis hoc quod intuemini abstulero, ut spiritualiter cor vestrum invisibilia credendo proficiat. Hanc ex fide justitiam identidem, loquens de Spiritu Sancto, ita commendat: *Ille*, inquit, *arguet mundum de peccato, de justitia, et de judicio; de peccato quidem, quia non crediderunt in me; de justitia, quia ad Patrem vado, et jam non videbitis me.* Quae est ista justitia, qua eum non viderent, nisi ut justus ex fide viveret, et non respicientes quae videntur, sed quae non videntur, spiritu ex fide spem justitiae exspectaremus?"

So again in his Treatise on the Trinity (I. 18), speaking of this

passage: " Oportebat ut auferretur ab oculis eorum forma servi, quam intuentes, hoc solum esse Christum putabant quod videbant. Inde est et illud quod ait, *si diligeretis me, gauderetis utique quoniam eo ad Patrem; quia Pater major me est:* id est, propterea me oportet ire ad Patrem, quia dum me ita videtis, ex hoc quod videtis, aestimatis quia minor sum Patre, atque ita circa creaturam susceptumque habitum occupati, aequalitatem quam cum Patre habeo non intelligitis. Inde est et illud, *Noli me tangere; nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem.* Tactus enim tanquam finem facit notionis. Ideoque nolebat in eo esse finem intenti cordis in se, ut hoc quod videbatur tantummodo putaretur. Ascensio autem ad Patrem erat ita videri sicut aequalis est Patri."

Bengel, in one of the pregnant notes in his invaluable Gnomon, —a work which manifests the most intimate and profoundest knowledge of Scripture, and which, if we examine it with care, will often be found to condense more matter into a line, than can be extracted from pages of other writers, — says, on the word συμφέρει in the text, " *Conducit* vobis, respectu Paracleti, v. 7. s. et Mei, v. 16. s. et Patris, v. 23. s." Thus he draws our attention to the manner in which our Lord Himself, in the subsequent part of the chapter, explains the advantages to accrue from His departure; telling the disciples first, how the Comforter would come to them, and arm them with power to convince the world, and would guide them to the truth,—secondly, how after a little while He would return to them, and they would see Him again, when He was ascending to the Father, and their sorrow would be turned into joy, like that of a woman in travail when she is delivered of her child, a joy which no man should take from them,—and thirdly, how the prayers, which they would then offer up in His name, would find acceptance with the Father, who would give them whatsoever they askt, and how He would shew them plainly of the Father, and how the Father would love them, because they had loved and believed in His Son.

In the next note, on the word γάρ,—" Paracleti duplex munus, erga mundum, h. l. et erga fideles, v. 12. s."—we are led to observe, how the twofold office of the Comforter is set forth,—

that of convincing the world of sin and righteousness and judgement,—and that of guiding the disciples to the whole truth.

Bengel's next note is also important, on the verbs ἀπέλθω and πορευθῶ: "*abiero, profectus ero*: differunt verba: illud terminum a quo, hoc terminum ad quem, magis spectat:" indicating that the grand advantage to the disciples would not result from His going away from them, but from His going to the Father. This distinction is lost in the Vulgate, where both are rendered *abiero;* as it is in our Version, where the second verb, *depart*, "spectat terminum a quo." Erasmus follows the Vulgate; but Beza, both here and in xiv. 3, where the Vulgate again gives *abiero* for πορευθῶ, substitutes *profectus fuero*. The simplest way of preserving the distinction in our language would be to render the latter part of the verse thus: *For if I go not away, the Comforter will not come to you; but if I go, I will send Him to you.*

In this microscopic nicety of observation, which, as we have seen, will often detect important fibres of thought, no commentator that I know comes near Bengel. Luther, rendering the two verbs by *hingehen*, misses the "terminum a quo" in the former: nor is this corrected by Meyer or Scholz; but it is by De Wette. "Es ist euch gut, dass ich *weggehe;* denn so ich nicht *weggehe*, wird der Beistand nicht zu euch kommen; so ich aber *hingehe*, werde ich ihn zu euch senden."

NOTE G: p. 24.

By the Greek Fathers this verse, and the other similar ones on the Paraclete, are chiefly quoted in the course of their arguments on the Personality, and on the Procession of the Holy Ghost. Thus Athanasius, in his first Discourse against the Arians (§. 47), after speaking of the descent of the Holy Ghost on our Lord at His Baptism, and saying that He received this sanctification, not by reason of any imperfection in Himself, as the Word, but in His human capacity, as the Representative of mankind, adds, Καὶ μὴν αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριός φησι· τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τῶν ἐμοῦ λήψεται· καὶ, Ἐγὼ αὐτὸ ἀποστέλλω· καὶ, Λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τοῖς μαθηταῖς· καὶ ὅμως ὁ

ἄλλοις παρέχων ὡς Λόγος καὶ Ἀπαύγασμα τοῦ Πατρὸς, λέγεται νῦν ἁγιάζεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ πάλιν γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐστι. The last words are rendered in the recent Oxford Translation, "*And the Body that is sanctified is His.*" They should rather be rendered, "*And that which is sanctified is His Body;*" as Athanasius had said just before, ἡ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ τοῦ Πνεύματος γενομένη κάθοδος, εἰς ἡμᾶς ἦν γινομένη, διὰ τὸ φορεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα. The same argument recurs in the first Epistle to Serapion, §. 20. Καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ μονογενὴς ὁ Υἱός ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ διδόμενον καὶ πεμπόμενον καὶ αὐτὸ ἕν ἐστι, καὶ οὐ πολλὰ, οὐδὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ἓν, ἀλλὰ μόνον αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα. Ἑνὸς γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τοῦ ζῶντος Λόγου, μίαν εἶναι δεῖ τελείαν καὶ πλήρη τὴν ἁγιαστικὴν καὶ φωτιστικὴν ζῶσαν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δωρεὰν, ἥτις ἐκ Πάτρος λέγεται ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ ἐκ Πατρὸς ὁμολογουμένου ἐκλάμπει καὶ ἀποστέλλεται καὶ δίδοται. Ἀμέλει ὁ μὲν Υἱὸς παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀποστέλλεται· οὕτω γάρ, φησιν, ὁ Θεὸς ἠγάπησε τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ ἀπέστειλεν. Ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα ἀποστέλλει· ἐὰν γὰρ, φησὶν, ἐγὼ ἀπέλθω, ἀποστελῶ τὸν Παράκλητον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Υἱὸς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Πατρὸς ἦλθε· τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, φησὶν ὁ Υἱὸς, ὃ πέμψει ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου."

Chrysostom, in his 78th Homily on St John, urges the argument contained in our text for the exceeding dignity of the Comforter. Τί λέγουσιν ἐνταῦθα οἱ τὴν προσήκουσαν περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος οὐκ ἔχοντες δόξαν; συμφέρει δεσπότην ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ δοῦλον παραγενέσθαι; ὁρᾷς πῶς πολλὴ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἡ ἀξιά.

To the same effect writes Theodoret in the fifth Book of his *Heretical Fables*, in a passage where he asserts his peculiar doctrine concerning the procession of the Spirit from the Father alone. Τὸ Πνεῦμα τοίνυν τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ἔχειν τὴν ὕπαρξιν μεμαθήκαμεν· ὁ δὲ τῆς ὑπάρξεως τρόπος οὔτε τῇ κτίσει προσέοικεν· ἄκτιστον γὰρ τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα· οὔτε τῷ μονογένει Υἱῷ· οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν θεοφόρων γέννησιν προσηγόρευσε τὴν τοῦ θειοῦ Πνεύματος ὕπαρξιν· ἐκ μέντοι τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι αὐτὸ, καὶ τὸ θεῖον εἶναι, οἱ ἱεροὶ διδάσκουσι λόγοι. ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης Χριστὸς ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ φησί· συμφέρει ὑμῖν ἵνα ἐγὼ ἀπέλθω· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐγὼ μὴ ἀπέλθω, ὁ Παράκλητος οὐκ ἔρχεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς· καὶ πάλιν· ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ Παράκλητος, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν· τῷ δὲ εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, ἔδειξε πηγὴν ὄντα τοῦ Πνεύματος τὸν Πάτερα· καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ἐκπορεύσεται, ἀλλ' ἐκπορεύεται, δεικνὺς

καὶ τῆς φύσεως τὴν ταυτότητα, καὶ τῆς οὐσίας τὸ ἄτμητον καὶ ἀδιάφορον, καὶ τὸ ἡνώμενον τῶν ὑποστάσεων· τὸ γὰρ ἐκπορευόμενον ἀχώριστον ἐξ οὗ ἐκπορεύεται.

In like manner Augustin, in a fine passage of the first Book of his Treatise on the Trinity (§. 18), argues from this and other texts to prove the equality and unity of the Three Persons. "Nec inde separatur utriusque Spiritus, id est Patris et Filii Spiritus.—Hoc est enim plenum gaudium nostrum, quo amplius non est, frui Trinitate Deo, ad cujus imaginem facti sumus. Propter hoc aliquando ita loquitur de Spiritu Sancto, tanquam solus ipse sufficiat ad beatitudinem nostram; et ideo solus sufficit, quia separari a Patre et Filio, non potest: sicut Pater solus sufficit, quia separari a Filio et Spiritu Sancto non potest; et Filius ideo sufficit solus, quia separari a Patre et Spiritu Sancto non potest. Quid enim sibi vult quod ait, *Si diligitis me, mandata mea servate; et ego rogabo Patrem; et alium Advocatum dabit vobis, ut vobiscum sit in aeternum, Spiritum veritatis, quem hic mundus accipere non potest?* id est, dilectores mundi; *animalis* enim *homo non percipit ea quae sunt Spiritus Dei.* Sed adhuc potest videri ideo dictum, *Et ego rogabo Patrem, et alium Advocatum dabit vobis,* quasi non solus Filius sufficiat. Illo autem loco ita de illo dictum est tanquam solus omnino sufficiat: *Cum venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, docebit vos omnem veritatem.* Numquid ergo separatur hinc Filius, tanquam ipse non doceat omnem veritatem, aut quasi hoc impleat Spiritus Sanctus, quod minus potuit docere Filius? Dicant ergo, si placet, majorem esse Filio Spiritum Sanctum, quem minorem illo solent dicere. An quia non dictum est, *Ipse solus,* aut, *Nemo nisi ipse vos docebit omnem veritatem,* ideo permittunt ut cum illo docere credatur et Filius? Apostolus ergo Filium separavit ab sciendis iis quae Dei sunt, ubi ait, *Sic et quae Dei sunt nemo scit nisi Spiritus Dei?* ut jam isti perversi possint ex hoc dicere, quod et Filium non doceat quae Dei sunt nisi Spiritus Sanctus, tanquam major minorem; cui Filius ipse tantum tribuit, ut diceret, *Expedit vobis ut ego eam; nam si non abiero, Advocatus non venict ad vos.* Hoc autem dixit non propter inaequalitatem Verbi Dei et Spiritus Sancti, sed tanquam impedimento esset praesentia Filii hominis apud eos, quominus veniret ille qui minor non esset,

quia semetipsum non exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, sicut Filius.

Similar arguments are urged by Anselm with his wonted subtilty in his Treatise *De Processione Spiritus Sancti*, ss. ix. xix. Comparing our Lord's declaration in the foregoing chapter of St John, that He will send the Comforter, — a declaration which recurs in our text,—with that in the fourteenth chapter, that the Father will send the Comforter in His name, Anselm argues the identity of the act, and the unity of the Agent. A number of passages, in which the same line of argument is taken by Basil, Cyril, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary, Gregory the Great, and others, are quoted by Petavius in his great work on the Trinity vii. 4. 5. 9. viii. 4. 5. Thomas Aquinas (*Summa* iii. *Quaest.* lvii. Art. vi), where he is speaking of the effect of our Lord's Ascension, in arguing *Utrum ascensio Christi sit causa nostrae salutis*, after he has stated that our Lord's Passion is the one meritorious cause of our salvation, quotes our text to prove that His Ascension was also the cause of great benefits to us, " ut in coelorum sede quasi Deus et Dominus constitutus exinde divina dona hominibus mitteret."

Hence this verse became one of the standard texts in all arguments about the Procession of the Holy Ghost. Thus for instance Bossuet says, in his *Elévations sur les Mystères de la Religion Chrétienne* (v): " Que sera-ce donc, que cette finale production de Dieu? C'est une procession, sans nom particulier. Le Saint-Esprit *procède du Père* (Joan. xv. 26); le Saint-Esprit est l'esprit commun du Père et du Fils : le Saint-Esprit *prend du Fils* (Joan. xvi. 14); et le Fils *l'envoie* (xvi. 7), comme le Père."

In Lampe's learned and elaborate Commentary the interpretations of this verse by the Fathers are spoken of contemptuously, as examples, " Quantum obfuerit Patribus ignorantia differentiae Oeconomiarum V. et N. T. cujus fundamentum fuit actualis sanguinis Testamenti effusio." Hence, he says, this passage, " qui, supposita illa differentia, intellectu est facillimus, multis ineptis commentationibus ansam dedit. Sic Augustinus, cur Spiritus non nisi abeunte Christo esset mittendus, inquirens, in causa esse censuit discipulorum carnalem affectum; Rupertus, quia

Christo nondum mortuo defuerit consolationis materia; Cyrillus, quia quamdiu Jesus cum discipulis conversabatur, praesentia Spiritus Sancti minus erat necessaria, ipso omnia bona largiente. Propius ad rem venit illud Euthymii; Quia ita SS. Trinitati visum est, ut Pater quidem ad Filium eos attraheret, Filius autem illos doceret, ac Spiritus Sanctus ipsos perficeret, et jam duo completa erant, oportebat et tertium perfici, consummationem videlicet Spiritus Sancti. Verum hoc, quod et Theophylactus amplectitur, nimis generale est, et universalem tantum exprimit salutis Oeconomiam, quae omnibus temporibus est communis."

The censure here bestowed on the Fathers is grounded on a very common misconception, which sadly perverts our views of the history of the Church, and mars the good we might otherwise derive from the divines of former ages. It is seldom duly borne in mind,—indeed till of late years it was never distinctly recognized,—that in theology, as in every other department of human knowledge, there is a law of progress, according to which divers portions of Christian truth were not to attain to their rightful prominence in the systematic exposition of doctrines, till after the lapse of several generations. If we cast our eyes back over the history of literature, of philosophy, of science, we can hardly help perceiving, provided we know what to look for, that every age has received a certain number of talents, which it was to occupy until it was called to render in its reckoning; that every age has had a certain portion of truth, a certain quantity of knowledge, assigned to it, which it was to increase, but which it could only increase step by step, and from which it could not bound forward at once into the portion designed for its remote posterity. Hence it is sheer injustice and foolishness to blame the writers of former times, because their fashion of speech, of thought, of feeling, is in many respects unlike our own, or because they have not the same clear insight into truths, which we may count among the most precious parts of our possessions, yet for which we may perhaps be in no slight measure indebted to their patient and persevering cultivation of the inheritance they had received. Everybody would allow that it were absurd to find fault with Homer, because he

did not write in rime, or with Archimedes, because he did not make use of the fluxionary calculus. Into this absurdity we do not fall, because here the difference is something so definite and palpable: in most cases however, when we are criticizing the writers of former times, we are apt to take our own point of view, and to quarrel with them for not seeing things exactly as we see, or not seldom as we fancy that we see them. Whereas it is plain that we cannot understand any writer duly, unless we try to place ourselves in his point of view, and to look at things as he, from his position in the world, was compelled to look at them. If we know not the work he was set to do, how can we judge whether he did his work well or ill? It is true, this is difficult, because we are so penned in by our circumstances, and hidebound by our habitual thoughts and feelings. It is true too, that, in order to exercise judgement, we need a positive, as well as a comparative standard, and that each age, as well as the individuals belonging to it, is to be judged, not merely according to its ability and diligence in accomplishing its special object, but also according to the worthiness of that object itself. This standard however is not to be an abstraction from the notions of our own age; for, if it were, the accidents and prejudices of our age would much distort it; yet, if we fancy we are establishing an ideal, it will differ little, unless we have consulted the oracles of history, from such an abstraction. To gain a just standard, we must correct that which is accidental and partial in each age by the opposite bearings of other ages; not indeed eclectically, so as to get a mere negative result, but seeking by a philosophical analysis after the living principles, which manifest themselves thus diversely. Nor will any one be qualified to exercise judgement, unless he has learnt from a course of historical discipline to understand the great problems which humanity is ordained to solve, their affinity to our nature and to each other, their ramifications and sequence, as well as the faculties with which man is endowed for the solution, and the part which his will and conscience have to bear in the improvement and right employment of his faculties.

The truth of these propositions will be recognized, at least in the abstract, more readily with regard to other branches of knowledge, than to theology. For in theology, it is urged, we have a single, fixt, determinate code of truth; and man has no task save to understand and interpret it. But so is the outward world fixt, determinate, palpable to the unerring senses, the same now, in its laws and main features, as it was two thousand years ago: yet Science has been progressive. Generation after generation has learnt to see more in Nature, and to understand it better; and there are still measureless treasures of this knowledge reserved for generations yet unborn. The progress indeed has not always been uniform. It has sometimes been retarded, sometimes checkt, has sometimes seemed to be a recession. There have been periods when the chief work has been to overthrow and sweep away the artificial structures of prior times, and to return with an opener, more searching, and more trustful eye to the simple contemplation of nature. And does not the history of the Church prove that this is the very course which was prescribed for man, in order that he might attain to a reasonable, systematic knowledge of divine things? Here too truths, which in one age are almost latent, or recognized singly and insulatedly by faith, on the authority of a positive declaration, are brought out more distinctly by subsequent ages, and are ranged in their mutual connexion, in their position as parts of the system of truth, and in their relation to the rest of our knowledge concerning the nature and destinies of man. Not however that this progress is always an advance along the line of truth in theology, any more than in other sciences. Man's path bends aside, winds, twists, seems often to return upon itself. His orbit has its aphelia, as well as its perihelia. When he has made a lodgement in a new field of knowledge, he will set about building a tower, the top of which, he fancies, shall reach to heaven: and generations, it may be, will spend their lives in working at such a tower,—the most conspicuous example of which is the philosophy and theology of the Schoolmen,—until the spirit of division and confusion comes down among the workmen, and their own work falls about their heads,

and they are thus admonisht that they are not to mount to heaven by building up a tower in any one spot, but that heaven is near them in every part of the earth, if they will open and purge their eyes to see it. Thus one theological system after another has past away, each however leaving behind some contribution, greater or less, to the general stock of theological truth. Meanwhile God's word stands fast, even as the heavens and the earth, and is the mine from which every new system is extracted, and is the canon whereby it is to be tried; and as more than fifty generations have drawn the nurture of their hearts and minds from it, so will generation after generation to the end of the world.

I have made these remarks, because several good men have been sorely disturbed by the doctrine of the development of Christianity, as it has been brought forward of late by a certain school of our divines. Some of the German apologists for Romanism, having perceived, as could not but happen in a country where learning and criticism have found a home, that the old plea of a positive unwritten tradition in the Church was utterly untenable, as a ground for the doctrinal and practical innovations of later times, have fancied that they might render their Church a service by taking up the popular modern theory of the development of mankind,—a theory which has been carried into the most outrageous extravagances in the contemporary schools of philosophy, as it has also been in France by the Saint-Simonians. This theory, which has been turned by others to shew that Christianity itself is a transient religion, belonging to a bygone period, and almost obsolete, they have tried to employ in defence of the Church of Rome. Herein however it was impossible for them to succeed. The Church whose constant effort, since the time when it cut itself off from the living body of Christ, has been to check, to repress, to cramp, to fetter the mind, could not find support in a theory which implies the freedom of the mind: nor can any Church, unless it recognize, both doctrinally and practically, that the property of truth is to set the mind free. Nevertheless the antagonists of the Reformation among ourselves, after a

like failure in their attempt to wrap up our limbs in the swathings of the early Church, have taken up the theory, which in Germany had been baffled, and have now found out that the Church continued to unfold and develope the body of truth committed to her keeping, up to the age of the Schoolmen, and the zenith of the hierarchy. As they have thus advanced by degrees from the theology of the first and second centuries to that of the fourth and fifth, and next to that of the thirteenth and fourteenth, may we not hope that they will in time discover how the development of Christian truth did not suddenly stop short then, how the Comforter did not then, or ever, depart from His office of guiding the Church to the whole truth by shewing it the things of Christ, but on the contrary came down with a mightier power and with tongues of fire at the age of the Reformation, and did then indeed take of the things of Christ, and shew them to His chosen teachers, as He had not shewn them before since the days of the Apostles? Hence, though the ordinary English practice in judging of truth is, not so much to enquire into its intrinsic evidence and worth, as whether it is likely to support or oppose our party prepossessions and prejudices, there is no reason for looking with repugnance or dread at the theory of the development of theology, as if, when rightly understood, it were in itself more favorable to the claims of any one particular branch of the Church; except indeed so far as it negatives the pretensions of any branch that would maintain the complete stationariness of theology, and assert that at a given time an absolute ultimate scheme of truth had been set up for all after ages. To the words of Scripture we cannot add; nor may we take away from them: but truth in Scripture is set before us livingly, by examples, by the utterance of principles, in the germ, not by the enunciation of a formal dogmatical system, according to which the thoughts of men were to be clast and rubricated for ever after: nor can any human scheme or system make out a title to the possession of such an absolute conclusive ultimatum.

Not however that the right theory of the development of Christian theology by any means implies that each later age must

necessarily have a fuller and deeper knowledge of divine things than its predecessors, either as spread abroad through the body of the Church, or as centred in its chief teachers. Were this a consequence of the theory, this alone would prove fatal to it, the very reverse having notoriously been often the case. But even in Science, which is so much less dependent on moral influences, and with which the varieties of character and feeling and will have so little to do, the progress has never been uniform and uninterrupted; while in poetry, in the arts, in philosophy, where the understanding is greatly swayed by the moral affections, and derives a main part of its sustenance and energy from them, man's course has been so irregular, that nothing like a law of it has been ascertained. So too must it needs be in theology, where the subject matter is divine truth, which cannot be received intellectually, unless it be also received morally, to the pure reception of which all the corrupt feelings of our nature are opposed, and which they are perpetually attempting to sophisticate and distort. Thus it has often come to pass that the inheritance left by one age has been squandered or wasted or forfeited by its successor. So that it by no means follows from the theory of the development of Christian truth, that even the later system of theology must be the better. For the world is always wrestling to draw man away from the truth, and will often prevail, as Jacob did over the angel: and when faith is at a low ebb, when the visible and immediate and material predominate in men's hearts and minds over the invisible, the ideal, the spiritual, theology must needs dwindle and decay. But when there is a revival of faith, if this revival coincides with, or is succeeded by, a period of energetic thought, a deeper or clearer insight will be gained into certain portions of truth, especially appropriate to the circumstances and exigencies of the age, and which have not yet been set forth in their fulness. Thus, to cite the two most memorable examples, the true doctrine of the Trinity was brought out more distinctly in the fourth century, that of Justification by faith in the sixteenth; the prevalence of errour acting in both instances as a motive and spur to the clearer demarcation and exposition of the

truth. At the same time, through man's aptness to overleap himself, and to exaggerate the importance of whatever may be engaging him at the moment, an age which has been allowed to behold a fresh truth, may too easily depreciate and let slip the truths which its ancestors have bequeathed to it; which proneness has ever been a main source of heresy. Thus on all sides we are continually reminded of our inherent weakness, and how that weakness is ever the most mischievous when we are beguiled into fancying ourselves strong: and while we are thus exhorted to be diligent in studying the whole history of the Church, and the writings of her chief teachers in every age, lest we drop and lose any portion of the precious riches which they have been allowed to win for mankind, we are still more strongly admonisht to compare every proposition, and every scheme of propositions,—every proposition, both as it stands by itself, and in its relation to the other parts of Christian truth,—with the only canon of truth, the written word of God.

One thing more, which may excite difficulties in some minds, requires to be just noticed. The development spoken of is that of theology, not of religion, which is quite another thing, and may exist in its fullest living power with very little knowledge of theology; just as a man may see the light, and see with the light, and fulfill all the duties of life by the light, without the slightest knowledge of optics or astronomy, — nay, may do all this far better than those who have the profoundest. Whatever expansion and improvement theology may be susceptible of, this does not infer that religion is in like manner to improve, nor that religion may not exist in its fullest life and power, where theology has scarcely attained to a definite, orderly existence.

To return to the point from which this digression started,—it is very true that, as Lampe complains, the doctrine of the satisfaction of the death of Christ is not brought forward in a distinct dogmatical form, as the central article of Christian theology, in the first ages of the Church, by those who are especially called the Fathers. It was reserved for Anselm to give the first clear dogmatical exposition of this great cardinal truth,

according to its dignity and power; as may be seen in Baur's very learned and profound treatise on the History of the Doctrine of the Atonement. Yet surely the wise and Christian way of dealing with the writings of former ages is to seek out and be thankful for the truths which they do contain, not to disparage and reject these, because they are not combined with other truths, which, according to the order laid down by God for the manifestation of His counsels to the speculative and reflective understanding, could not stand out so prominently before the theological mind, until that mind had traverst certain previous cycles of thought. The same constellation is not always vertical even now: and they who turn their eyes toward some other quarter of the heavens, still behold some configuration of heavenly truth; for God's word is as full of truths as the sky of stars. Not that the order and sequence of these truths is immaterial; but the lively apprehension even of a subordinate truth is far more valuable than the most accurate formal acquaintance with the correctest system of theology. Nevertheless summary censures, after the manner of Lampe's, have been very common among a large body of divines, especially during the last century, and have mostly become more vehement with the increasing ignorance of dogmatical and historical theology. Histories of the Church, or works so calling themselves, have been written, which in fact have been little else than attempts to trace the history of a single doctrine, such as that of Justification; which has been identified by the historian with the whole of Christianity, and without the distinct systematic recognition of which he has assumed there could be no Christian life or Christian truth. Thus in Milner's superficial work all the other manifestations of the Christian spirit and forms of Christian doctrine are wellnigh past over; and the readers are led to suppose that Christianity for several centuries was all but extinct, because the views of theologians on this primary doctrine were ill-defined or erroneous. Through the influence of such works a shallow tone of contented ignorance becomes prevalent, men being ever ready to lay hold on that which flatters their indolence and presumption, and seems to

warrant them in condemning peremptorily, without going through the labour of investigating. Yet they who speak contemptuously of the Fathers, because the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ's death does not hold its right supremacy in their theological system, would also, were they consistent, look slightingly on many books of Scripture itself, because in them too it has pleased God to reveal other portions of the infinite riches of His truth. Nay, in this very passage of St John there is nothing to carry our thoughts to this special view of the doctrine of the Atonement, or to indicate that this was the sole, or the main reason, why it was expedient for the disciples that Jesus should go away. Nor is this directly intimated in the other passage of our Gospel (xii. 24), which Lampe cites. There too our Lord allows us to meditate on the various ways in which His death was to work for the increase of His Church. In fact this is a quality of all divine truths, and an attestation of their divine power, that their operation is not single, but manifold, that they branch out on every side, that they are the centres of numberless concentric circles, which may pass through very different regions of thought, but which all, if they preserve their relation to their centre, receive their constitutive principle from thence.

Nevertheless Lampe's own interpretation of our text recognizes the fulness of its meaning. To the fear of the disciples, he says, Jesus "opponit assertionem utilitatis ex abitu sperandae. Nova haec erat *συγκατάβασις*, quod cum ad aequum et honestum tam parum attenderent, ab utili argumentum petat. Solet id apud imbecilliores in fide longe maximum pondus habere. Utilitatem hanc abitus Christi Scriptura passim urget. Hoc est *bonum illud* Messiae *pro sanctis*, Ps. xvi. 2: *Satietas post laborem animae ejus*, Jes. liii. 11. Hoc praefiguravit virga Aaronis in sanctuario virens, florens, et fructus protrudens. Hoc ipse praedixit, c. xii. 24. Amplissimus hic necti potest bonorum ex abitu Domini scaturientium catalogus, tum eorum quae discipulis cum reliquis fidelibus communia, tum quae in his circumstantiis iis solis priva erant. Ad priorem classem spectat tum omnium bonorum foederis gratiae generatim hactenus jam ab electis vi vadimonii Christi obtentorum

plena confirmatio, tum bonorum N. T. a prophetis promissorum praestatio. Haec omnia ut sanguine suo emeret, inferni dolores erant subeundi, ut vero dividendi a Patre jus obtineret, in coeli usque adytum penetrandum. Quare sine hoc discessu neque Propheta fuisset, quia fides praedictionum ejus vacillasset, neque Sacerdos, quia sacrificium bonae fragrantiae non obtulisset (Heb. viii. 4), neque Rex, quia thronum coelestem non occupasset. Cum vero abeundo cursum suum consummaret, infernum occludendo damnum omne abstulit, et coelum recludendo thesauros sufficientiae divinae aperuit, *omniaque implevit*, Ephes. iv. 10; confer Ephes. i. 3. Accedebat utilitas ad solos apostolos spectans, qui per et propter abitum Domini a coecitate, carnalibus praejudiciis, infirmitate fidei liberandi, atque ad ministerium Evangelii adaptandi erant. — Connectitur autem promissio Spiritus arctissime cum abitu Christi, ita ut absque eo non esset speranda, post eum vero indubitato exspectanda. Fundamentum hujus nexus est liberrimum Triunius Dei de salute peccatoris decretum, ut sicut acquisitio salutis proprium erat opus Filii, ita applicatio fieret per operationes Spiritus Sancti. Sicut ergo acquisitio hereditatis possessionem antecedit, ita necessario abitus Jesu per passiones ad Patrem operationibus Spiritus et donorum ejus distributioni latiorem portam aperiebat. Restitutio servi in libertatem supponit solutionem pretii. Domus antea fundatur et exstruitur, quam exornari queat. Reconciliatio inimicorum ante requiritur, quam in familiare commercium adsciri queant. Ita poterat evidentissime constare et Patrem reconciliatum, et Filium consummatum esse vitae Principem. Et quamvis Spiritus Sanctus in ordine operandi esset ultimus, illius tamen divina gloria ex ipsa hac dispensatione eo illustrius conspiciebatur, quia operationes divinas post discessum Christi in terris conspicuas Spiritum auctorem habere, eo clarius patebat.—Si non abiisset Jesus, vadimonium deseruisset, quo non praestito opus salutis interruptum fuisset. Neque potuisset absque hoc abitu Spiritus satis sancte peccatoris Paracletus, Advocatus, et Consolator fieri. Ecquid enim eorum patrocinium suscepisset, qui in Dei odio persistebant? eos consolatus esset, qui sub ira Dei jacuissent? Atque eo certius erat ab altera parte, *sin abiret*,

Spiritum ab eo esse mittendum. Singuli gradus abitus Christi relationem ad missionem Spiritus habebant. Hic scopus erat passionis, ut jus acquireret: Gal. iii. 13, 14. Hinc pruna ardens ab altari holocausti sumebatur, incensura Jesaiam, ejusque antitypum ministros N. T. Hic scopus erat abitus animae ejus ad tribunal Patris, ut sententia Supremi Judicis jus mittendi Spiritum ipsi addiceretur. Quod jus, cum in Spiritu justificatus in terram rediret, declaravit, discipulos afflans, Joh. xx. 22. Hic praecipue erat scopus abitus ejus per adscensum in coelum, ut occupato throno gloriae jus hoc in actum deduceret. Ita demum Spiritus officio suo poterat defungi, et non tantum de *justitia* acquisita, et *judicio* in ea fundato mundum convincere, sed etiam Jesum in gloriam introductum glorificare. Unde clarissime haec distributio donorum Spiritus ex ascensione Christi derivatur, Ps. lxviii. 18; et in throno gloriae conspicitur *unctus oleo laetitiae*, Ps. xlv. 8, et *sceptrum roboris* ad dominandum inter hostes emittens, Ps. cx. 2. Ita dies expiationis mysticae immediate antecedebat Festum Tabernaculorum, seu laetitiae Spiritus Sancti. Ita fimbriae sedentis in excelso throno templum implebant, Jes. vi. 1. — Spiritus erat eo destinatus, ut haereditatem Filio promissam colligeret, ornaret, ad eum adduceret, et ad honorandum Filium electos aptos redderet.—Ita ignis ex altari et thuribulo projectus est in terram, Apoc. viii. 5, et *fluvius crystallinus ex throno Agni prodit*, Apoc. xxii. 1."

Some of the interpretations here suggested may be questionable and fanciful, and indicate too great a disposition to treat the Bible as the scattered limbs of a dogmatical system. But such interpretations, as they are more genial and profound, have far more of truth in them, than the meagre shallowness of the Grotian school. Grotius, in explaining the mysterious declaration, *If I go not away, the Comforter will not come to you*, merely says, "Est enim hoc inter ea quae coelesti meo Regno reservantur;" referring to a previous note, on vii. 39, where he had said the same thing in a greater number of words. That is, he takes hold of an illustration, by which the power and rightful supremacy of the Gospel was set forth, and thinks that, by the help

of an accidental circumstance belonging to this illustration,—to wit, that kings make gifts,—he has explained a mystery lying in the deepest recesses of our nature, and of that merciful dispensation whereby the unfathomable, unutterable Love of God poured itself forth in unimaginable fulness to reunite the apostate race of man to itself. In fact such explanations explain nothing: they merely evade and slur over the difficulty.

In like manner Andrewes, as is often the case with him, spins out a metaphor in lieu of an argument, when, to prove the expediency of the Spirit's coming, he says, in the Sermon already referred to, "A word is of no force, though written, which we call a deed, till the seal be added; that maketh it authentical. God hath borrowed those very terms from us: Christ is the Word; the Holy Ghost the Seal, *in quo signati estis* (Eph. iv. 30). *Nisi veniat,* if the Seal come not too, nothing is done. Yea, the very will of a testator, when it is sealed, is still in suspense, till administration be granted. Christ is the Testator of the New Testament: the Administration is the Spirit's (1 Cor. xii. 5). If that come not, the Testament is to small purpose." This is little else than ingenious idleness. Men who have some liveliness of fancy, with little depth or power of imagination, and who are therefore quick in catching likenesses, superficial or verbal, but have no clear insight into the essences of things, or into the manner in which analogies consist with and imply differences, are very apt thus to substitute a mere play upon words for reasoning. This however is an inversion of the right logical process. When we read that it is by the Holy Spirit that we are *sealed unto the day of redemption,* our need of the Spirit is plain; but it perplexes and misleads, much more than it helps us, to have the living Word of God identified with the dead words of a deed, and the living Seal of the Spirit with the dead seal on a deed, and to be told that, because the deed is incomplete without its seal, therefore the operation of the living Word is incomplete without the living Seal of the Spirit: for it is not *the deed,* but *we,* who are said by St Paul to be *sealed by the Spirit.* In fact it would have been just as logical to have argued, that,

because St Paul speaks of circumcision as the *seal of the righteousness that is by faith*, therefore the deed of the Word was incomplete without this seal of circumcision, or without anything else that the Scriptures in any place compare to a seal. The relation between a deed and a seal does not beget a relation between all things that may be compared to either of them. In mathematical reasoning, it is true, we do use symbols in place of things; and our deductions with regard to the symbols hold of the things in place of which they stand; that is, so far as relates to the accidents of place and number, and to those properties of material objects which may be brought under the category of number. But these processes are not applicable to spiritual realities; and the application of analogies to them, though useful and indispensable for the sake of elucidation, is scarcely serviceable beyond. St Paul, to whose authority Andrewes refers, does indeed employ an argument (Gal. iii. 15), which at first sight may seem somewhat similar; but, when examined, it is found to be very different. For what he urges is, that, even in a human engagement, when it has once been ratified, he who has made it does not retain the power of revoking it. Thus the argument turns upon a moral analogy; its force lies in the obligatoriness of a plighted word. It might be exprest thus: as even in the dealings between man and man, when any one has bound himself by a formal engagement, he cannot revoke or alter it, much more may we feel sure that the promise, which was made to Abraham by the God of perfect truth, cannot have been revoked or set aside by the subsequent enactment of the Law. Whereas the seal affixt to a bond is something wholly external, and a mere accident of human institution; and thus is ill fitted to interpret the divine necessity for the coming of the Spirit.* Still more

* As this sheet is passing through the press, I observe that Coleridge, in his notes on Luther's Tabletalk (*Remains*, iv. 41), has said, "Metaphors are sorry logic, especially metaphors from human and those too conventional usages to the ordinances of eternal wisdom:" and this remark happens to be made with reference to the very same metaphor, as used by Luther to establish the necessity of the outward sign in Baptism: "a bare writing without a seal is of no force." Luther's argument however is more valid than that of Andrewes. It runs thus,

irrelevant is the second remark; in which Andrewes confounds *the administration* of the gifts of the Spirit, spoken of in the Epistle to the Corinthians, with *the administration of a Testament.* Such trifling is too common in our good Bishop, and needs to be noticed now that the value of his writings, great as it is, is exaggerated beyond all measure. In Coleridge's *Remains* (III. 104. 117. 175) this fondness for fantastic and verbal analogies, which was so prevalent in a large portion of our Jacobite and Caroline divines, is ascribed to their study of the Fathers. There may be some truth in this remark: at least a large part of the Fathers are tainted with the same fault: but it is much the same thing as we find in so many poets of Charles the First's time, who in like manner substitute fanciful images and fantastical combinations for imaginative impersonations and harmonies: nor is this practice confined to the poets. Indeed this is an ordinary characteristic of the state of transition between an imaginative or spiritual age and one under the predominance of the reflective critical understanding. Being unable to soar with the eagle and the lark, the Fancy is ever striving that its plumage, which cannot bear it upward, shall at least have a beauty like that of the peacock and the ostrich. But, while the Imagination, at least the passive and receptive, is an invaluable auxiliary in the philosophical mind,—witness Plato, Augustin, Bacon, Leibnitz, Berkeley, Schelling,—the Fancy is apt to delude all who play with it, as happens at times even to Bacon. At all events the divines of the seventeenth century, with all their learning, and their multiplicity of talents, yet in spiritual depth and power, in simple earnest energy, and in the faculty of piercing to the heart of truth, are very inferior to the greater Reformers, especially to those of Germany, and to Calvin.

"But then (Andrewes proceeds) there ariseth a new difficulty

that God has been pleased in His various dispensations to connect spiritual blessings with outward signs, and that we have no warrant for believing that what God has thus joined together may be parted by man. On the application of human analogies to divine things Luther himself has some excellent observations in his note on the passage of the Epistle to the Galatians.

upon *Si non abiero.* We see a necessity of His coming; but we see no necessity of Christ's going. Why not Christ stay, and yet He come?—Are they like to buckets?* one cannot go down, unless the other go up? If it be so expedient, He come, Christ I trust is not impedient but He may come.—It cannot be denied, They two can stay together well enough; and the time shall come, we shall enjoy Them both together, and the Father with Them. That time is not yet: now it is otherwise. Not for any let in Themselves; that is not all; but for some further matter and considerations noted by the Fathers. — First, for *veniet.* The Holy Ghost cannot come as He should. He should come as God. The stay of Christ would have been a let of the manifestation of His Godhead. To manifest His Godhead being to shew great signs and work great wonders, if Christ had still remained, they would not well have been distinguisht, and great odds have been ascribed to Christ. So the Holy Ghost have wanted that honour† and estimation due to Him: an impeachment it would have been to His divinity. But Christ ascending, all such

* This is the reading in the folio of 1641. In the recent Oxford edition it is, "like *two* buckets:" but this would seem to be merely one of the many instances in which the text in that edition has been corrupted, either through carelessness, or through a want of familiarity with the language and idiom of former times. The simily itself is a most extraordinary and offensive one, and in many writers would justly have been deemed very profane. In a man of such reverent spirit as Andrewes it cannot have been so, but is only another proof of the predominance of mere fancy over the imagination in his mind: he caught at the outward likeness, but did not realize his imagery. Still the meeting with such a passage, —and there are others of a like kind,—in Bishop Andrewes may soften the judgement of many, who are ready to cry out against familiarity of expression and illustration in other writers on sacred subjects, for example in Latimer or Luther. Yet Luther at least, with all his boundless freedom of speech, and desire of going straight to the heart of his Saxon peasantry, would have been preserved from such a simily by his high spiritual imagination, and lively apprehension of all divine truth; as would Bunyan.

† The Oxford Edition reads, "So the Holy Ghost *had* wanted *the* honour." The license which the Editor of that reprint has allowed himself, inclines me to suppose that these alterations also have been made without authority. The elliptical construction *have*, *would* being understood out of the preceding sentence, is quite in Andrewes style.

imaginations cease. From *mittam eum:* a little* impeachment it would have been to Christ's equality with His Father. For, He not going to send Him, but staying still here, the sending of the Spirit would have been ascribed to the Father alone, as His sole act. This would have been the most; that the Father for His sake had sent Him; but He, as God, had had no honour of the sending." Verily these sweepings of the Fathers yield sad rubbishy divinity. It is painful to see the ineffable relation of the three Persons of the ever-blessed Trinity, each of whom is ever pouring Himself forth in the infinite inexhaustible fulness of love, thus degraded by the introduction of the rivalities of human sovereinty, and the jealous assertion of personal honour.

Far better than this is it to rest in a generality like that of Curcellaeus (*Relig. Christ. Instit.* v. 19) "Nisi Christus in coelum ascendisset, non potuisset super fideles suos mittere Spiritum Sanctum, quia tantum munus ex decreto Dei erat glorificationi ejus reservatum, ut de illa efficax et irrefragabile testimonium perhiberet."

In our times Guenther, who holds a high place among the philosophers and Romanist divines of Germany, has spoken about this verse, according to its intimate connexion with the whole mystery of Redemption, in his *Vorschule zur Spekulativen Theologie.* "As the divine Idea of the Creature comes forward into objective reality through the Son, so it is through the Spirit that the Creature returns back into the Godhead, by virtue of the same original union. And thus it appears how, in the outpouring of the Holy Ghost upon all flesh, as the special Incarnation of the Third Divine Person, the Redemption of mankind, as the work of God, attained to its consummation.—For in order to the restoration of the human race, it was not solely and exclusively requisite that there should be a Second Man, fulfilling the idea of man; but to this condition on God's part, was added another

* *Little* is the reading in the folio of 1641, as well as in the new Oxford edition: but I cannot help thinking it probable that Andrewes wrote "a *like* impeachment."

on the part of the Second Man, namely, His vicarious obedience, by way of satisfaction. In short the whole work of Redemption cannot be regarded, like that of Creation, among the normal actions of God; inasmuch as on the one hand it implies the falling away of the first man from God, which God did not will, as its negative condition, and on the other hand, as its positive condition on the side of mankind, the cooperation of the creaturely freedom in the Second Adam.

"Now this extraordinariness in the restoring love of God was not merely manifested by the participation of all the three Persons of the Godhead in this one, as in every other outward act of revelation; but this participation itself was of a peculiar kind. For the humanity in Christ does not seem to have been a Creature of the Word, as the first Adam was, although the Word was really and hypostatically united to it; but Christ, as the Son of Man, at least according to the spiritual elements of His humanity, appears to have been no less the Onlybegotten of the Father, than He was according to His divine Nature. In the Creed His conception, as the primary union of the creaturely spirit with the physical elements derived from the blood of the Virgin, or as the formation of the latter into corporeity, is expressly ascribed to the Holy Ghost, not to the Word, by whom everything was made, that was made. And after Christ, as the Son of man, and in a real inseparable union with the Eternal Son, had purged away the guilt of His race by His merits, and thereby had at the same time removed the fundamental hindrance to all real union of His brethren with God, the Spirit of God again entered into His original dynamical communion with the race, that they who had been delivered from guilt by the Incarnate Son, might also be raised out of their everlasting punishment, that is, their separation from God.

"Hence we may further see how the declarations of the Saviour concerning the Holy Ghost,—for instance, *If I go not away, the Comforter cannot come to you; but if I go, I will send Him to you*, — have not merely a figurative rhetorical

meaning, as being intended to cheer His downcast disciples after a human manner, but contain a truly metaphysical sense: for in them the supersensual relation of the Word to the Spirit, in their participation in the one work of Redemption, is clearly exprest; through which relation Their Functions, as well as Their Persons, excluded each other, to the end that by means of this very reciprocal exclusion They might manifest Their holy personal interest in this greatest work of God's love. So that He, who took away our guilt immediately by His merits, also took away the punishment of our guilt, our separation from God, mediately. Moreover, having obtained the Holy Spirit, by whom alone all creatures are united to God, the Spirit of God, for our sinful race, He could also send Him, and at the same time could determine the conditions and modes under which the Spirit might and was to enter into communion with the human race, and the human race with the Spirit of God, until the end of the world." Vol. ii. pp. 322—324.

In reading the work just cited, since the former part of this note was written, I have found some excellent observations, which so strongly confirm what has been said about the development of theology, and throw so much light on the process, that I will extract the most important part of them. By a somewhat singular coincidence they also turn on the epoch formed in Christian theology by Anselm's theory on the union of the two natures in Christ, and on the satisfaction of His death; and they rest their authority on that promise of the Comforter, which is immediately connected with the main argument of these Sermons, and which Guenther rightly interprets as an assurance that the Spirit of God will guide the Church through all ages to the whole truth. By several Protestant divines on the other hand this assurance is restricted to the Apostles; and some,—as for instance Curcellaeus, in his *Institutio.* I. xi. 4—have urged the passage so interpreted, as overthrowing the pretensions of the Romish Church, and proving that every truth, which was ever to be apprehended by the Church, was immediately revealed to the Apostles, and was by them committed to writing in an

explicit dogmatical or catechetical form, so that the Church from that time forward might dispense with all further illumination. Yet verily it is almost tantamount to a surrender of our arms, if we cannot maintain our cause, except by denying the abiding presence of the Spirit, as the Guide and Teacher of the Church, ever leading it, according to its needs, to the whole truth. Only this promise, like all the others in Scripture, is conditional. The presence of the Spirit does not extinguish our power of resisting Him, and following our own devices, either intellectually or morally: nor will He guide us to the truth, unless we consent and desire to be guided to it. Nor again has any one branch of the Church, or any body of men therein, ever obtained an exemption from that liability and aptness to err, which is inherent in the tendencies of our carnal nature, and through which so many Churches fell away from the truth in the very first ages of Christianity. But let me proceed to the quotation from Guenther.

"In studying the history of theology, we have especial need to bear in mind our Lord's saying, *Blessed is he who shall not be offended at Me.* A theologian who does not keep his eyes fixt on this polestar, may lose his faith in Him who declared, *I am with you unto the end of the world;* just as a materialist, in studying profane history, will throw it out of his hand as a *chronique scandaleuse*, exclaiming, *There is no God, no Providence.* The whole history of the world is a mummy, with deep channels of tears; but, being a mummy, it cannot of itself interpret for after-ages, whether those tears were shed from joy or sorrow. It must therefore be awakened to life. This however can only be done through and in the Spirit of Him, who cried at the grave of Lazarus, *Lazarus come forth.* He who cannot believe in this revivification, may as well spare us his wisdom, which discovers that the source of these dried channels of tears was the weak or blear eyes of the Church. Such a man should first be admonisht, Friend, buy thyself some eyesalve, that thou mayst be able to discern the meaning of those words of the Lord, *I have yet many things to say to you; but ye cannot bear them now.*

Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth is come, He will guide you to the whole truth; a promise which extends to the latest preachers of the Gospel, as well as to the first. And the same Spirit is still at this hour fulfilling the promise of Him who sent Him, that He would convince the world of Sin, if it did not believe in Him who was espoused to mankind in His Church; that He would convince the world of the righteousness of Jesus Christ, who, after He had taken our judgement upon Him, became our Righteousness, and who, ever since He was received into heaven, leads and guides His chosen flock, like a good Shepherd, with righteousness, through the Spirit of God, whom He has sent in His stead, and thus lastly convinces the world of that judgement, which He continually exercises over the Prince of this world as the father of errour and of lies.—

"Certain principles however, which apply to the whole history of Christianity, need to be especially observed in the history of Christian doctrines. In the first place we are to regard each dogma as the product of the reciprocal action of those primary truths (which lie in Christianity, as in a grand fact, exhibited in life and doctrine), as they operate on the mind of man, and of the reaction of the human mind endeavouring to possess itself of that which Christianity gives to it. In short the system of dogmas is the product of the interpenetration of two factors, a given object and a recipient subject; or it is the expression of the insight into Christian truth in the minds of believers. When this living intellectual process is once commenced, it cannot but be carried on continually in a determinate order and sequence; because the two coefficients themselves stand each under its own law, which arises out of its peculiar character. Hence in a history of theology we must not leave the general state of human knowledge out of account; because this, in its influence on the mind, will in every age be the medium of, and therefore modify the above-mentioned reaction of the mind on the substance of Christianity. For it is not Christianity alone, that, as a fact of time, excites the mind of man to intellectual activity: it finds men's minds already involved in this intellectual process with the

whole world of time and space. And on the other hand those ideas which mount victoriously out of Christianity into man's subjective consciousness, exercise an influence, no less rich in blessing than in victory, on the state of human knowledge. That this victory however of Christianity within the pale of science is only completed by degrees, in the course of centuries, is proved by the dominion of Platonic ideas in the theology of the first centuries, and by that of Aristotelian in the theology of the middle ages. Even Origen, with all the originality of his mind, could not break the matter across his knee; and when he tried to do so, he almost broke with the spirit of the Church, which could not say *Yes* to many of his positions, although it could not justify its *No* till long after.

"Not that every product of these intellectual processes is in the spirit of Christianity: for individuals,—in whom positive dogmas first settle into form, — may err; both willingly and unwillingly, wittingly and unwittingly. But the spirit of Christianity will always endeavour to throw off these adverse formations as abnormities. Hence the history of heresies is an important part in the history of theology, not merely for the sake of historical completeness, but mainly because by their attack and contradiction the resistance and answer of the Church has almost always been modified; and finally because life can only manifest itself through its functions, among which the rejection of what is indigestible and alien maintains an honorable place as an internal organic act of self-defense. Hence theology, in its formation and expansion, whether in unison or in opposition to the spirit of Christianity, can never escape from the influence of the prevalent condition of knowledge, inasmuch as this essentially is nothing else than the insight of the human mind into its own nature and objects.—

"Thus our insight into Christian truth admits of degrees and augmentations, which depend partly on the intensity of individual intelligence, partly on the extensiveness of the horizon of knowledge. At the same time it must be borne in mind that a higher sphere of knowledge does not exclude, but includes

the lower, if concerning the same subject matter, and in the same spirit of Christianity.— Hence, if we examine the whole body of Christian theology, as a formation of positive doctrine, we find two elements in it, one permanent, and the other variable. The former is that which has been completely establisht by previous research; the latter, that which is still going through the investigations antecedent to positive knowledge. This latter part owes its origin mainly to the conflict between philosophy, in the widest sense of that word, and theology; but also in part to the desire of deducing consequences from premisses that have been ascertained; which consequences are the more insecure, the further they are removed from their foundation.

"A speculative theologian therefore may err in two ways: he may treat the permanent element in the theology of his age as variable, or try to maintain the variable as permanent; in short he may sacrifice either of the two to the other. The former procedure is called heterodoxy, the latter hyperorthodoxy. Between the two stands orthodoxy; which not only seeks to preserve what has already been establisht, but also to bring what is still under discussion into unison therewith, without however endeavouring to carry out this harmony at the cost of anything essential, whether in substance or form. On the other hand, with regard to heterodoxy, it is plain that, where that which is permanent is set in solution, the variable must in a certain sense for the moment assume the character of immutability; as it is, with regard to hyperorthodoxy, that, where opinions assume the authority of dogmas, everything like movement or development in the dogmas themselves must be utterly rejected; and even a higher, as contrasted with a lower, insight into the same dogma, whether attained with or without aid and a stimulus on the part of human philosophy, will be designated, if not as contrary to faith, or heretical, at least as dangerous to faith, or neological. By such minds, if they happen to possess power, heavy storms may indeed be called up on the horizon of the Church, but assuredly none will be charmed or allayed. For in profane sciences likewise, and consequently in philosophy also, as being in a

formal sense the science of sciences, there is a permanent and a variable element. Nor is this permanent element merely the empirical foundation belonging to each science, but also, as in theology, its essential form, that is, the body of knowledge which has at the time been gained and establisht: and this will lay claim to a like and in a certain sense a dogmatical character; which claims at particular periods will be very pressing, and, if they are rejected, will occasion a schism not easily to be healed between philosophy and theology, whence incalculable injury may result even to the outward life of the Church.—

"A disciple of the school of Voltaire might indeed object, that, what the learned divines at any period in the history of the Church did not know, was at all events known to the Holy Ghost, and that He might have taught it to them. To which question I would only reply by asking, Why did the same Spirit, who spake by the mouth of the prophets under the old Covenant, merely declare the unity of the Godhead, and not the Trinity, by the mouth of Moses to the chosen people? The answer to this question will probably refer on the one hand to the plan of the Divine Wisdom for the education of the Jewish people, and on the other hand to the Polytheism of the ancient world, which made such a strict opposition necessary. It might be added, that the omitting to declare the whole truth is not equivalent to a declaration of untruth or errour. For my own part, I am satisfied with an answer, which enables us to discern the wisdom of the Saviour already working under the old Covenant,—*I have many things to say to you, but ye cannot bear them now.*" II. 230—239.

With these words, which bring us back to our text, we may close this long note, wherein what may seem digressive is at least intimately connected with the work of the Spirit, as He has been pleased to manifest His wisdom in the discipline and training of the Church.

NOTE H: p. 25.

An enquiry of the deepest interest is suggested by these passages of St John concerning the distinctive character and measure of the operation of the Holy Spirit under the earlier and later Dispensation. The prophets of old, we read, *spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost:* the Psalmist lives under the conviction that whatever is good in him arises from the influence of the Spirit of God: he prays that he may be upheld by that influence, that it may not be taken away from him: our Lord Himself tells the disciples that, though *the world could not receive the Spirit of truth*, though *it saw Him not, nor knew Him*, yet *they knew Him*, and that *He dwelt with them*. On the other hand the text declares that our Lord's departure was the indispensable condition, without which the Comforter would not come: the same thing is clearly implied, though not so directly enounced, in the other passages in His last Discourse, where He cheers the disciples with the promise of the Paraclete: and in an earlier chapter of the same Gospel (vii. 39), we learn that *the Spirit was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified*. Now how are these seemingly opposite assertions to be reconciled? and in what sense are we to understand that the gift of the Spirit was reserved till after our Lord's glorification? Let us enquire how these questions, which are so intimately connected with the whole argument of these Sermons, have been discust and answered, generally in reference to the last-cited verse of St John, by some of the most thoughtful divines in various ages of the Church. In doing so however I will not stop to speak of the support which the Macedonian heresy fancied it derived from the common reading in this verse, Οὔπω γὰρ ἦν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. For even if Lachmann's reading, Οὔπω γὰρ ἦν Πνεῦμα δεδόμενον, be not the true one, it is sufficiently proved by Heinsius (*Exercitat. Sacr.* 224. 236. 311. *Aristarch. Sac.* 688.) that something equivalent must be understood from the context: indeed the passage would otherwise be in direct contradiction to the whole tenour of Scripture. Nor

again need we examine the manner in which this verse was made to serve its part in the controversy on the Procession of the Holy Spirit: he who is curious on this point may refer to Petavius, *De Trinitate*, vii. 4. 2.

Our immediate questions have been discust several times by Augustin, for instance in his Discourses on St John (Tract. xxxii). "Quid est quod ait, *Non enim erat Spiritus datus, quia Jesus nondum erat glorificatus?* In evidenti est intellectus. Non enim non erat Spiritus Dei, qui erat apud Deum; sed nondum erat in eis qui crediderant in Jesum. Ita enim disposuit Dominus Jesus non eis dare Spiritum istum de quo loquimur, nisi post resurrectionem suam; et hoc non sine causa. Et forte si quaeramus, annuet ut inveniamus; et si pulsemus, aperiet ut intremus. Pietas pulsat, non manus: quanquam pulsat et manus, si ab operibus misericordiae non cesset manus. Quae igitur causa est cur Dominus Jesus Christus statuerit nonnisi cum esset glorificatus, dare Spiritum Sanctum? Quod antequam dicamus ut possumus, prius quaerendum est,—quomodo nondum erat Spiritus in hominibus sanctis, cum de ipso Domino recens nato legatur in Evangelio, quod eum in Spiritu Sancto agnoverit Simeon, agnoverit etiam Anna vidua prophetissa, agnoverit Joannnes ipse, qui eum baptizavit: impletus Spiritu Sancto Zacharias multa dixit: Spiritum Sanctum ipsa Maria, ut Dominum conciperet, accepit. Multa ergo indicia praecedentia Spiritus Sancti habemus, antequam Dominus glorificaretur resurrectione carnis suae. Non enim alium Spiritum etiam Prophetae habuerunt, qui Christum venturum praenuntiaverunt. Sed modus quidam futurus erat dationis hujus, qui omnino antea non apparuerat: de ipso hic dicitur. Nusquam enim legimus antea congregatos homines, accepto Spiritu Sancto, linguis omnium gentium locutos fuisse. Post resurrectionem autem suam, primum quando apparuit discipulis suis, dixit illis, *Accipite Spiritum Sanctum:* de hoc ergo dictum est, *Non erat Spiritus datus, quia Jesus nondum erat glorificatus. Et insufflavit in faciem eorum,* qui flatu primum hominem vivificavit, et de limo erexit, quo flatu animam membris dedit; significans eum se esse, qui insufflavit in faciem eorum, ut a luto

exsurgerent, et luteis operibus renuntiarent. Tunc primum post resurrectionem suam Dominus, quam dicit Evangelista glorificationem, dedit discipulis suis Spiritum Sanctum. Deinde commoratus cum eis quadraginta dies—ascendit in coelum. Ibi peractis decem diebus, die Pentecostes misit desuper Spiritum Sanctum. Quo, sicut dixi, qui fuerant in uno loco congregati, accepto impleti, omnium gentium linguis locuti sunt."

That this is a very inadequate, meagre explanation, is plain. In every enquiry into the nature of those gifts of the Spirit, which were not to be bestowed till after our Lord's Ascension, we should keep our minds fixt on those words of His, which unfortunately are mostly lost sight of, *He that believeth in Me, out of his heart shall flow rivers of living water:* for these words are expressly declared by St John to refer *to the Spirit, that they who believe in Jesus were to receive;* it being immediately after these words that he adds, *the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified.* The close connexion thus establisht between the special gift of the Spirit, which was to follow on the Ascension, and these words of our Lord, is quite sufficient to overthrow divers interpretations of the promise of the Comforter, and among others that just cited from Augustin; in whom indeed there is the less excuse for it, as it occurs in a continuous Commentary, and he had just been speaking of the very words which refute his explanation. For assuredly *the rivers of living water,* which are to flow out of the heart of believers in Christ, must be something very different from the gift of tongues, and must mean spiritual gifts. So indeed Augustin had just interpreted the expression, though somewhat narrowly: "Quid est fons, et quid est fluvius qui manat de ventre interioris hominis? Benevolentia, qua vult consulere proximo. Si enim putat quia quod bibit soli ipsi debet sufficere, non fluit aqua viva de ventre ejus: si autem proximo festinat consulere, ideo non siccat, quia manat." Afterward too, when considering how the gift of the Spirit was perpetuated in the Church, seeing that the miraculous gift of tongues was transient, he says that the gift of tongues was preserved in the knowledge of languages, and that

we also receive the Spirit, "si amamus Ecclesiam, si caritate compaginamur, si catholico nomine et fide gaudemus."

The Discourse is wound up with a fine specimen of his peculiar rhetoric, though here too the explanation is of no worth as such. "Quare ergo Dominus Spiritum, cujus maxima beneficia sunt in nobis, quia caritas Dei per ipsum diffusa est in cordibus nostris, post resurrectionem suam dare voluit? Quid significavit? Ut in resurrectione nostra caritas nostra flagret, et ab amore saeculi separet, ut tota currat in Deum. Hic enim nascimur et morimur; hoc non amemus: caritate migremus, caritate sursum habitemus, caritate illa qua diligimus Deum. Nihil aliud in hac vitae nostrae peregrinatione meditemur, nisi quia et hic non semper erimus, et ibi nobis locum bene vivendo praeparabimus, unde nunquam migremus. Dominus enim noster Jesus Christus, posteaquam resurrexit, *jam non moritur; mors illi ultra non dominabitur.* Ecce quod amemus. Si vivimus, si in ipsum credimus qui resurrexit, dabit nobis, non quod hic amant homines qui Deum non amant, aut tanto plus amant, quanto illum minus amant: tanto autem hoc minus amant, quanto illum plus amant. Sed videamus quid nobis promisit: non divitias terrenas et temporales, non honores et potestates in saeculo isto,—non ipsam postremo corporis sanitatem,—non vitam longam,—non pulcritudinem corporis.—Omnia ista non nobis promisit, qui dixit, *Qui credit in me, veniat et bibat; et flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquae vivae.* Vitam aeternam promisit, ubi nihil timeamus, ubi non conturbemur, unde non migremus, ubi non moriamur.—Quia ergo tale est quod nobis promisit amantibus, et Spiritus Sancti caritate ferventibus, ideo ipsum Spiritum noluit dare, nisi cum esset glorificatus; ut in suo corpore ostenderet vitam, quam modo non habemus, sed in resurrectione speramus." All this may do well as an application, or what is not always appropriately termed an *improvement* of the text in a sermon; but it is a mere misunderstanding to deem such imaginative analogies an explanation of the reason why the Spirit was not given till after our Lord was glorified.

Again, in the same work (Tractat. lii), on the words *Now shall*

the prince of this world be cast out (xii. 31), Augustin asks whether he had not already been cast out from the hearts of the patriarchs and the prophets and the righteous men of old, and replies that this casting out was only partial, compared to the extent of that which was about to take place; and he illustrates this by a reference to the partial gift of the Spirit in former ages, and the general gift on the day of Pentecost, when all were to speak with tongues. The same explanation occurs also in his Treatise on the Trinity, iv. 29.

In one of his earlier writings, the *Liber de Diversis Quaestionibus* (lxii), he asks,—with reference to the statement in St John (iv. 1), that *Jesus baptized more disciples than John*,—"Quaeritur utrum qui baptizati sunt illo tempore acceperint Spiritum Sanctum. Alio enim loco sic dicitur: *Spiritus nondum erat datus, quia Jesus nondum erat clarificatus.* Et facillime quidem ita respondetur, quod Dominus Jesus, qui etiam mortuos suscitabat, poterat neminem illorum mori sinere, donec post ejus clarificationem, id est, resurrectionem a mortuis et ascensionem in coelum, acciperent Spiritum Sanctum. Sed occurrit animo latro ille cui dictum est, *Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in Paradiso*, qui nec ipsum Baptismum acceperat. Quanquam Cornelius, et qui cum eo ex Gentibus crediderant, Spiritum Sanctum etiam priusquam baptizarentur acceperint; non tamen video quomodo et ille latro sine Spiritu Sancto dicere potuerit, *Memento mei, Domine, dum veneris in regnum tuum. Nemo* enim *dicit, Dominus Jesus*, ait Apostolus, *nisi in Spiritu Sancto.* Cujus fidei fructum ipse Dominus monstravit, dicens, *Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso.* Quomodo ergo ineffabili potestate dominantis Dei atque justitia deputatum est etiam baptisma credenti latroni, et pro accepto habitum in animo libero, quod in corpore crucifixo accipi non poterat, sic etiam Spiritus Sanctus latenter dabatur ante Domini clarificationem, post manifestationem autem divinitatis ejus manifestius datus est. Et hoc dictum est, *Spiritus autem nondum erat datus;* id est, nondum sic apparuerat, ut omnes eum datum esse faterentur. Sicut etiam Dominus nondum erat clarificatus inter homines, sed tamen clarificatio ejus aeterna nunquam esse

destitit. Sicut et — Domini adventus intelligitur demonstratio corporalis, tamen ante hanc demonstrationem ipse in omnibus prophetis sanctis, tanquam Dei Verbum et Dei Sapientia, locutus est; sic et adventus Spiritus Sancti demonstratio Spiritus Sancti est ipsis etiam oculis carneis, quando visus est ignis divisus super eos, et coeperunt loqui linguis. Nam si non erat in hominibus Spiritus Sanctus ante Domini visibilem clarificationem, quomodo dicere potuit David, *Et Spiritum Sanctum tuum ne auferas a me.* —Quomodo autem ipse Dominus secum habebat utique Spiritum Sanctum in ipso homine quem gerebat, quando ut baptizaretur venit ad Joannem, et tamen, posteaquam baptizatus est, descendere in eum Spiritus Sanctus visus est in columbae specie; sic intelligendum est et ante manifestationem et visibilem adventum Spiritus Sancti quoscunque homines sanctos eum latenter habere potuisse. Ita sane hoc diximus, ut intelligamus etiam ista ipsa visibili demonstratione Spiritus Sancti—ineffabili vel etiam incogitabili modo largius in hominum corda plenitudinem ejus infusam."

In this passage also too much stress is laid on the miraculous gift of tongues, which is not a perceptible element, either in our Lord's promise of the Comforter, or in His previous words referring, as we are told by St John, to the subsequent gift of the Spirit. This earlier exposition however leaves more room for the true spiritual sense of the promise, than the later ones. And there is another passage too in this extract which shews how youth is often wiser than age. For it is a melancholy instance of the tendency of growing years, especially if spent much in controversy, to narrow and stiffen the mind, to find Augustin in his *Retractations* recalling, or at least hesitating to recognize, the admission here made, that the penitent thief might be saved without the external baptismal act. It is sad to find him in one of his later works, the Treatise *De Anima et ejus Origine* (I. 11), trying to evade the force of his own argument, by remarking that no one knows whether the thief may not have been baptized beforehand, or whether he was not baptized then on the cross by the water which issued from our Lord's side. I write not these words censoriously God orbid but now that our Church is

threatened with a revival of patrolatry, it is right that notice should be drawn to the defects, as well as to the excellencies of the Fathers, that we may not receive their dicta without proving them, as people are ever so ready to admit what will save them the labour and responsibility of thought,—nor be inveigled into sacrificing truth to their authority. Moreover this passage of Augustin may serve as a salutary warning against a morbid tendency, which in these days is lamentably prevalent among our writers on theological and ecclesiastical matters, to twist and warp the simplest facts, to wrench and distort the plainest declarations of Scripture, and to hatch and scrape together the most sophistical arguments and the most fantastical hypotheses, rather than submit to what makes against some favorite notion or fancy. Yet Augustin knew the truth here: he had known it thirty years before, when he wrote his earlier work: and in this very passage he cites Cyprian's letter to Jubaianus, where the penitent thief is rankt with the catechumens who fell under persecution before they were baptized, and were thus baptized in their blood. And with his ever-ready sententious eloquence he says, "Tanto pondere appensum est, tantumque valuit apud eum qui haec novit appendere, quod confessus est Dominum crucifixum, quantum si fuisset pro Domino crucifixus. Tunc enim fides ejus de ligno floruit, quando discipulorum marcuit.—Illi enim desperaverunt de morientе; ille speravit in commoriente: refugerunt illi auctorem vitae; rogavit ille consortem poenae: doluerunt illi tanquam hominis mortem; credidit ille regnaturum esse post mortem: deseruerunt illi sponsorem salutis; honoravit ille socium crucis. Inventa est in eo mensura martyris, qui tunc in Christum credidit, quando defecerunt qui futuri erant martyres. Et hoc quidem oculis Domini clarum fuit, qui non baptizato, tanquam martyrii sanguine abluto, tantam felicitatem statim contulit."

On the difference between the two dispensations of the Spirit, Chrysostom (on John vii. 39) is far more satisfactory than Augustin, as might be expected from the sounder critical principles which regulate his interpretation of Scripture, and which became prevalent in his school. He had said that the

rivers of living water signify τὸ δαψιλὲς καὶ ἄφθονον τῆς χάριτος·—ζῶν δὲ λέγει τὸ ἐνεργοῦν ἀεί· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρις, ἐπειδὰν εἰς διάνοιαν εἰσέλθῃ καὶ ἱδρυνθῇ, πάσης πηγῆς μᾶλλον ἀναβλύζει, καὶ οὐ διαλιμπάνει, οὐδὲ κενοῦται, οὐδ' ἵσταται· ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀνελλιπὲς τῆς χορηγίας δηλῶν, καὶ τὸ ἄφατον τῆς ἐνεργείας, ποταμοὺς ἐκάλεσεν, οὐχ ἕνα ποταμὸν, ἀλλὰ ἀφάτους.—καὶ ἴδοι τις ἂν τὸ λεγόμενον σαφῶς, εἰ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Στεφάνου, εἰ τὴν Πέτρου γλῶτταν, καὶ τὴν Παύλου ῥύμην ἐννοήσειε, πῶς οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔφερεν, οὐδὲν ὑφίστατο, οὐ δήμων θυμὸς, οὐ τυράννων ἐπαναστάσεις, οὐ δαιμόνων ἐπιβουλαὶ, οὐ θάνατοι καθημερινοί· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ποταμοὶ πολλῷ τῷ ῥοιζῷ φερόμενοι, οὕτω πάντα παρασύροντες ἀπῆεσαν. He then asks how, if the Spirit had never been given, the prophets had prophesied, and replies, Ἀλλ' ἦν αὕτη ἡ χάρις συσταλεῖσα καὶ ἀποστᾶσα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπολιποῦσα, ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ἀφ' ἧς ἐρρήθη, Ἀφίεταί ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν ἔρημος· καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνης δὲ ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν αὕτη ἡ σπάνις· οὐκέτι γὰρ προφήτης παρ' αὐτοῖς ἦν, οὐδὲ ἐπώπτευεν αὐτῶν τὰ ἅγια ἡ χάρις. Ἔπει οὖν ἀνέσταλτο μὲν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἔμελλε δὲ λοιπὸν ἐκχεῖσθαι δαψιλῶς, ταύτης δὲ τῆς διανομῆς ἀρχὴ μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐγίνετο, οὐ μόνον δαψιλείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ μειζόνων χαρισμάτων· —καὶ γὰρ θαυμαστοτέρα ἦν ἡ δωρεὰ, ὡς ὅταν λέγῃ, Οὐκ οἴδατε ποίου πνεύματος ἔστε, καὶ πάλιν, Οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας, ἀλλ' ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας· καὶ γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν πνεῦμα εἶχον, ἄλλοις δὲ οὐ πάρειχον, οἱ δὲ ἀπόστολοι μυριάδας ἐνέπλησαν·—ἐπειδὴ οὖν ταύτην ἔμελλον λαμβάνειν τὴν χάριν, οὔπω δὲ ἦν δοθεῖσα, διὰ τοῦτό φησιν, Οὔπω γὰρ ἦν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ Κύριος περὶ ταύτης λέγει τῆς χάριτος, ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἔλεγεν, Οὔπω γὰρ ἦν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τουτέστι, δοθὲν, ἐπεὶ Ἰησοῦς οὐδέπω ἐδοξάσθη, δόξαν καλῶν τὸν σταυρὸν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ ἦμεν καὶ ἡμαρτηκότες καὶ ὑστερούμενοι τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ θεοστυγεῖς, ἡ δὲ χάρις καταλλαγῆς ἦν ἀποδεῖξις, δῶρον δὲ οὐ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὐδὲ τοῖς μισουμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς φίλοις δίδοται καὶ τοῖς εὐαρεστηκόσιν, ἔδει πρότερον προσενεχθῆναι τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν θυσίαν, καὶ τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ καταλυθῆναι, καὶ γενέσθαι τοῦ Θεοῦ φίλους, καὶ τότε λαβεῖν τὴν δωρέαν.

Theodoret, who quotes this declaration concerning the gifts of the Spirit several times, when allegorizing passages of the Old Testament where waters are spoken of, shews a strong disposition to apply it mainly to the Apostles and their successors, overlooking that our Lord's promise is general, *to them that believe in Him.* After the manner of the ancient Church, and indeed of all ages

of the Church, except the Apostolic and that of the Reformation, he does not duly bear in mind the spiritual priesthood of every Christian. Thus, in interpreting those words in the 65th Psalm, *Thou visitest the earth, and waterest it: Thou greatly enrichest it with the river of God, which is full of water,*—he says, Τὴν πάλαι ἄκαρπον οἰκουμένην εὔκαρπον ὁμοῦ καὶ πολύκαρπον ἀνέδειξεν ὁ Δεσπότης, τοῖς θείοις ὀχετοῖς τὴν ἀρδείαν προσενεγκών· ὀχετοὶ δὲ Θεοῦ πλήρεις ὑδάτων τίνες ἂν εἶεν ἕτεροι ἢ οἱ θεῖοι ἀπόστολοι; περὶ ὧν ὁ Δεσπότης ἔφη Χριστὸς, Ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφὴ, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος· καὶ πάλιν, Ὁ πίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ διψήσει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ἀλλ' ἔσται τὸ ὕδωρ ὁ ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ζῶντος ἁλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. καὶ ποταμὸς δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα ἡ χάρις τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἡ εἰς ὀχετοὺς διαιρουμένη, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν τὸν λόγον τῆς σοφίας προχέουσα, ἑτέρῳ δὲ χορηγοῦσα τὴν γνῶσιν, ἄλλῳ δὲ τῶν ἰαμάτων χάρισμα, καὶ ἄλλῳ γένη γλωσσῶν, καὶ διὰ τούτων τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀρδεύουσα. Again, on the 3rd verse of the 93rd Psalm,—*The floods have lifted up their voice, the floods lift up their waves,*—he writes thus: Ποταμοὺς τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀποστόλους καλεῖ, καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνους δεξαμένους τὸ κήρυγμα· οὗτοι γὰρ ποταμῶν δίκην ἅπασαν ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἄρδειαν προσήνεγκαν· οὕτως αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ μακάριος προσηγόρευσεν Ἀββακούμ· ποταμῶν ῥαγήσεται γῆ, τούτεστι διαιρεθησεταὶ, καὶ τὴν ἀρδείαν δέξεται· οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἔφη, Ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ, —ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος. οὗτοι τοίνυν οἱ ποταμοὶ ἐπῆραν αὐτῶν τὴν φωνήν, τὰ θεῖα κηρύττοντες δόγματα. Here we find the same propensity for allegorizing circumstances and details, which may almost be called the predominant element in the exegesis of the Fathers, and which is very different from the true spiritual and symbolical mode of interpretation; inasmuch as the latter fixes upon that which is permanent and pervading, and regards the outward creation as expressing the purposes of the one all-pervading Will, uttering itself harmoniously in all its manifestations; while the former attaches itself to that which is accidental and external and fleeting, and loses sight of the idea, while chasing the butterflies of fancy. The symbolical and spiritual mode of interpretation may be exemplified by St John's declaration, that our Lord's promise of the rivers of living water

was spoken of the Spirit, which believers in Him were to receive. Thus the promise, as being wholly spiritual, both with regard to its condition and its blessing, is shewn to belong to all ages of the Church, and to every individual believer, and becomes a source of comfort to all; and in this sense it never has failed, and never will fail, but is fulfilled at this day in all parts of the earth, wherever a true believer in Christ is to be found. In like manner even such passages of Scripture, as were spoken primarily concerning the operations of external nature, — for instance, those cited from the Psalms,—will often admit of a spiritual application, in consequence of that harmony and correspondence, through which the natural world is in so many things the symbol of the spiritual. But to hunt for types of that which is incidental and transient is a capricious exercise of the intellect, and a habit injurious to the perception of true spiritual realities; while, by restricting the words of Scripture to particular applications, it sadly impairs their power: the rivers of living water shrink into dried pools. Now this habit of mind is unfortunately very common among the Fathers, as it was among the contemporary rhetoricians and grammarians, who exercise the same kind of transmutations upon Homer, as the Fathers are apt to exercise upon the Bible. Hence, while we owe them a grateful recognition of the services which they rendered to the Church by their exertions, intellectual and moral, for the settling and upholding of the orthodox faith, we should beware of allowing our gratitude and reverence to delude us into following the vagaries and meanderings of their fancies.

In the Treatise of Athanasius *On the Incarnation of the Word*, where he is shewing that the expressions in Scripture, which speak of the exaltation and glorification of Christ, refer to His human nature, we read (§. 3): *καὶ ὅτε λέγει, Οὔπω ἦν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐδέπω ἐδοξάσθη, τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ λέγει μήπω δοξασθεῖσαν. οὐ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος τῆς δόξης δοξάζεται, ἀλλ' ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου τῆς δόξης, αὕτη λαμβάνει δόξαν συναναβαίνουσα αὐτῷ εἰς οὐρανόν. ὅθεν καὶ Πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας οὐπω ἦν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, διότι ἡ ληφθεῖσα ἀπαρχὴ ἐξ ἡμῶν οὔπω ἦν ἀνελθοῦσα εἰς οὐρανόν.* These words do not pretend

to be a full explanation; but they contain the germs of the true one. At least it is through the Spirit of adoption that all the other graces of the Spirit are poured out like rivers of living water on those who through faith in Christ are received as the children of God.

By Thomas Aquinas the stress of the distinction is still laid on the visible manifestation of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost. In his *Summa (Prima Secundae,* xliii. 6) he argues the question, "Utrum missio invisibilis fiat ad omnes qui sunt participes gratiae," and after maintaining the negative on the ground, that "patres Veteris Testamenti gratiae participes fuerunt; sed ad illos non videtur fuisse facta missio invisibilis; dicitur enim, *Nondum erat Spiritus datus, quia nondum erat Jesus glorificatus,*" he replies, "Quod missio invisibilis est facta ad patres Veteris Testamenti: unde dicit Augustinus, Quod secundum quod Filius mittitur invisibiliter, fit in hominibus, aut cum hominibus. Hoc autem antea factum est in patribus et prophetis. Cum ergo dicitur, *Nondum erat datus Spiritus,* intelligimus de illa datione cum signo visibili, quae facta est in die Pentecostes." Such logical antitheses will seldom lead to a satisfactory result in anything so complex as the subject matter of words in ordinary speech and writing.

Thus in this instance again, as in so many others, if we desire to see the living power of the words of Scripture set forth in their spiritual simplicity and depth, we must come down to the age of the Reformation. Luther, as he is wont, goes straight to the heart of the truth, in *the Exposition of the sixth, seventh, and eighth Chapters of St John,* which was compiled by Aurifaber out of a course of Sermons preacht in 1531. Let us hear him interpreting *the rivers of living water:* he cannot confound them with the outward gift of tongues. "*Rivers shall flow, water that gives life.* Whoso comes to Me, I will so fashion him, that he shall not only be cheered and refresht in his own person, so that he may quench his thirst, and become free from thirst; but I will make him into a strong stone vessel, will give him the Holy Ghost and gifts, so that he shall flow out upon

others, shall give them to drink, shall comfort and strengthen them, and shall help many, as he has been helpt by Me; as St Paul says in 2 Cor. i. 4. Thus our Lord Christ will make another man of him who comes to Him, than Moses could make.

" Under the Papacy we mad saints made one rule after another, and there was no end of our laws; we merely terrified the conscience, and made it thirsty; the preachers only increast the thirst. It could not be otherwise. When merit-mongers teach, they add one thirst to another, and spin one law out of another, so that there is no end or stoppage of laws; as we then experienced far too much. Every year there was a new doctor; and the simpletons only tormented the conscience. For instance this was a solemn law, that one must not touch a corporal or a chalice: they devised all manner of mortal sins: a monk durst not go without his hood. For these teachers could not do otherwise, since they wanted to govern the world by laws: hence from one law grew many others; for *casus sunt infiniti*; and out of a law a hundred glosses were made. This too is the way with the Jurists. They are ever changing, patching and mending, *et sic multiplicantur leges in infinitum*. Just as a snowball, which slips down a roof or a high hill, is small when it sets out, but gathers more and more snow in rolling, and becomes so big, that, when it falls from the roof or hill, if a child stand in the way, and the snowball hit him, he will be killed; so was it under the Papacy with laws and human ordinances. First there was St Benedict's order; then that of the Barefoot Friars; and afterward out of the Barefoot Friars spawned seven other orders, and became the servants of Moses. When these things begin to make one thirst, it does not cease; they cannot quench our thirst.

" But Christ does the reverse, and does not cease to comfort us, and not only gives us to drink for ourselves, but through our means quenches that thirst in others, which the Law has excited. And the more the Gospel is preacht, the more richly is men's thirst quencht, and the more do the thirsty relish it. Therefore he who believes in Christ, and drinks from Him, can also give

to others, and cheer and refresh them. Even if all the world were standing before him, he can speak such words, that all shall be comforted. This is what our Lord means, when He says, He will give them to drink, not with a spoonful, or with a funnel and a tap; but whole rivers of comfort shall they have; and they shall be full to overflowing with all power and riches for all that thirst. Thus a pious pastor can comfort all who are in their sins, so as to take away their sins: however great and many they may be, with one saying he puffs away all sin: and when death and war are at hand, a preacher can strengthen a whole army, so that they shall cast away death and not care for it. This is because he can dash it away with one word of comfort. With what? with the water of life.

"Thus does Christ mean that the preaching of His Gospel is a river of life wherewith man shall be refresht. It does not seem so; for the matter is simple. You may hear, or read, or preach, and I hear only the poor sound of a voice, and see a poor letter in a book, and have the thought in my heart. Yet that same word which is preacht, has such a hidden power, that, in the devil's kingdom, where he rules mightily, it will sweep devils by heaps out of the heart, as the Elbe sweeps down chaff. He knows well why He calls God's word a river. For it does great things, and many; it rushes along. Thus did St Peter on the day of Pentecost, when with one sermon, as with a torrent, he swept and bore away three thousand souls out of the devil's kingdom, delivering them in one hour, washing them from death and sin and Satan. This makes no show; but the word has such a power; the stream refresht them and bore them along. They now, who come to the Gospel and to Christ, shall have this honour, that they shall render this excellent service. Fathers and mothers may comfort their servants, their children, and neighbours, and teach them not to fear or be cast down, and may help them; for out of their body flows living water, that shall refresh the dear souls in all their wants and sufferings.

"This saying should be noted against the Anabaptists and sectaries, or revilers of the oral word, who maintain that the

spirit and faith are internal, and that therefore the spiritual word must do all,—that, if God does not give His comfort, the outward word is nothing, as the Pope also has pretended; and they would cut off the bodily voice and the outward word from our ears, saying that preaching is nothing but a poor noise in the pulpit, also that baptism is a mere sprinkling of water, and that in the Lord's Supper there is mere bread and wine. But what says the Lord Christ? He says, *He who believes in Me, and comes to Me, and drinks at My hand, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.* What is here meant by *belly*, or body? It means that the Christian shall be able bodily to counsel and help others. How can he do this? O! the oral word can do more than you are worthy to see and perceive. Where are the sectaries who say, the word can do nothing? You hear that it is a river which gives life. The oral word is a living word; this they have never experienced; but I know it well, and have found it so in distress and temptation. I feel that by the word life is given to me, as is said in the Psalm (cxix. 50): *This is my comfort in my affliction; for Thy word has quickened me.* A man will help me with a word, so that I feel alive. Thus I too may counsel another with Christ's word, and give him to drink, so that he gains courage, and grows sound, nay, is converted, if he lies in errour.

"Thus does our Lord Christ say of the oral word, that in a Christian brother it shall be living water, so that, if a man believes, he is already comforted and strengthened; yet the godless boobies would despise it, and say, it is an outward thing. That a sow would know. But this word gives life. Note this, that if God's word proceeds out of a believing mouth, the words are living, and can save man from death, can forgive sins, can raise to heaven; and if you believe them, you are comforted and strengthened; for they are rivers of life. Moreover, what is still more comfortable and greater, a true Christian cannot preach wrongly; Christ will not let him err: all that he teaches and says must be pure water; they are living comforting words. And he who believes, let him be assured that he will preach the articles of

faith rightly; he will not preach ill; as is said in another place, *He who believes in Christ, non dicet anathema Jesum.* Thus, if faith in the heart be sincere, the words will also be profitable: for faith in the heart will not let us preach save what is right and true.

"Therefore are we to hold the word of God in honour and high esteem; for it brings forth much fruit. And though it does not this straightway in the rude and ungodly, it does so in the thirsty: they who receive it overflow, and are quickened thereby with a river. On the other hand he who fails in this article, and does not believe in Christ, must not think that he can preach or utter one good word. Even if it be clear and shining, it is not this living water. Hence it is of great moment that we should learn to know Christ; for then we shall not err: the same doctrine will give life and comfort. Other doctrines are mere poison, are no drink, do not quench thirst; but are dirty, stinking, muddy puddles. Thus God says in the prophet Jeremiah (ii. 13): *My people have committed two evils; they have forsaken Me, the Fountain of living waters, and hewn them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.*—

"Now the Jews were accustomed, in the Scriptures, to such sayings about rivers of water: but John interprets it, and says, *He did not speak of natural water, but of the Spirit which believers in Him were to receive.*—Christ did not interpret the well or rivers of water: but this was His meaning. The rivers are the Holy Ghost; and they who have received the Gospel and the Holy Ghost, can comfort, instruct, warn, yea, benefit the whole world, and help to the destruction of everlasting death, and to the attainment of everlasting life.—

"And then follows, *For the Holy Ghost was not yet.* At the time when Christ preacht, He promist the Holy Ghost; and therefore the Holy Ghost was not yet. Not that He did not yet exist essentially, in heaven; but He *was not yet* in His manifestation and working. For this is the peculiar work and office of the Holy Ghost, to manifest and glorify Christ, to preach and bear witness of Him. This office did not yet exist, the office

of glorifying Christ; that is, the preaching of the forgiveness of sins, and how men shall be delivered from death, and have comfort and joy in Christ, and how this belongs to us,—was at that time unheard and unuttered: that salvation, blessedness, righteousness, joy, and life were to be given to us by the man Christ, was not known. He promises it here, and proclaims that in Him men are to believe, and that whoso believes shall have what He promises. One must not fall into such senseless thoughts as to suppose that the Holy Ghost was only created after Christ's resurrection from the dead: what is written here is, The Holy Ghost *was not yet*, that is, was not in His office: it was still the time of the old sermon, and of the Law, whereof we continually say and preach, that it is necessary to distinguish between the sermon of the Gospel and of the Law. For when the Law is preacht, it is a sermon that brings out sin: it is a thirsty and sorry sermon: it makes hungry souls, terrified, dismal, sorry hearts and consciences, which sigh after God's grace. This sermon continues until Christ is raised from the dead and glorified; and under it is thirst, poverty, want, and neither counsel nor help. For then people say, *Thou hast done this; thou hast left this undone; therefore thou art given up to death, and under the wrath of God:* as we ourselves have experienced, who concerned ourselves thereabout.—Such was the case in our Lord's days: if a sermon was good, it ran thus: *He who wishes to be pious and blessed must keep the Law.* But how one could get to keep the Law, or how those could be saved, who had not kept it, and could not boast of any good works, no one knew: for the Holy Ghost was not yet come; Christ was not yet glorified."

Well indeed did Luther know the power of God's word, the power which goes along with it when it is truly the sword of the Spirit. He knew it, as he here tells us, from what he himself had felt: in fact he could not have spoken of it as he does, except from personal experience. He knew it too from the effect which he had often seen it produce, when it issued with the power of the Spirit from his own lips. And so far as any written words can yield us a conception of that power, and

realize the description he gives of it, his do: as he himself has somewhere said of St Paul's words, they are not dead words, but living creatures, and have hands and feet. It no longer surprises us that the man who wrote and spoke thus, although no more than a poor monk, should have been mightier than the Pope, and the Emperor to boot, with all their hosts ecclesiastical and civil,—that the rivers of living water which issued from him, should have swept half Germany, and in course of time the chief part of northern Europe, out of the kingdom of darkness into the region of evangelical light. No day in spring, when life seems bursting from every bud, and gushing from every pore, is fuller of life than his pages; and if they are not without the strong breezes of spring, these too have to bear their part in the work of purification. The foregoing extract is taken, as has been stated, from a course of homilies on three chapters of St John, which was publisht by Aurifaber as a running Commentary: and most of his exegetical works had a similar origin, the marks of which are apparent in their vivid practical applications to the circumstances and exigencies of the Church in his age. Calvin's Commentaries on the other hand, although they too are almost entirely doctrinal and practical, taking little note of critical and philological questions, keep much closer to the text, and make it their one business to bring out the meaning of the words of Scripture with fulness and precision. This they do with the excellence of a master richly endowed with the word of wisdom and with the word of knowledge: and from the exemplary union of a severe masculine understanding with a profound insight into the spiritual depths of the Scriptures, they are especially calculated to be useful in counteracting the erroneous tendencies of an age, when we seem about to be inundated with all that is most fantastical and irrational in the exegetical mysticism of the Fathers, and are bid to see divine power in allegorical cobwebs, and heavenly life in artificial flowers. I do not mean to imply an adoption or approval of all Calvin's views, whether on doctrinal or other questions. But we may happily owe much gratitude and love, and the deepest intellectual obligations, to those

whom at the same time we may deem to be mistaken on certain points: and perhaps it may be better for our frail human affections, that there is no one who is not so: else I know not how we should be able to repress that proneness to idolatry, which led men to the worship of heroes in the heathen world, and to the worship of saints in the corrupt ages of the Christian.

In his exposition of the passage we have been considering in the seventh Chapter of St John, Calvin of course takes the right spiritual view. He says of the promise that rivers of living water shall flow out of him who believes in Christ, "Docet hic Christus plenam copiam sibi suppetere, qua nos ad satietatem reficiat. Est quidem satis dura in speciem metaphora, cum fluvios aquae vivae e ventre fidelium fluxuros esse dicit: sensus tamen minime dubius est, quod nihil spiritualium bonorum unquam defuturum sit credentibus. *Aquam vivam* nominat, cujus scaturigo nunquam arescit, nec desinit continuus fluxus. *Fluvios* plurali numero vocari interpretor multiplices Spiritus gratias, quae ad spiritualem animae vitam necessariae sunt. In summa hic tam perpetuitas donorum Spiritus, quam affluentia nobis promittitur. Quidam *de ventre* credentium aquas fluere intelligunt, cum is qui Spiritu donatus est partem ad fratres suos derivat, ut mutua esse debet inter nos communicatio. Sensus tamen mihi simplicior videtur, quod quisquis in Christum credet fontem vitae quasi in se scaturientem habebit; quemadmodum supra dicebat Christus, *Qui biberit ex aqua hac non sitiet unquam.* Nam cum ordinarius potus sitim nonnisi ad breve tempus restinguat, Christus fide nos haurire dicit Spiritum, qui fons sit aquae salientis in vitam aeternam. Neque tamen sic primo die fideles Christo saturos esse docet, ut postea non esuriant neque sitiant: quin potius Christi fruitio novum ejus desiderium accendit. Sed sensus est, Spiritum instar vivi et semper irrigui fontis esse in credentibus; quemadmodum et Paulus (ad Rom. viii. 10) testatur ipsum esse in nobis vitam, quamvis adhuc in reliquiis peccati mortis materiam circumferamus. Et sane cum quisque pro fidei suae mensura donorum Spiritus compos fiat, non

potest in hac vita solida eorum plenitudo constare. Verum sic fideles in fide proficiendo subinde ad nova Spiritus incrementa aspirant, ut primitiae quibus imbuti sunt illis ad vitae perpetuitatem sufficiant. Sed hinc etiam monemur quam exiguus sit fidei nostrae modulus, cum vix guttatim in nobis distillent Spiritus gratiae, quae instar fluminum profluerent, si justum Christo locum daremus, hoc est, fides nos ejus capaces redderet."

And then he adds, on the words *Nondum erat Spiritus:* " Scimus aeternum esse Spiritum: sed Evangelista illam Spiritus gratiam quae post Christi resurrectionem effusa fuit in homines, quamdiu sub humili servi forma versatus est Christus in mundo, palam exstitisse negat. Et comparative quidem loquitur, sicuti cum opponitur Novum Testamentum Veteri. Deus Spiritum suum fidelibus promittit, acsi nunquam eum Patribus dedisset. Jam tum certe primitias Spiritus acceperant discipuli. Nam unde fides nisi a Spiritu? Ergo non simpliciter negat Evangelista gratiam Spiritus ante Christi mortem piis fuisse exhibitam, sed nondum ita illustrem et conspicuam tunc fuisse ut postea futura erat. Est enim hoc praecipium regni Christi decus, quod Spiritu suo Ecclesiam gubernat. Atqui justam et quasi solennem regni sui possessionem tunc adiit, cum evectus est ad Patris dexteram. Non mirum ergo si plenam Spiritus exhibitionem ad illud tempus distulit. Superest tamen una quaestio: num hic visibiles Spiritus gratias, an vero regenerationem intelligat, quae adoptionis est fructus. Respondeo, in donis illis visibilibus tanquam in speculis Spiritum apparuisse, qui adventu Christi promissus fuerat; proprie tamen hic agi de virtute Spiritus, qua renascimur in Christo, ac efficimur novae creaturae. Quod ergo nunc Christus ad Patris dexteram gloriosus summaque imperii majestate praeditus sedet, nos in terra inopes et jejuni ac prope inanes bonorum spiritualium jacemus, tarditati et angustiis fidei nostrae imputandum est."

It is surprising that, after this excellent exposition of our passage, Beza should have departed from his master's interpretation, and should have said in his note, " Quid Spiritum Sanctum vocet, eodem versiculo exponitur, nempe *visibilia illa dona*, quae initio nascentis Ecclesiae excellenter viguerunt, ut praedixerat Joel, ii;

et μετωνυμικῶς intelliguntur Spiritus Sancti appellatione, quod sint ejus effecta, ut docet Apostolus, 1 Cor. xii. pene integro, et Act. xix. 2, et deinceps, et plurimis aliis locis." It is true, if the 39th verse stood alone, one might then be readier to suppose that the Spirit to be received by believers in Christ after His glorification was intended by the Evangelist to refer to the miraculous powers, which we read of as having been bestowed on the day of Pentecost; although even then the expression, οὗ ἔμελλον λαμβάνειν οἱ πιστεύοντες εἰς αὐτὸν, would seem to imply that the gift of the Spirit was to be granted to all believers in Christ, and was to be coextensive with the faith in Him; which cannot be predicated of the miraculous powers. But when we take this verse in conjunction with our Lord's declaration, which it is introduced to explain,—*If any man thirst, let him come to Me and drink: he that believeth in Me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water:*—these words, it seems to me, prove convincingly that the gift of the Spirit must be something inward, manifesting itself indeed outwardly, but dwelling in the heart and soul: and surely the rivers of living water flowing out of the heart answer far better to the fruits of the Spirit enumerated in that beautiful verse of the Epistle to the Galatians, than to the gift of tongues, or the power of working miracles.

Cartwright on the other hand, in his *Harmonia Evangelica*,—an able and pious book, though disfigured and hurt by its scholastic form and technical subdivisions,—explains the "*rivos et fontes Spiritus Sancti*," to be "fontem remissionis peccatorum etc. fontem justitiae, fontem sapientiae, fontem sanctitatis etc. denique summam omnium bonorum ad vitam abundantiam, ut non sit necesse aliunde quid petere quo suppleamus quod ab illo non suppeditatur. —Praeterea notandum est discrimen Legis et Evangelii, non substantia Spiritus, sed in adjuncta mensura parciore et largiore; guttatim olim, quod nunc profluenter; scintillatim olim, quod nunc per prunas; stellatim olim, quod nunc solis in modum. Siclus noster et cubitus et spithama, Homer, Epha, sunt sanctuarii, id est, duplum ejus quod olim fuit." By an unhappy expression indeed, into which his technical phraseology leads

him, he more than once calls these gifts of the Spirit "*effectum fidei*;" which would seem to imply gross errour concerning the nature and power of faith, as though it caused and produced, what in fact it merely receives and appropriates. Such errours have often prevailed, and have prepared the way ultimately for the denial of all substantial reality in the objects of Faith, converting religion, according to one theory, into a product of human feeling,—according to another, into a product of human reason. This however is not Cartwright's view: for he says, "Sicut in solo Christo vitae aqua conclusa tenetur, ita sola fide tanquam situla aut haustro inde petitur. Nullum est vas quo haec aqua capiatur praeter fidem." These words rightly express the office of Faith; which receives the seeds of grace from the Spirit, and then brings forth the graces of a Christian life, rich in the fruit of good works: but the notion that Faith itself, as a mere human faculty, is the creative principle of all good, is so fascinating from its tendency to magnify man's heart and mind, that we need to keep watch against every approach to it.

Hammond on this point is sensible, though he is never profound. Indeed he professes "purposely to abstain from all doctrinal conclusions and deductions and definitions." In his *Paraphrase* he thus renders our Lord's words in v. 38: "He that believeth in Me shall be like a spring of water, whose water by conduits shall from within break forth in great abundance, that is, being filled with the Spirit of Christ, shall not be able to contain, but break forth into all Christian actions, and preach the Gospel with all zeal." And in his note on Acts i. 5, he says that, "beside the special uses of the Holy Ghost's descending on the Apostles, one common constant use there was also, which belonged to all Christians, not only Apostles (as appears by John vii. 39, where Christ mentions the Spirit, which not only the Apostles, but believers in common, i. e. all Christians, should receive after His Ascension), the giving them strength to perform what God now required of them." Only in conformity with the meagre theology, with which so great a body of our divines in his days, and from thence downward, were infected, he almost seems to limit

the gift of the Holy Ghost to believers to that which they receive at their Baptism; although his views of the baptismal gift are of a much soberer cast than the baseless phantoms which have recently dazzled and bewildered so many. Both views however appear to have this errour in common, that they both of them concentrate and condense the operation of the Spirit into a single magical moment, an electric transmuting flash, and comparatively disregard His perpetual abiding influence and operation, whereby He prompts and helps us in all our struggles against the principle of evil within us and without. Again, in the Note on Acts ii. 38, Hammond asks concerning the gifts of the Holy Ghost promist by St Peter to the new converts, "what gifts these were, whether inward or outward? For both these are promist indefinitely to believers. To the inward, that speech of Christ seems to pertain, *He that believeth on Me, out of His belly shall flow rivers of living waters;* where, *the belly* denoting the heart or inward part of the man, *the flowing of the living water from thence* denotes some effect of the Holy Spirit's descent upon and in the hearts of believers.—What this inward gift is, appears in several places, *wisdom* (Acts vi. 3), knowledge (1 Cor. xii. 8); and so likewise the assistances of God's Spirit, joined with His word, enabling humble sincere Christians for the duties of Christian life, which are required of them.—Now for the resolving of the query, what sort of gift is here meant, the surest way will be, not so to define of either as to exclude the other; not that both, and every branch of each should be poured on each believer, but that they all should be scattered among them, the inward by baptism or confirmation signed on all, and the outward bestowed on some of them."

In Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica* there is a chapter, the 11th of the second Dissertation, treating on the want of the Spirit under the Law, and on the grant of the Spirit under what he calls the Evangelical Covenant with Abraham. On our immediate question however he scarcely touches, taking no notice of our Lord's declaration that the coming of the Comforter must be subsequent to His Ascension, and merely citing the passage we have been considering (John vii. 38), without any reference

to its contents. As to the general worth of Bull's Treatise, which has been a good deal overpraised, I shall have occasion to speak, God willing, in the Notes to the Second Edition of *The Victory of Faith*. In the chapter on the gift of the Spirit, his conclusions are not very satisfactorily establisht. He tries to make out that the Covenant spoken of in the 29th and 30th chapters of Deuteronomy is wholly distinct from that on Sinai, and identical with the Gospel: but in so doing he passes over the marks which prove it to be essentially and totally different from the Gospel, namely, that it is a Covenant, that the blessings are promist on certain conditions, so as to make it a Covenant of works, and that the blessings themselves are mainly temporal. Wherefore Davison has well observed in his fourth *Discourse on Prophecy*, when speaking of this latter portion of the book of Deuteronomy, "that there is a perfect conformity between the Law and the Prophecy of Moses. The Law was founded on explicit temporal sanctions: his prophecy dilates explicitly upon the temporal subject, the scheme of earthly blessings and earthly evils. The prophecy indeed is no more than a full and graphic exemplification of the actual sanctions of the Law." Again Bull applies the great prophecy of Jeremiah concerning the outpouring of the Spirit to what he here terms "the Moabite Covenant;" whereas that prophecy, according to the very nature of prophecy, speaks of that which was to be in times to come, not of a Covenant which had been made long before: in fact it proves the very reverse of what it is adduced to prove, inasmuch as it announces a future dispensation, which was to be wholly unlike the past, in this respect more especially, that it was to be a dispensation of the Spirit. A further defect in this chapter, and one connected with the main argument of Bull's whole treatise, is the stress laid on the word *Foedus*, or *Covenant*, by which διαθήκη, when applied to the Gospel, has been so inappropriately and unfortunately rendered. For every scholar knows that διαθήκη is a word of much more extensive signification than *covenant*,—which in Greek would rather be exprest by συνθήκη,—and that it corresponds more nearly to *disposition* or *dispensation*, embracing testamentary

dispositions, and all others, without implying any kind of reciprocity or condition, which is necessarily involved in a covenant. Hence St Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians, strongly urges the difference between the *Covenant* of the Law,—*The man that doeth these things shall live in them*,—and the free dispensation of grace, *by promise*, ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας, *without a mediator*, as coming solely from *One*, that is, God. Yet in this very passage, where St Paul is expressly denying that the evangelical dispensation is a *covenant*, διαθήκη is twice rendered a *covenant*, in vv. 15. 17. Nor is this a mere verbal errour. Long trains of reasoning have been grounded upon it; and it has sadly obscured the perception of the freedom of the Gospel. With regard to our present question Bull says, that the Spirit was given under the Law, but not through the Law, and that under the Law He was given "parce admodum et restricte, sub Evangelio largiter atque effusissime." But, when he comes to the manner of this abundant outpouring, he too dwells chiefly on the miraculous operations of the Spirit, even saying that St Paul makes use of this argument, "*argumento plane apodictico*," to establish his doctrine of Justification by Faith, without the works of the Mosaic Law. By a strange mistake in the Oxford Translation, Bull's words, "Apostolum *alicubi* doctrinam suam—stabilitum ire, etc." are rendered, "The Apostle *always* endeavours to establish his doctrine of Justification by Faith,—by those conspicuous and miraculous gifts of the Spirit, which ever followed faith in the Gospel"* (p. 140). Anything

* If *always* in this passage is meant to represent *alicubi*, the blunder is so gross, that one is tempted to suppose the Translator must have had some other word in the text before him. But the fact, and the context,—in which only one passage of St Paul is adduced,—seem to preclude such a supposition; and if I may judge from the few sentences in this one chapter, in which I have compared the translation with the original, no marks of ignorance in it need surprise us. For instance, where Bull says that the Spirit was given under the Law, but not through the Law, "quippe haec gratia *mutuo erat accepta* ac sumpta de gratia Evangelica," that is, "inasmuch as this grace was borrowed and taken (by a sort of anticipation) from the grace of the Gospel," the translation gives, "since this grace *was mutually given and received* as derived from the grace of the Gospel" (p. 138); making utter nonsense of the passage,—for how can divine grace be *mutually given and received?* we cannot give it to God; nor can God receive it from us:—and shewing that the Translator is ignorant of the idiomatic use of *mutuo* with *accipere*

so utterly contrary to the fact Bull could not say: he did not write *semper, always,* but *alicubi, somewhere:* and he refers to a single instance, Gal. iii. 2. which however no way bears him out. For St Paul there is not using an argument to prove the truth of his doctrine, but appealing to a fact in order to stir his readers. Nor is there any ground for supposing that the gift of the Spirit to the Galatians had conveyed any miraculous power to them; but it conveyed what was far more precious, a power which, as he says two verses after, enabled them *to suffer many things* for the sake of the Gospel, and which made them *receive him as an angel of God,* and filled them with *blessedness.* It is a curious instance how a prepossession will blind a man, that a candid, laborious, thoughtful writer like Bishop Bull, though thoroughly familiar with the Epistles to the Galatians and to the Romans, should have persuaded himself that the miraculous outward gifts of the Spirit are the clenching argument, "*argumentum plane apodicticum,*" by which St Paul demonstrates the truth of his doctrine concerning Justification by Faith. To so few is it given

and *dare.* A few lines further on, where Bull states that, under the Old Covenant, God gave the grace of His Spirit "*parce admodum et restricte,*" the Translator says that He gave it "*in small and moderate portions;*" where it is plain that he did not know the meaning of so common a word as *admodum,* but fancied it was somehow equivalent to *moderate.* Again, where Bull says that, though there is no promise of the Holy Spirit in the Law, we often read of the Holy Spirit, as being promist and obtained, "*in Hagiographis et Scriptis propheticis, quae nomine Legis et Veteris Testamenti laxius sumpto non raro veniunt,*" the Translator renders these words thus: "for *in the Holy Scriptures which go under the general name of the Old Testament,* &c." That is to say, not knowing how the name ἁγιόγραφοι was applied to designate those books of the Old Testament, which were not comprehended under the name of the Law and the Prophets, he fancied *in Hagiographis* meant *in the Holy Scriptures;* and was not even startled out of this fancy by seeing his author mention the *Scripta prophetica* along with them, as distinct from them, but quietly omitted these words; and then, being puzzled to find out the gist of the next clause, he resolved to leave out half the words, and cut it down to *quae nomine Veteris Testamenti veniunt,* rendering it utterly unmeaning. These blunders pickt out of about a dozen sentences, in which I have been led to examine the translation, may be attributable to the former Translator; but the Editor, who professes to have "revised it very carefully," ought to have corrected them. Else, if those sentences are anything like a sample of the work, it would have been better to leave Bishop Bull in his old Latin dress, where his words have a meaning, and well express what he intended.

to see anything, except what they are looking for. Nevertheless in this very chapter Bull recognizes the moral working of the Spirit as the great blessing which He confers upon mankind: "Absque enim divina illa ac potente Spiritus Sancti vi atque efficacia fieri omnino non potest, ut quis a vitiis purgetur, aut a dominatrice vi ac tyrannide peccati liberetur, nedum ut ad egregiam illam sanctitatem, ad opera illa vere heroica, quae tanto praemio, quantum est aeternae vitae donum, aliquatenus conveniant, alacri constantique animo feratur."* And he further recognizes that, in this very respect, although some persons under the Law had been favoured with high gifts of the Spirit, yet "paucis istis sub Lege evaserunt quamplurimi sub Evangelio donis Spiritus Sancti atque admirabili vitae sanctitate pares, imo longe superiores." Indeed, if such supernatural powers, as that of working miracles, and that of prophecy, were the highest gifts of the Spirit, we should be forced to confess that He was given far more abundantly to the Jewish Church, than He ever has been to the Christian since the age of the Apostles: and this of itself would be *argumentum plane apodicticum*, though only cumulative over and above many others, to prove that the rivers of living water promist by our Lord to faith are the inward gifts of the Spirit, not the outward.

Many divines of this age were indeed led by their dislike of the Puritans and the Sectaries to look with jealousy and disfavour on all assertions of spiritual influences. This however was not the case with Bull, although his writings are a good deal tinged with the Arminianism, which in his days had become

* The latter half of this sentence also is very poorly rendered in the Oxford Translation: "Without the—power—of the Spirit, no man can be freed from his lusts,—*far less be excited with any constant cheerfulness to those truly heroic actions which are in some degrees suitable to so great a reward as eternal life.*" Here the words *ad egregiam illam sanctitatem* are entirely omitted, though they are requisite, both as denoting the great work of the Spirit, and because without them it becomes ambiguous what the *opera vere heroica* are meant to be. Nor is *alacri constantique animo* a hendyadys, corresponding to "constant cheerfulness:" each of the two words is important; and they would be better rendered "with alacrity and perseverance." Alas, it would seem as though the spirit which led scholars to strive after truth and accuracy even in the minutest things, *alacri constantique animo*, were almost extinct.

the prevalent doctrine in our Church. In his third *Discourse* he gives a clear and judicious account of the workings of the Spirit: and these *Discourses*, which were publisht along with his Sermons after his death, must be taken to express the opinions which he held in the latter part of his life, when his wisdom was the maturest, and the heats of controversy were allayed.

Very different from the tenour of this *Discourse* is South's Sermon on the Comforter (Vol. VI. Serm. xxix), in which this hard logician and unsparing polemic will hardly admit any direct operation of the Spirit, since the miraculous ones in the days of the Apostles; except indeed the restoration of Charles the Second. Of this he says, that "the Holy Ghost must be acknowledged the cause of this great transaction;" and that he "knows no argument from metaphysics or natural philosophy, that to his reason proves the existence of a Deity more fully, than the consideration of this prodigious revolution." An age of weakness and darkness was coming over our Church, when one of her ablest and best teachers could speak thus concerning the operation of the Comforter.

Scarcely less strange is it to find Stillingfleet preaching a Sermon, the 9th in his first Volume, on this very verse of St John,—*But this spake He of the Spirit, which they that believe in Him should receive; for the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified;*—and interpreting these words as referring to "the effusion of the Spirit under the times of the Gospel; by which (he says) we mean those extraordinary gifts and abilities, which the Apostles had after the Holy Ghost is said to descend upon them.—The two most remarkable, which do comprehend under them most of the rest, are the power of working miracles, whether in healing diseases, or any other way, and the gift of tongues, either in speaking or interpreting: they who will acknowledge that the Apostles had these, will not have reason to question any of the rest." Hereby, he argues, according to prophecy, *the Spirit was poured out upon all flesh.* "These *rivers of waters*—soon overflowed the Christian Church in other parts of the world. The sound of that *rushing mighty*

wind was soon heard in the most distant places; and the firy tongues inflamed the hearts of many who never saw them. These gifts being propagated into other Churches, many other tongues were kindled from them, as we see how much this gift of tongues obtained in the Church of Corinth: and so in the History of the Acts of the Apostles we find after this day how the Holy Ghost fell upon them that believed, and what mighty signs and wonders were done by them." He then broaches a notion, which has been wrought out elaborately by Warburton and others since. After quoting Isaiah xliv. 3. and xli. 18, he says, "These are some of the lofty expressions whereby the courtly Prophet,"—he was preaching at Whitehall,—"sets forth the great promise of the Spirit; none better befitting the mighty advantages the Church of God hath ever since enjoyed by the pouring out of the Spirit. For the fountain was opened in the Apostles; but the streams of those *rivers of living water* have run down to our age,—preserved pure and unmixt in that sacred doctrine contained in the Holy Scripture." Yet the *rivers of living water*, of which our Lord speaks, are not those which are to run down to believers; they are to spring out of them, out of the heart of every believer. Stillingfleet does not deny the inward working of the Spirit of sanctification: nay, a few words occur here and there, implying a sort of recognition of it: indeed no honest man could be a minister of our Church, and use our Liturgy, who was conscious that he did not believe in the continual working of the Holy Ghost, not merely through the inspired Scriptures, but immediately, both in the sacraments, and in governing and sanctifying the whole body of the Church, in comforting and exalting believers, in renewing them daily, and in enabling them to do such things as shall please God. He who disbelieved these propositions, and yet officiated in our church-services, would be lying to God. To many hearts however such words do not come home with any living force: they have no deep feeling of the want implied in them, no conception of the only manner in which that want can be relieved: and one way in which this manifests itself, is, that, when such persons have to preach on

Whitsunday, their whole sermon will be on the miraculous works of the Spirit, which, pertaining to long-past ages, are merely matters of historical belief. How far this may have been the case with Stillingfleet, it would be presumption to pronounce, unless upon a careful examination of the wide circle of his writings: but it is somewhat remarkable that two other Whitsunday Sermons of his,—on St Paul's declaration (1 Cor. ii. 4) that his preaching had not been *with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power*,—are little else than an expansion of a part of the argument in the one before referred to, their object being to prove that "*the demonstration of the Spirit and of power*, or the wonderful gifts of the Holy Ghost, (that is, the gift of tongues and the power of miracles) shewed that the Gospel came from God." Even these few words of Calvin should have taught him to interpret St Paul's expression better: "plerique ad miracula restringunt; ego autem latius accipio, nempe pro manu Dei potenter se modis omnibus per Apostolum exserente;" namely, by the various workings of the Spirit spoken of in the twelfth and fourteenth chapters of the same Epistle, and among the rest by the spiritual conviction described in xiv. 24. 25.

In many of our divines, both of this age, as has been observed already, and subsequently, the reluctance to recognize spiritual influences was aggravated by their repugnance to the parties that made the chief pretensions thereto. This however was not the case with Stillingfleet, whose disposition toward the Puritans was conciliatory. His narrow views concerning the operations of the Spirit are the result of that Arminian scheme of doctrine, which had gained much ground in our Church prior to the Civil Wars, and which, after the expulsion of the bulk of its opponents by the Act of Uniformity, became almost exclusively predominant. For since every truth has a contiguous errour, men have perpetually overrun the boundary between them, from their fondness both for exalting their own convictions, and for depreciating those of their opponents: and thus, while Calvinism has been too prone to lapse into Antinomian and Manichean exaggerations,

Arminianism has always had a Pelagian tendency, and been apt to reduce the work of the Spirit to a minimum, to a single initiative act,—be it with reference to individuals, at their baptism, or, in their ministerial capacity, at their ordination,—or, with reference to the whole Church, in the miracles wrought at its foundation. This is analogous to the mechanical systems of philosophy, which are unwilling to admit any divine agency in the physical universe, except at the Creation. Stillingfleet however belonged to the age of our great divines, and stood in the foremost rank of them: and among those immediately around him were several men, who, while they kept aloof from Calvinism, wrote with full acknowledgement of our continual need of divine grace, and of the sanctifying work of the Spirit. Pearson, for instance, does so in the latter part of his treatise on the eighth Article of the Creed. So does Barrow, with his characteristic power and exhaustive fulness of thought and language, in his *Exposition of the Creed* (which part recurs in the same words in his 34th Sermon on the Creed), and in his admirable *Whitsunday Sermon of the Gift of the Holy Ghost.* In the Sermon on the Creed indeed he seems to restrict the promise in the 7th Chapter of St John to the miraculous gifts; but at the end of his Whitsunday Sermon he applies it as a promise "to impart this living stream to every one that thirsteth after it." The Whitsunday Sermon is a solid ingot of gold, too massy to be transferred to this Note. Therefore, recommending the reader to seek it in its place, I will quote a passage from *the Exposition of the Creed,* which well sets forth what the gift of the Holy Ghost, as the peculiar blessing of the Christian dispensation, was, and how it was indeed expedient that Christ should go away, to the end that the Comforter should come. "We are naturally void of those good dispositions of understanding, of will, of affection, which are necessary to make us anywise acceptable to God, fit to serve and please Him, capable of any favour from Him, of any true happiness in ourselves: our minds, I say, are blind and stupid, ignorant and prone to errour, especially in things supernatural,—our wills stubborn and froward, vain and unstable, inclining to evil, and averse from what is most

truly good, our affections very irregular and unsettled;—to remove which bad dispositions, inconsistent with God's friendship and favour,—and to beget those contrary to them, the knowledge and belief of divine truth, a love of and willing compliance with goodness, a well-composed, orderly, and steady frame of spirit,—God in mercy hath appointed the Holy Spirit; who, first opening our hearts, so as to let in and apprehend the light of divine truth propounded to us, then by representation of proper arguments persuading us to embrace it, begets divine knowledge and faith in our minds (which is the work of illumination and instruction, the first part of His office), then by continual impressions bends our inclinations and mollifies our hearts and subdues our affections to a willing compliance with, a cheerful complacence in that which is good and pleasing to God; so begetting all pious and virtuous inclinations in us, reverence to God, charity to men, sobriety and purity and the rest of those amiable and heavenly virtues (which is the work of sanctification, another great part of His office): both which together (illumination of our mind, sanctification of our will and affections), do constitute that work, which is styled the *Regeneration, Renovation, Vivification, New-creation, Resurrection of a man, putting off the old, putting on the new man;* the faculties of our souls being so much changed, and we made, as it were, other men thereby, able and apt to do that, to which before we were altogether indisposed and unfit. Neither only doth He alter and constitute our dispositions, but He directs and governs our actions, leading and moving us in the ways of obedience to God's will and law. As we live by Him (have a new spiritual life implanted in us) so we walk by Him, by His continual guidance and assistance. He reclaims us from sin and errour, supports and strengthens us in temptation, advises, excites, encourages us to works of virtue and piety: particularly He guides and quickens us in devotion, shewing us what we should ask, raising in us holy desires and comfortable hopes thereof, disposing us to approach God with fit dispositions of love and reverence and humble confidence. It is also a notable part of the Holy Spirit's office to comfort and sustain us, as in all our religious practice, so particularly in our doubts,

difficulties, distresses, and afflictions, to beget joy, peace, and satisfaction in us, in all our doings and all our sufferings; whence He has the title of Comforter. It is also a great part thereof to assure us of God's love and favour, that we are His children, and to confirm us in the hopes of our everlasting inheritance. We, feeling ourselves to live by Him, to love God and goodness, to desire and delight in pleasing God, are thereby raised to hope God loves and favours us, and that He, having by so authentic a seal ratified His word and promise, having already bestowed so sure a pledge, so precious an earnest, so plentiful first-fruits, will not fail to make good the remainder designed and promist us of everlasting joy and bliss. Lastly, the Holy Ghost doth intercede for us with God, is our Advocate and Assistant in presenting our supplications, and procuring our good: He cries in us, He pleads for us to God; whence He is peculiarly called Παράκλητος, that is, One who is called in by His good word or countenance to aid him whose cause is to be examined, or whose petition is to be considered. To which things I may add, that the Holy Ghost is designed to be as it were the soul, which informs, enlivens, and actuates the whole body of the Church, connecting and containing together the members thereof in spiritual union, life, and motion, especially quickening and moving the principal members, the governors and pastors thereof, constituting them in their function, qualifying them for the discharge thereof, guiding and assisting them therein."

In Beveridge we already see the marks of an intellectually feebler age: but he was a learned and pious man; and having those graces in himself, which none can have except through the Spirit of God, he knew how great our need of the Spirit is, how great the blessings which believers receive from Him. Indeed his views of doctrine in early life were a good deal influenced by the Calvinism, which at that time, under the Protectorate, was on the ascendant: hence his Sermons have so much more spiritual life in them, than those of most of his contemporaries. On the sanctifying work of the Spirit he often speaks in them; for instance in the 12th, on *the Sacerdotal Benediction in the name of the Trinity*, and in the 23rd, on *a Spiritual Life the Characteristic of a Christian.*

In the latter he rightly applies our Lord's promise of *the rivers of living water* to all believers; although even here he almost confines the communion of the Spirit to that which is to be obtained in the public ministrations of the Church.

Nor was it possible for good Bishop Wilson to omit or slur over this cardinal doctrine. He says well and plainly, after his manner, in his 22nd Sermon, "It would be no blessing for men to be convinced of the truth of the Christian religion by considering the miraculous powers of the Holy Ghost, by which it was first establisht, unless they afterward live answerable to what that religion requires of them, which they cannot possibly do without the continual grace and assistance of that same Holy Spirit." And again, "God, for Christ's sake, has given us the earnest of His Spirit in Baptism," to the end that we may live under the continual governance of the Spirit, and may bring forth the fruits of the Spirit. How much fierce controversy would have been avoided, how much would the peace of the Church have been promoted, if the baptismal gift had always been spoken of in this sober well-weighed language!

Baxter's exposition of the subject we are considering, in his *Life of Faith* (P. III. c. III.), is simple, clear, and sound. "The most excellent measure of the Spirit given by Christ after His Ascension to the Gospel Church is to be distinguisht from that which was before communicated; and this Spirit of Christ is it which our Christian faith hath special respect to. Without the Spirit of God, as the perfective principle, Nature would not have been Nature: Gen. i. 2. All things would not have been good, and very good, but by the communication of goodness: and without somewhat of that Spirit there would be no moral goodness in any of mankind: without some special operations of that Spirit the godly before Christ's coming in the flesh would not have been godly, nor in any present capacity of glory. Therefore there was some gift of the Spirit before. But yet there was an eminent gift of the Spirit proper to the Gospel times, which the former ages did not know; which is so much above the former gift, that it is sufficient to prove the verity of Christ. For first, there

was use for the special attestation of the Father, by way of power, by miracles and His Resurrection, to own His Son. Secondly, the Wisdom and Word of God Incarnate must needs bring a special measure of wisdom to His disciples, and therefore give a greater measure of the Spirit for illumination. Thirdly, the design of redemption being the revelation of the love of God, and the recovery of our love to Him, there must needs be a special measure of the Spirit of love shed abroad upon our hearts. And in all these three respects the Spirit was accordingly communicated.

"But was it not the Spirit of Christ, which was in the prophets and in all the godly before Christ's coming? The Spirit of Christ is either that measure of the Spirit, which was given after the first Covenant of Grace, as it differeth from the state of man in innocency, and from the state of man in his apostasy and condemnation: and thus it was the Spirit of Christ which was then given, so far as it was the Covenant and Grace of Christ, by which men were then saved. But there was a fuller Covenant to be made after His coming, and a fuller measure of grace to be given, and a full attestation of God for the establishment and promulgation of this Covenant, and accordingly a fuller and special gift of the Spirit. And this is called the Spirit of Christ, in the peculiar Gospel sense.

"How is it said that the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because Christ was not yet glorified? It is meant of the special measure of the Spirit, which was to be Christ's special Witness and Agent in the world. They had before that measure of true grace, which was necessary to the salvation of believers, before the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ; which was the Spirit of Christ, as the light before sunrising is the light of the sun: and if they died in that case, they would have been saved. But they had not the signal Spirit of the Gospel, settled and resident with them, but only some little taste of it, for casting out devils, and for cures, at that time when Christ sent them by a special mission to preach, and gave them a sudden special gift.—

"And as such gifts of the Spirit were given to the Apostles as their office required, so those sanctifying graces, or that spiritual

life, light, and love, are given by it to all true Christians, which their calling and salvation doth require.—By all this it appeareth that the Holy Ghost is both Christ's great Witness, objectively in the world, by which He is owned of God, and proved to be true, and also His Advocate or great Agent in the Church, both to indite the Scriptures, and to sanctify souls. So that no man can be a Christian indeed, without these three, the objective witness of the Spirit to the truth of Christ, the Gospel taught by the Spirit in the Apostles, and the quickening, illuminating, and sanctifying work of the Spirit upon his soul."

Matthew Henry's note on our passage has the genial freshness and the richness in scriptural illustration which characterize his excellent Commentary.

In the Dissertation with which Lightfoot closes his *Horae Hebraicae*, he illustrates the declaration, Οὔπω γὰρ ἦν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, by the Jewish tradition concerning the cessation of prophecy. "Defuerunt, (inquiunt Hierosolymitani, *Taanith* fol. 56. 1.) res quinque sub Templo secundo, quae adfuerunt primo: Ignis de coelo, Arca, Urim et Thummim, Oleum unctionis, et Spiritus Sanctus," vel Spiritus Prophetiae. De Spiritu Prophetiae haec etiam Babylonici, *Sotah*, fol. 24. 2. "A morte Prophetarum posteriorum, Haggaei, Zachariae, et Malachiae cessavit ab Israele Spiritus Sanctus." In prima quidem generatione a reditu e Babylone viguisse dotem propheticam testantur satis isti Prophetae. —At extincta ista generatione evanuit etiam donum Prophetiae, nec apparuit amplius ante auroram Evangelii. Huc spectant illa Joann. VII. 39. "Οὔπω ἦν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, Actor. XIX. 2. Ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰ Πνεῦμα ἅγιόν ἐστιν ἠκούσαμεν.—"Quae verba (he says in his *Chronica Temporum*) veram et communiter apud Judaeos receptam opinionem respiciunt; viz. *a morte Ezrae, Haggai, Zachariae, et Malachiae, Spiritum Sanctum ab Israelitis ablatum: Juchasin*, fol. 15. Porro restitutum fuisse se inaudivisse negant."

In the eighteenth century Theology in our Church, as indeed in every branch of the whole Church, stood so low, partaking in the intellectual and moral degeneracy of the age, that from few divines of that period are we likely to gain much insight

into the deeper mysteries of our faith, unless it be from those who were rejected and despised by the popular voice. Least of all are we likely to gain such concerning the operations of the Spirit. For the views of doctrine, which we have already found in some of the leading writers of the seventeenth century, became more and more generally diffused, being in unison with the fashionable material philosophy, and with the selfsufficiency which characterized the nations at the head of the civilization of Europe. Thus in time we sank into such a state, that Coleridge says, with too much justice (*Remains*, IV. 118), the holy festival of Whitsunday almost "became unmeaning, as the clergy had become generally Arminian, and interpreted the descent of the Spirit as the gift of miracles, and of miraculous infallibility by inspiration." The aptness to adopt this interpretation, we have seen, existed in all ages of the Church, inasmuch as it springs from the common tendency of human nature to *desire a sign*, something new and startling, that may stimulate and gratify the love of novelty, without disturbing the conscience, or calling for an exertion of the will. But in proportion as the understanding and common sense of mankind set themselves up more and more to try and judge the mysteries of faith, this aptness grew more predominant.

Waterland, who among the theologians of his time is the most powerful champion of the true faith, hardly toucht, save incidentally, on the operations of the Spirit (see vol. II. p. 115, V. p. 45): his great task was to assert the divine Personality of the Word against the Arian and Socinian impugners of the truth. Among his postumous Sermons however there is one, the 26th, on *the Nature and Manner in which the Holy Spirit may be supposed to operate upon us, and the Marks and Tokens of such Operation*, which shews his usual clearness and sobriety of judgement, correcting excesses on the side of too much, without falling into equally injurious excesses on the side of too little.

But the Comforter was to abide with Christ's Church *for ever*. Hence it has repeatedly been seen that, when He was forgotten,

and His abiding presence and influence was almost denied, by those who occupied the chief places in the outward Church, He has manifested Himself to others, who, as of old, have been mockt, and said to have been *full of new wine*, nay, have been persecuted, and even cast out from the outward communion of the Church. This, which had happened often before, happened again in the last century. The men who were awakened to a deeper consciousness that there can be no Christian life in the soul, except through the operation of the Spirit, were, some of them, led or driven to secede from our Church, while others had to endure reproach and scorn within it. On the other hand the dominant prosaic rationalism laid down that all manner of enthusiasm must needs be foolish and mischievous. One of our bishops wrote a book against Enthusiasm, as a quality fit only for Papists and Methodists: it would have been difficult to pronounce a severer sentence against our Church. Nor was the book of such a kind that it could be of use to the persons against whom it was written: for it evinced no sympathy with the deep feelings and wants and consciousnesses which were venting themselves even in their most offensive absurdities, no insight into the manifold causes which helpt to delude them, no desire to separate the wheat and preserve it from the conflagration of the tares, no recognition of that which was holy and just and true in their zeal, their energy, and their devotion. Folly and fraud were the author's summary sentence, and with these two words, blind as the hangman's rope, he strung together the puppets of straw, that he called by the names of Wesley and Whitfield and Zinzendorf, along with others under the denomination of St Anthony, St Francis, St Ignatius, and St Teresa.

Another bishop, one of the ablest and most learned men of his day, took upon him to define what reasonable persons may believe concerning the Doctrine of Grace. It is a proof of the fascination which lies in a celebrated name, that Warburton's work has been highly extolled, even by such men as Reginald Heber, who says of it, in his *Bampton Lectures*, that it "must ever be accounted, so far as its subject

extends, in the number of those works, which are the property of every age and country, and of which, though succeeding critics may detect the human blemishes, the vigour and originality will remain, perhaps, unrivaled" (p. 12). For my own part, few books have pained or disgusted me more than this virulent polemical pamphlet, wherein, as so often in Warburton's writings, club-law is the order of the day, and one fierce blow after another is poured down on the unfortunate victims of his wrath. The very title of the book betokens its character: *The Doctrine of Grace; or the Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit vindicated from the Insults of Infidelity and the Abuses of Fanaticism.* A man who sat down to write with the feelings here exprest, uppermost in his mind, could never write intelligently concerning the workings of the Spirit: indeed one may justly say of this *Doctrine of Grace*, that it is utterly graceless. Of course it is clever: Warburton's wildest extravagances are so: but doctrinally it is of very little value. The promise that the Comforter should abide with us for ever is said to have been eminently fulfilled, so far as He is the Spirit of Truth, by "His constant abode and supreme illumination in the sacred Scriptures of the New Testament" (B. I. c. 5). It is admitted indeed parenthetically that "His ordinary influence occasionally assists the faithful of all ages:" but this He did under the Old Covenant: nor is there any recognition of the fundamental truth, that *No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.* On the other hand the Comforter, "as the Purifier of the will," is said to abide with the Church for ever, in that "the virtue of Charity is to accompany the Christian Church throughout all its stages here on earth" (B. II. c. 2): that is to say, the Holy Ghost is "to do His perfect work in the enlargement of the heart by universal benevolence:" and while the other graces of the Spirit are overlookt,—as if they no longer belonged to the Christian life, or as if they could spring up without His influence,—Charity itself, or "universal benevolence," with which it is identified, is so represented as if its chief and most precious fruit had been the Toleration Act.

At the same time the tone of the pamphlet shews that, if its author had been born in the twelfth century, no man would have been more zealous in kindling fires to consume the Waldenses. So strange was the prevailing ignorance concerning the elementary truths of Christianity, that we find the most learned of our prelates assigning the following reasons why the extraordinary operations of the Spirit were only required during the first ages. "The nature and genius of the Gospel were so averse to all the religious institutions of the world, that the whole strength of human prejudices was set in opposition to it. To overcome the obstinacy and violence of these prejudices, nothing less than the power of the Holy One was sufficient. He did the work of man's conversion, and reconciled an unbelieving world to God." As though this could be done once for all, in any other way than by the one all-perfect sacrifice of the Saviour; and as though the conversion and reconciliation were not just as necessary in every age, nay, in every individual case, as in the first ages of the Church. "At present, whatever there may be remaining of the bias of prejudice, (as such will mix itself even with our best conclusions), it draws the other way." Happy world! well-nigh set free from all prejudice! nay, so happy, that its few remaining prejudices are in favour of Christianity! It is plain that Christianity here can mean nothing but the bare outward profession. "So much then of His task was finisht; and the faith, from thenceforth, had a favorable hearing. Indeed, were we to make our estimate of the present state of the religious world from the journals of modern fanatics, we should be tempted still to think ourselves in a land of Pagans, with all their prejudices full blown upon them." Verily this passage of Warburton would be a strong presumption that we were so. "A further reason for the abatement of the influences of the supporting Spirit of Grace is the peace and security of the Church. There was a time when the powers of this world were combined together for its destruction. At such a period nothing but superior aid from above could support humanity in sustaining so great a conflict as that which the holy martyrs encountered with joy

and rapture, the horrors of death in torment. But now the profession of the Christian faith is attended with ease and honour; and the conviction, which the weight of human testimony, and the conclusions of human reason afford us, of its truth, is abundantly sufficient to support us in our religious perseverance" (B. II. c. 3). Alas! alas! who ever was "sufficiently supported in his religious perseverance" by such motives? No one: no one ever was, no one ever will be so; if anything be meant by "religious perseverance," beyond a firm outward profession of faith; which may arise from mere human motives, even as loyalty and patriotism and constancy in friendship may; although these too require far deeper foundations, than "the weight of human testimony, and the conclusions of human reason." One is disposed to marvel in what eremitical seclusion a man must have lived, with his mind hermetically closed against all the lessons of history and of contemporary experience, to suppose such causes capable of effecting anything so alien to our nature as "religious perseverance." On this point let me strengthen my argument with the following words, taken from the second of Horsley's two excellent Sermons on Eph. iv. 30, on the various gifts of the Spirit: "If the principle be true, that, without a constant action of God's Spirit on the mind of man, no man can persevere in a life of virtue and religion, the Christian, who finds himself empowered to lead this life, cannot err in his conclusion, that God's power is at present exerted upon himself in his own person for his final preservation." *If* here is not problematical, but inferential, it having been shewn previously that this is the doctrine of Scripture: indeed Horsley's words meet Warburton's so closely, we might almost fancy he had them in his eye. One is tempted to ask too, whether Warburton can ever have read and reflected on the purport of such declarations as, *Blessed be ye poor; for yours is the Kingdom of God:—Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness sake; for theirs is the Kingdom of heaven:* or such as *The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness to him; neither can he know them; for they are spiritually discerned.* Nay, the whole New Testament is a

direct contradiction and refutation of everything here asserted by Warburton; who in this passage was merely giving utterance to the opinions entertained in his days by the bulk of our clergy: the insatiate lover of paradox was the mouthpiece of the vulgar. In fact this is just the view of Christianity, which the world, when through the course and order of events it puts on the name of Christ, is ready to recognize, and which it may recognize without changing a single hair in its leopard's skin. Even that sagacious couplet of his favorite moralist,—

> But Satan now is wiser than of yore,
> And tempts by making rich, not making poor;—

might have taught Warburton that the "ease and honour," which now attend the profession of the Christain faith, are not likely to be very efficacious substitutes for the power of the Comforter in making men Christians.

In more recent times a theory, nearly resembling Warburton's, concerning the peculiar office of the Comforter, as the immediate object of our Lord's promise, has been brought forward by a person of a very different spirit, the late admirable Bishop Heber. Of him, having had the privilege of knowing him, and having experienced the winning kindness which he shewed to all, and which, in consequence of my connexion with him, he perhaps shewed still more abundantly to me, — having seen the love which beamed from his face, and manifested itself in all his words and actions,—I cannot think without affectionate reverence. His treatise however on the Holy Spirit, as developt in his *Bampton Lectures*, seems to me to be an elaborate attempt to urge a hypothesis, which is totally groundless and mistaken. The text prefixt to his eight Sermons is the same verse of St John (xvi. 7), which forms the subject of this. But unfortunately he did not spend much thought in fathoming the mysterious depths of meaning contained in it: else this verse of itself might have shaken his confidence in the notion, which it is the main purpose of his Lectures to maintain, that our Lord's promise to His Disciples, that the Comforter should come to them in His stead, and should abide with them for ever, referred solely in the first

instance to the knowledge of the nature of the Christian Covenant, which they were to receive from inspiration, and that, as an enduring promise to the Church, it is fulfilled exclusively in the gift of the Scriptures of the New Testament, whereby "the Holy Ghost performs all the functions of the promist Comforter." Nor does Heber pay much attention to the important verses which follow our text, or try to reconcile them with his hypothesis. Still less does he examine the declaration we have been considering in this Note, touching the rivers of water which were to flow from the gift of the Spirit, and the other passages in which the Comforter is spoken of. Thus his work is an example of the errours wherein theologians have so frequently involved themselves, by a practice, which in other departments of knowledge would be accounted unwarrantable and perverse, of picking out a few sentences, or scraps of sentences, from the Bible, with little, if any, regard to the context, and then spinning a theory out of them by divers logical processes. He contends that the gift of the Comforter spoken of by our Lord must have been something altogether distinctive and peculiar, something that no one had ever enjoyed till then, not even the Apostles themselves (see the beginning of the fifth Lecture): and then, laying the whole stress of his argument on this one point, without duly considering the various qualities and acts predicated of the Comforter, he arrives at his extraordinary conclusion, that the Scriptures of the New Testament are the one distinctive privilege of the Christian Church, and consequently that in them, and in them alone, Christ's promise is still realized. This is a singular illustration of Coleridge's remark (*Remains*, III. 93), that, while "the Papacy elevated the Church, to the virtual exclusion or suppression of the Scriptures, the modern Church of England, since Chillingworth, has so raised up the Scriptures as to annull the Church. Both alike (he adds) have quencht the Holy Spirit, as the mesothesis of the two." That this has been the result with some, whose names occupy a high rank among our divines, we have seen: but Reginald Heber's errour was confined to the interpretation of a particular promise, and did not extend to a denial

or disregard of that, which is one of the two fundamental principles of Christianity: he was too true a Christian to fancy that any one could be so, except through the working of the Spirit. If he coincides with Warburton on one side of his theory, he differs no less strongly than Horsley from the whole tenour of the passage which I quoted from him. "Without that holy energy (he says, in p. 277), which it is in the bosom of God to grant or to withhold, we may vainly study the evidences of religion, and vainly aspire to shew forth in our practice the lessons of holiness, which our outward ears have imbibed. When Grace is wanting, we have neither power nor effectual will to raise our affections beyond the narrow circle of mortality: nor, having once assented to the hopes and precepts of religion, can we retain those hopes and precepts in our minds as a pervading and triumphant principle." The reason why he denies that this Grace bore any part in Christ's promise, is, that this is not peculiar to the Christian dispensation, but had been vouchsafed already to the Jews, and even, in a certain measure, to heathens. Yet the whole order of nature is for the dawn to precede the sunrise: the light of the sun is seen, before the sun himself appears; and yet the rising of the sun may truly be called a new, distinctive, epochal act. This is well set forth by Olshausen in his Commentary on John vii. 39: "As the Son was working in the world long before His Incarnation, so did the Holy Ghost also act upon mankind long before His Effusion. But as it was at the Incarnation of the Son that the fulness of His Life first manifested itself, so it was not until the Effusion which took place on the day of Pentecost that the Spirit poured forth all His power. Hence the Effusion of the Spirit is the same moment in His manifestation, that the Incarnation is in that of the Son."

What the gift of the Spirit, as the distinctive characteristic of the Christian dispensation, is, has been discust by Mr Newman in an eloquent and powerful Sermon, the 18th in his third Volume. Although he does not handle any of the texts we have been examining, the main subject of his argument is the same: and he rightly maintains that, in considering the working of the Spirit

in the Church of Christ, we are not to confine ourselves to any one of His manifestations, but to embrace them all. At the same time some of the positions and expositions in that Sermon appear to me very questionable. The assertion that, "if we could see souls, we should see those of infants just baptized bright as the cherubim, as flames of fire rising heavenward in sacrifice to God" (p. 290), is an extravagance contradicted by universal experience, without the slightest shadow of anything like an exception, and is utterly destitute of all positive Scriptural warrant, which alone could justify us in setting experience and observation at defiance, nay, is contrary to the whole analogy of Scripture, to everything that Scripture says on the growth of our spiritual life, and to every representation which it gives of the effects produced by Baptism. Such extravagances on such sacred subjects are greatly to be lamented, as they repell minds that have a sense of truth, and that love it, from a doctrine which they see thus perverted, and deckt out in such gaudy trappings. Moreover it seems to me, that, in what he says in p. 281, Mr Newman does not sufficiently recognize the great difference between the spiritual graces manifested in the lives of Christian saints, and those of which we have the record in the Old Testament. Surely there has been something answering, at least in part, to that transfiguration and spiritualization of the Law, which we behold in the Sermon on the Mount. Surely too our Saviour's New Commandment, the commandment of selfdenying, selfdevoting, self-sacrificing love, of love after the divine pattern which He gave us, has never been fulfilled in any manner from the beginning, except under the light of the Gospel, and through the indwelling power of the Spirit of love. Indeed I know not what Christian meaning can be attacht to that state of glory, which, Mr Newman contends, is the consequence of the presence of the Spirit in the Church, if the effects of that presence are not manifested by higher and more abundant graces, than were to be seen in the hearts and lives of men, before the Spirit came down to enter upon His work of sanctification. Such a glory would be as unsubstantial as a vision in the clouds: and in truth the dreamy notions which are

entertained concerning the baptismal glorification of the soul, might seem to be a fancy borrowed from the glow of dawn, and are still less substantial than that. It were much to be wisht that theologians would pay greater attention to the Leibnitzian principle of a sufficient cause, in its twofold application, as requiring a reciprocal correspondence between the cause and the effect; and that they were less hasty in imagining causes, of which they are unable to discern any proportional effects. When we look into ourselves indeed, and compare what we are, with what we ought to be, and should have been had we made a right use of the means of grace we have received, we shall be ready to acknowledge for ourselves, and perhaps for the whole body of Christians in all ages, that, considering our inestimable privileges and advantages, the very heathens might rise up in the judgement and condemn us. But if there be not a clear superiority in the sanctification of Christians,—of some portion, whatever that portion may be, of Christ's Church,—over those who lived before the grace and mercy of God were revealed in Jesus Christ, and before the Spirit came down to dwell in the Church for ever,—what must we say? to what conclusion must we come? unless that Satan is altogether mightier than God, and has baffled and frustrated all that the Father and the Son and the Spirit, in their infinite wisdom and compassion and love, have vainly endeavoured to accomplish, at such an incalculable cost, for the reclaiming of mankind. They, who, believing in baptismal transubstantiation, are compelled by unvarying experience to confess that this miraculous change in all, or,—as, to save appearances, they will fain say,—in the great majority of cases, is "Like snow that falls upon a river, A moment white, then gone for ever," may not be appalled by such a conclusion. This however is only another melancholy instance how a single cherisht errour will warp and bedim the whole understanding, strong and clear as it otherwise might be, even as a single cherisht sin will debase and corrupt the whole moral character.

If we turn to the commentators on St John, we find the promise in the seventh chapter well explained by Lampe, whose work

is hardly known as it deserves to be. For though its scholastic form is cumbrous and repulsive, and though it is somewhat too much tainted with the Cocceian system of allegorical interpretation, it combines sound philology with sound theology in a manner to render it very serviceable to students. On our Lord's words at the feast of tabernacles, he says, " Per Spiritum Scriptura saepiuscule intelligit beneficia atque dona Spiritus Sancti, et quidem praestantiora. Qui enim credunt, jam acceperunt initialiter Spiritum Sanctum, quoniam fides est opus Spiritus Sancti. Patet ergo quod ad tales operationes hic respiciatur, quibus fides potest carere, quibus actu caruit sub V. T. et quae mox Ecclesiae indulgendae erant. Cum autem illae operationes sint vel ordinariae vel extraordinariae, et extraordinariae complectantur dona illa miraculosa, quae statim ab initio nascentis Ecclesiae communicabantur, has quoque nimis speciales esse censemus, quam ut cuicunque credenti in Jesum illas promissas esse statui queat. Respiciuntur ergo potissimum operationes ordinariae Spiritus Sancti, sed in illa mensura quae exspectabatur post consummatum redemptionis opus in oeconomia N. T. quae abinde nominatur *ministerium Spiritus*, 2 Cor. iii. 6. Talia sunt clarior mysteriorum Regni coelorum cognitio, consolatio uberior per conscientiae in plena remissione peccatorum tranquillationem, gaudium in Spiritu Sancto, parrhesia, libertas, pax, etc. Hae operationes emphatice—a Jesu propositae erant sub symbolo—*fluminum aquae vivae*,—ob copiam, varietatem, latamque per gentes diffusionem,—*prodeuntium ex animabus credentium*, tum quia tanta mensura donorum coelestium non debebat tegi, sed per fructus idoneos demonstrari, tum quia illa magna Spiritus Sancti in ejus effusione mensura salutare medium debebat esse ad alios ejusdem exuberantissimae gratiae Dei participes reddendos.—Certa ratione Spiritum Sanctum fideles V. T. revera jam acceperant in suo modulo. Jam ante diluvium cum praeconio justitiae fuit conjunctus, 1 Petr. iii. 19; et litigavit cum impiis, Gen. vi. 3; et in Prophetis testatus est, 1 Petr. i. 11. Act. xxviii. 25; et in tabernaculo praesens fuit, Jer. lxiii. 11; et Davidem direxit atque laetitia spirituali implevit, Ps. li. 13. 14. Sed *nondum erat* amplior illa Spiritus Sancti mensura; *nondum*

erant specialia illa N. T. bona, quae modo commemorabamus. Facile hoc demonstrari potest per recensionem defectuum V. T. qui indicatis bonis N. T. e diametro sunt oppositi, quales sunt, tenebrae ignorantiae per velum Mosis condensatae, commemoratio atque exprobratio lytri nondum persoluti, indeque nascens spiritus timoris ac servitutis, etc."

Lampe's work was publisht in 1726. As we draw toward the close of the same century, we sink into the slough of Rationalism. Knowledge then was held to be omnipotent, and that too empirical, abstract, formal, superficial knowledge, which had done little more than skim the froth of history, and dissect the carcase of philosophy, and which was so far from availing to help men out of the slough, as not even to shew them that they were in it. The shock of the French Revolution, and of the calamities that issued from thence, was needed to open their eyes. With the majority even of those who meant well to what they regarded as the cause of Christianity, it had become a prevalent notion, that the best service which could be rendered to Christianity, was to strip it as much as possible of its mysteries, and to prove its perfect coincidence with the conclusions of man's understanding; its supernaturalness consisting in its having so long forestalled the discoveries, which man was not able to arrive at till seventeen centuries after. Thus in 1771 Noesselt printed a Dissertation to prove that πνεῦμα in this passage of St John means Christ's doctrine, which was to be spread over the earth by the preaching of His disciples. This interpretation chimed in so well with the temper of an age unwilling to recognize anything in Christ, beyond a moral teacher, a wiser and better Socrates, that it was readily adopted. Rosenmüller paraphrases our Lord's words thus: "Si quis cupidus est discendi, is se mihi tradat in disciplinam, meaque doctrina recte utatur. Quisquis se mihi tradit in disciplinam, —per eum alii etiam homines magna doctrinae copia largissime imbuentur." Kuinoel says the same thing in nearly the same words; for in the slough of Rationalism one makes little progress, except by rolling out of one rut into another. Of course, where the teachers of Theology are mainly professors in a university,

who spend their lives between their lecture-rooms and their studies, and who have little practical acquaintance with other forms of life, and scanty experience of any weightier difficulties than that of gaining assent to such or such a proposition, there must needs be a tendency to look upon knowledge as the chief object and rule and principle of life: and as this class is far more numerous, and exercises a far greater influence on the national mind, in Germany, than in other countries,—as Germans moreover are not withheld by the same strong checks, which operate in other countries, from publishing their heterodoxical speculations, — Rationalism became the peculiar stigma of German Theology. In fact too, not only did much find utterance in Germany, which in other countries was latent, or merely avowed by such as openly rejected Christianity altogether, but the very habit of expressing and circulating all manner of opinions fostered the license of speculation, and, like all habits, propagated itself. That shallow temper of mind however, blind to its own infirmities, which exaggerates the value of knowledge, and which deems that such portions of the Gospel as can be received by the mere exercise of the understanding are the whole substance of religion,—a temper of mind totally unfitted for recognizing those primary truths in the Gospel, the very recognition of which involves a conviction that man has deeper wants, and the Gospel more precious gifts, than those which pertain to the understanding,—this temper was diffused more or less over all the nations which prided themselves on occupying a prominent post in the civilization of Europe. Hence, when compared with such expositions, as that of Noesselt, Rosenmüller, and Kuinoel, even Paulus is almost refreshing, who, in explaining the 39th verse, says, " It was the impression which the victorious resurrection of Jesus, and his passing to a higher, glorious state of bliss made on His disciples, that first produced—that higher tone of mind in them, in which the zealous servant of God will strive more independently and energetically to work good with all his might. In order to have a source for this higher strain of feeling, they assumed that a πνεῦμα, or spiritual principle of life and motion, had been just

awakened by God in man. Thus we can easily understand how John could say, Οὔπω γὰρ ἦν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, for this holy enthusiasm did not yet exist in the disciples of Jesus.—So long as Jesus was with His disciples, He was naturally everything to them, and they were merely His followers. It was necessary that they should be left to themselves,—ere they could rely on having sufficient power in themselves, and could draw it out of themselves, like the spark out of the flint, by their selfreliance. —The conceptions which the Apostles and other primitive followers of Jesus attacht to His being *glorified by the Father*, could not but produce a contempt in them for earthly sufferings and labours, and even for death, with a confident expectation of unforeseen succour and preservation for the cause and the workers of good, in short all that which St John calls *overcoming the world*." I said, that even Paulus, in comparison to his brother commentators, who exalt knowledge above all things, is almost refreshing; but verily, when one reads over his remarks, one is reminded of the homely proverb, that there is small choice of rotten apples. Yet these were the writers, of whom many said, *These are your gods, O men of sense, who will bring you out of the Jewish Canaan, and out of the wilderness of the dark ages, to the land where you shall be rich in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and enjoy the fleshpots of Egypt into the bargain.*

The decline of the Roman Empire has been compared in a celebrated simily to the latter part of the course of the Rhine, where that king of European rivers splits his mass of waters into a number of branches, and is almost swallowed up and lost in the sands of Holland. Now the Rhine is not the only river that is thus shorn of its glory, before it perishes; nor is the fate of the Roman Empire the only parallel that the history of the world offers. The lot of many things in nature, of many among the works and institutions of man, has been after this analogy: and the same comparison suggests itself, when we contemplate the condition of Christian Theology at the close of the last century. To one who knew what Theology had been, and saw what it was then, yet who could not pierce beyond the actual state of things, it must

have seemed as though the mighty stream, which had been flowing through nation after nation, and through generation after generation, digging itself a channel through the mountains, refreshing the vallies, and compassing and fertilizing the plains,—and which had borne the minds of men along with it, widening and deepening with every fresh accession of intellectual or moral power, —was about to end, not by pouring itself out into that eternal ocean, toward which it had ever appeared to be journeying, but by being broken into petty rills, choked with mud, and engulft in quicksands. Indeed it may have struck some readers, that the foregoing sketch, so far as it pretends to give anything like a representation of the opinions held in various ages of the Church concerning the workings of the Spirit, is strangely repugnant to the proposition maintained in the preceding Note, that in Theology, as in other departments of knowledge, there has been a progressive development, whereby later ages have attained to a fuller systematic apprehension of the truth, than was possest by the earlier. This appearance has doubtless been increast by my having merely cited certain of the most eminent divines at divers periods, without attempting to trace the connexion and points of transition amongst them. For hereby a greater importance attaches itself to the intellectual and spiritual qualifications of individual theologians: and as in the warfare of early times there are more conspicuous examples of individual heroism, the same thing has happened in other relations, intellectual and moral. To have done more would have been inconsistent with the nature of a note, and would have required the elaborate and well digested studies preparatory to an independent work. Indeed the subject itself made it difficult to do more: for the consideration of the office and operations of the Third Person in the Holy Trinity has never formed so prominent a part in theology, as that of the First and Second Persons: whence there is less of order and sequence in the views themselves; and they have taken their shape much more from the character of individual minds. Besides it is very true, that the eighteenth century does form the great difficulty in the way of the philosopher, who sets himself

to investigate the intellectual and moral history of man, in the belief that the human race has been progressive. To overcome this difficulty, we must bear in thought, that the progress of mankind, if there be any, has at all events, as is plain from every portion of history, never been uniform and rectilinear; that, according to the law of the whole creation, it has had its periods of alternation, its ebbs and flows, its nights and days, its winters and summers, and that these may have been measured out by centuries; that the same life does not go on waxing in vigour indefinitely, but wanes and decays and perishes, though succeeded by other lives, in such a manner that the realm of life is continually enlarging; that the blossoms do not remain on the tree along with the fruit, but fall off to make way for the fruit, which however does not ripen until after an interval of comparative bareness. We must remember how something, which to the common eye has appeared almost like a thousand-yeared sleep, lay on the mind of Europe, ere it was fully awakened to the contemplation and cultivation of the new world in which Christianity had placed it. Thus, in passing from that kind of dogmatical knowledge, which is founded on the implicit reception of the materials supplied by tradition, to that kind which is to be preceded by a critical examination both of the objects of knowledge, and of the mind, its subject, man has had to tarry a while in the wilderness of blank doubt and mere negations: yet this very rationalizing of Scripture, which has narrowed and degraded it into a conformity with the abstractions of the natural understanding, has been to prepare the way, we may trust, for the time when the voice of the Spirit speaking in the Scriptures shall be recognized to be in perfect concord with the intuitions of the clarified reason.

It would be a delicate, and could scarcely be otherwise than an invidious task, to examine whether any, and what evidence is afforded by the present state of English theology to warrant such an expectation. With reference to our present enquiry it is sufficent to remark, that the censure quoted above, in p. 468, from Coleridge, which was intended by him for the early years of

this century, is no longer applicable to anything like the same extent. Indeed we have ground for much thankfulness in the belief that the abiding influence of the Spirit on the hearts of believers is a more general element in the teaching of our Church now, than it has been since the time when the Nonconformists were driven out. That German theology has also undergone a change in a like direction of late, is not so well known perhaps in England. In the very worst times indeed some men were left in Germany, who had not bowed the knee to Baal: but the general improvement in the character of German theology did not take place till after the nation had been aroused by the sufferings which preceded the War of Deliverance, by the solemn voices which at that time sounded through every heart, and by the thankfulness and joy which the events of that war called forth. Even in the last dozen years, it is true, the Antichristian spirit has become stronger and more audacious and subtiler than ever; and it is now waging open war against the name and existence of Christianity, against all the duties, all the hopes, all the holiest feelings of man. But even this is better than to lie imbedded and suffocated, or to sprawl and crawl about, in the slough of Rationalism: and along with the increast virulence of infidelity, faith too has become stronger and bolder and clearer: nor will he who knows what powers support such as are contending for the truth, doubt on which side the ultimate victory will be. Among the commentaries on St John, the tone of which has betokened this improvement, the earliest I know of is Tittmann's; who is not indeed very eminent, either as a thinker or a scholar, and whose style is prolix and feeble, but whose exposition of our passage is in the main correct. Arguing against the doctrinary school, he says, "Neque habet et confert Jesus bona doctrinae tantum, sed innumerabilia alia; non tantum est Servator per doctrinam suam, sed aliis modis. Quodsi praedicasset se tanquam Servatorem per doctrinam, multo minus ipsum admisissent Judaei, ne intellexissent quidem, nec intelligere potuissent: exspectabant enim in Messia non doctorem, quam potius liberatorem et felicitatis vindicem.—Ea vero bona profecto sunt ante omnia cognitio Dei et Christi, in primis autem cognitio con-

siliorum divinorum de salute hominum per Christum, deinde vero etiam gratia apud Deum et remissio peccatorum, et sensus gratiae divinae et remissionis peccatorum, fides, animi vitaeque sanctitas, spes futurae vitae, et quae sunt ejus generis alia" (pp. 306, 314).

Luecke, who also belongs to the better school of theology, but, having had to wade through the slough of Rationalism in his youth, like most of his contemporaries, has some of its mud sticking to him, maintains somewhat pertinaciously and perversely, in all the three editions of his Commentary, that St John, in our passage, has not apprehended our Lord's meaning quite correctly. Comparing the expression in vii. 38, ὕδωρ ζῶν, with the words to the Samaritan woman in iv. 14, he contends that ὕδωρ ζῶν is equivalent to ζωὴ αἰώνιος, and interprets our passage thus: "*He who believes in Me, and thus drinks of the living water, which I give to the thirsty,—out of his heart, as the Scripture says of the rivers of blessings in the days of the Messiah, will flow rivers of living water, that is, of eternal life. Not only will he himself be a partaker of eternal life; out of his fulness he will refresh others therewith.* On the other hand St John (Luecke says), understanding ὕδωρ ζῶν to be the Holy Spirit, takes ῥεύσουσι as an absolute, not a relative future, and the whole speech as a prophecy of the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost.—Yet ῥεύσουσι (he argues) cannot in this position be taken as an absolute future, to the exclusion of the present time: ποτὲ, or something of the kind, should have been added. Since, according to St John, faith, as soon as it springs up, produces life, we are disposed to understand Jesus as declaring that at the very first moment of faith the rivers of living water will immediately begin to flow." Such criticism, it seems to me, applied to any writer, would be somewhat captious; nor are the arguments tenable even philologically. Doubtless ὕδωρ ζῶν in vii. 38 is equivalent to ὕδωρ ἁλλόμενον εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον in iv. 14: for true life is also everlasting life: the only difference is, that in the first-cited passage our Lord is speaking with special reference to the influence and power of believers upon others. But it is not said in iv. 14 that the water is ζωὴ αἰώνιος, as Luecke implies: the water is the power of the Spirit manifesting

itself in those gifts and graces which belong to eternal life, and to which eternal life belongs. Again, there is nothing in St John's words to limit ῥεύσουσι, as an absolute future, to a single specific moment, the day of Pentecost. They do not assert, or mean, that Jesus was speaking with exclusive reference to the descent of the Holy Ghost on that one day. What they assert is, that Jesus, in speaking of the rivers of living water, was speaking, by anticipation, of the gifts of the Spirit, which believers were to receive after His glorification, both on the day of Pentecost, and from that time forward. As to Luecke's argument, that, according to our Lord's words, the rivers of living water were to flow out of the hearts of believers immediately, before the day of Pentecost, a sufficient answer to it is afforded by the fact, that no such effect was wrought in any of the Apostles themselves prior to the descent of the Holy Ghost. Our Lord, speaking on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, gave an assurance of that which was to take place at the next Feast of Tabernacles, after His glorification, and from that time forward until the end of the world. In like manner are we to understand all His spiritual promises, none of which were fulfilled during His life, nor could be, because they could not be fulfilled, except through the working of the Spirit, who was not yet given.

Luecke further remarks that, though water in the Old Testament is sometimes used as the symbol of the Holy Spirit, especially in that the effusion of the Spirit is compared to the pouring out of water, the appropriate symbol of the Spirit in the New Testament is fire, water standing as the symbol of ζωὴ αἰώνιος. And after discussing a couple of explanations of the difference between the operation of the Spirit under the Old, and that under the New Dispensation, he concludes, "The difference, if we compare I. 17. 18. 33. iii. 34, cannot have been regarded by St John as specific, but merely as consisting in this, that under the Old Testament the Holy Spirit was limited in His communications and revelations of Himself, whereas, after the incarnation and glorification of the Word, working freely in His whole Messianic fulness, He was given to believers permanently, and so as to be

the ruling principle of their lives." In reply to this, I will quote some excellent remarks by Kling, from an article in the *Theologische Studien* for 1836, which, if critics were not as impervious to conviction as the rest of mankind, would have made Luecke adopt a better explanation in his last edition. "I confess I cannot see why the symbol of fire, under which the Holy Ghost is represented in the New Testament, is to exclude that of water: on the contrary they serve as complements to each other, the former being the symbol of the Spirit in His penetrative, the latter in His refreshing and enlivening power. And since in the Old Testament (Isai. xliv. 3), we find water used as an image of the Spirit, to signify the vivifying abundance of His effusion, what reason have we for asserting that ἐκχέειν (Acts x. 45. Tit. iii. 6) merely denotes fluidity and communicability generally, without any specific reference to the image of water? What too is the πηγὴ ὕδατος ἁλλομένου in iv. 14? except the Πνεῦμα ὃ ἔμελλον λαμβάνειν οἱ πιστεύοντες εἰς αὐτόν. Luecke admits that the Πνεῦμα is the principle of the ζωή. But what does the Πνεῦμα impart, except Himself? He is at once the Giver and the Gift; and in this very place, vii. 39, He is regarded as the Life imparted to believers. As to ῥεύσουσιν, it is unquestionably to be understood as a future, that is, not as expressing something that was to be given and to take place immediately, along with the act of faith, but at a subsequent moment, which presupposes a higher development of the life of faith. The act of πιστεύειν implies a reception of the living water: if a man continues thus to receive, and allows what he receives to act freely upon him, he will arrive at a state where the divine life in him will become spontaneous: he acquires the faculty of spreading it around him: it becomes a fountain of living power, abiding in him, and issuing from him. To this state the first disciples were raised on the day of Pentecost. The Evangelist however is referring to that whole state of things, in which the spiritual life inherent in believers acts outwardly; which state commenced after Christ's glorification, and has continued ever since in His Church. Thus it was something purely future with regard to the

hearers; and there was no need of a ποτέ to express this. Luecke has not properly observed the distinction between the reception and quiet possession of the ζωὴ αἰώνιος, and the power of imparting it to others, or of exciting others to seek it by the manifestation of its indwelling power: nor has he perceived that Πνεῦμα ἅγιον in this passage, though it is equivalent to ζωή, denotes a higher degree of this ζωὴ in man, which is not coincident with the first dawn of faith. In like manner, what follows does not shew a sufficiently definite conception of the Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, when he makes the only difference between the Old and New Testament in this respect lie in the degree of abundance with which the Spirit was imparted: whereas this itself is the consummation of the divine Dispensation, the inherent and permanent indwelling of the divine life in the body of believers, and in the individual members of that body. On the other hand in the Old Testament there are merely scattered προλήψεις, in the way of prophecy, of strengthening, of admonition, of desire, individual awakenings, visions, operations of a preparatory kind. It is true, the hearers of Jesus could not at the moment understand His words; but this was not necessary, if they merely gained an anticipation of a rich and precious blessing, and were excited to long after it. The full insight into their meaning could only be gained by their own living experience. So that this speech had just the same fitness, as all our Lord's other deeper speeches, the meaning of which the disciples understood not, until it was revealed to them by the Spirit" (pp. 132—134).

This agrees in the main with what Nitzsch says, in his *System of Christian Doctrine*, §. 84. "As under the Old Covenant it was necessary that those individual persons, by whom the Word of God was to be uttered for special purposes, legislatively or prophetically, and by whom the theocratic guidance and training of the typical people was to be carried on,—such persons as Moses, the Elders, the Judges, Priests, Kings, Prophets,—should be in a state of peculiar intimate communion with God, and should possess an inherent fitness as men of the Spirit for the Kingdom of God (see 1 Sam. x. 6. xix. 20. Isai. lxiii. 10. Ps. li. 11. Hos. ix. 7); so

there grew up a hope of Him who was to possess inspiration in its fullest measure (Isai. xi. 2. comp. John i. 33. iii. 34), and of a time which was not to see a series of individual prophets endowed with inspiration amid the people, but the simultaneous inspiration of the whole people and of all flesh: Joel iii. Ezek. xxxvi. 26. 27. This time was not yet arrived, when Jesus desired (Luke xii. 49) to kindle the fire, and to baptize with fire; and in this respect the Holy Ghost was not yet: John vii. 39. The world too, as such, knew Him not, and received Him not: John xiv. 17. But as the first Paraclete, who appeared in the flesh, had declared that, after His going to the Father, another would come, to perfect the communion with God in those who had believed in the first, this was fulfilled on the day of Pentecost."

The following sentences from Tholuck's Commentary may also stand here in confirmation of what has been said concerning the revival of sounder theology in Germany. "As St John must have known better than we do, that the operations of the Holy Ghost had already been spoken of in the Old Testament, we must assume that he restricted the expression here to the Christian Holy Spirit, that is, the Holy Spirit of God, so far as He, dwelling in man as a subjective principle, appropriates the objective essential truths of revelation, and gives them the power of truth in each individual mind;" in other words, convinces men of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgement. "This was the consequence of Christ's exaltation and glorification: for it was only when He was entirely freed from all the limitations of earth, that He could become in spirit the indwelling principle of life in His disciples; and on the other hand the new life of the disciples could not expand independently and spiritually, until the visible presence of the Saviour was taken away from them."

This long, though very imperfect, line of witnesses to the riches of meaning, which is to be found in a couple of verses of Scripture, may be closed with an extract from Olshausen's admirable Commentary on the New Testament; a translation of which, if executed with intelligence and judgement,—with the occasional omission of passages referring to transient absurdities

of German divines, unknown and unworthy of being known in England, and with the addition of such notes as may be requisite to explain allusions in the text,—would be an inestimable benefit to the English student, nay, to every thoughtful reader of the Bible. Without meaning to disparage the *Catena Aurea*, which has recently been translated by the indefatigable revivers of patristic theology, I may say that the translation just proposed would be far more useful to all who desire to apprehend the meaning and spirit of the New Testament: and a comparison of the two works would prove, that, in one important branch of theology, notwithstanding all manner of divergencies and extravagances, slips and falls, waywardnesses and frowardnesses, yet, when we compare the nineteenth century with the fourth, and the following ones down to the thirteenth, there has certainly been a progress; a conclusion we should hardly have formed concerning the eighteenth from the specimens of its exegetical skill contained in the English Family Bible publisht some five and twenty years ago; and which moreover no way infers that the individual theologians are greater, any more than every astronomer in these days is greater than Copernicus and Kepler. In his remarks on John vii. 39, Olshausen says, "The δοξασθῆναι of the Son is mentioned here, not merely as the period, but also as an instrumental and inducing cause of the effusion of the Spirit. This glorification of Christ (on which Olshausen has some excellent remarks on xiii. 31) refers of course to His humanity, which was spiritualized and celestialized by the power of the indwelling Deity. This process first manifests itself in its perfection at the Ascension; after which therefore the fulness of the Spirit was first poured out on the Apostles and first believers.—Here we have a plain expression of the idea, that the revelation of God in man takes place by a continual progress, and is made to depend on the gradual perfecting of the bearers and sustainers of the Spirit. The Spirit of God formed for Himself in the Virgin's womb the holy temple of the body of the Lord, that He might dwell there, in a pure, unspotted vessel: but it was only through the power of this indwelling Spirit, that the body of our Lord was by degrees so glorified, that the highest manifestation of

the Godhead, the Holy Ghost, could flow out from Him over mankind, like an all-vivifying, all-purifying river. Along with this operation of the Holy Ghost, the power of our Lord's glorified humanity also constantly manifested itself, so that He not only gave His Spirit, but also His flesh and blood to His disciples, and fashioned them in all things after Himself, that they became bone of His bone, and flesh of His flesh: Eph. v. 30. Phil. iii. 21. Hence we shall be better able to define the relation between the efficacy of the Holy Spirit before our Lord's glorification and that under the New Testament. Through His operation, we learn from St Peter, the prophets under the Old Testament were inspired; and the New Testament speaks of Him as acting before Christ's glorification, both with reference to John the Baptist, and at the conception of Jesus. But there is no express mention of the Holy Ghost in the Old Testament, except in Ps. li. 11, and Isai. lxiii. 10: and the whole Old Testament shews that the idea of the Spirit was only dimly latent in the minds of those who were living under that prior Revelation. (In the Apocrypha we find the name, Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, in Wisd. i. 5, 9, 17.) It might be said indeed, that the whole difference between the working of the Holy Ghost under the Old and under the New Testament consists in this, that under the latter Dispensation He manifests Himself in greater fulness, in more extraordinary gifts of grace, and more various modes of operation (1 Cor. xii. 7—11); and lastly that His operation is more abiding, while in the Old Testament it is rather fleeting and alternating. Were this so however, the gift under the New Testament would not be something essentially new, but a higher degree of that under the Old. Hence the features just mentioned, though they must not be overlookt, are not quite sufficient, but require an important complement. So far as the Deity is essentially the Spirit, and the Holy One, it cannot be denied that the Holy Ghost operated in the Old Testament: such expressions too, as *God spake, the Spirit took the prophet*, occur often. Moreover, from the eternal unity of the Father, Son, and Spirit, in consequence of which no one can work without the others, where we read of God as working in the Old Testament, we must also conceive the Holy Spirit as

cooperating. Nevertheless the usual language of Scripture itself, as well as the mutual relations of the Persons of the Trinity, justify us in distinctly separating the operation of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, as different Persons in the Divine Essence: and in this respect we are bound to say, that the working of the Holy Ghost begins with the glorification of Jesus, and the effusion of the Spirit at the feast of Pentecost. Hence there is a kind of truth in the view, which has often been entertained in the Church, concerning different Dispensations of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The working of the Godhead under the Old Testament was that of the Son: that of the Holy Ghost begins with the Feast of Pentecost.—One might say that, down to the glorification of Jesus, the Πνεῦμα ἅγιον operated as ἐνδιάθετον, and after it as προφορικόν. The special work of the Holy Ghost is that of regeneration, and the whole creative action of God in the souls of men. Hence regeneration also belongs essentially to the New Testament, because under this Dispensation the Holy Ghost first manifested His specific power."

This extract holds out several temptations to discussion; but I must decline them, or this Note will never end. For the same reason I must pass over the most recent attempt that I have seen to explain the distinctive operation of the Spirit in the Christian Church, and the reasons why it could not have place previously, —that by Conradi in his *Kritik der Christlichen Dogmen*, publisht in 1841. For that writer, who is a very profound and subtile thinker, and seems an earnestminded and pious man, being a disciple of the Hegelian school in philosophy, has laboured strenuously, in this as in his other works, to reconcile his philosophy with his religion, and to exhibit the forms which Christian truth must assume when viewed through the spectacles of that philosophy; a task in which several other able men of the same school have lately been engaged, with more or less of success, sometimes with a grievous sacrifice of Christian truth, sometimes, it may be, at the cost of their philosophical and logical consistency. Now there is so much that is peculiar in the terminology and dialectic system of that school, that even a few sentences on such a subject as the

nature and office of the Spirit would be unintelligible to persons not familiar with the recent philosophy of Germany,—that is, to ninety-nine English readers in a hundred,—unless they were accompanied with copious explanations. It is indeed a common practice with English divines, even with those who in other respects have maintained a respectable and scholar-like character, to speak contemptuously and damnatorily of German philosophy and theology, even of great writers, of whom they have scarcely read a few pages, and not understood those few. Such a practice however, which even natural justice, much more Christian love, reprobates and condemns, only makes it the more needful not to touch upon such matters, unless one can enter into them fully. I will merely remark, that,—while the examination of the religious character and tendencies of any metaphysical system requires a thoroughly philosophical mind, a mind learned, penetrating, clearsighted, and candid,—even when the result of such an examination has been fatal to the system, this will no wise prove that many of its disciples may not by a happy illogicalness contrive to hold large portions of Christian truth, along with doctrines which, if pusht to their extreme, would militate against it. This was the case, for instance, with many of the great mystics, from Tauler down to Behmen and Angelus Silesius, in whose philosophy there was always a tendency, often a very strong one, to Pantheism, yet whose hearts were temples of deep and fervent devotion. On the other hand, God forbid we should pronounce that all the persons, whose understandings were trained in the shallow Materialism of the last century, were aliens in heart from the commonwealth of Israel. It has been seen from the days of Balaam downward, that a man may have a hold on the truth intellectually, without its producing any effect on his moral being; and our lot would be miserable indeed, if intellectual errour on the other hand exercised an absolute sway, and there were no escape from its consequences, — if the chinks and crevices in our logic only admitted the wind and rain, and never the sunshine.

We have been traversing a long space, have been threading the volumes of many generations, and have heard a number of voices

from some of the wisest and holiest among the children of men, all of them endeavouring, each after his kind, to give utterance and expansion to the truth set before us in a few short words of Scripture. These voices may have seemed discordant and dissonant; for so it is ever with the works of the understanding: men seek out many inventions; and these are apt to jar and clash. The only perfect harmony and unison that can be on earth, is in prayer. In prayer logical differences vanish, diversities of knowledge pass away, the contentiousness of dogmas is husht. They who really feel themselves in the presence of God, must feel that all the petty distinctions, which at other times may separate them from their brethren, are swallowed up in the immensity of the difference which separates them from Him, and that, as He is One, all who behold Him should be fused into one by His unific presence. I will therefore close this Note with a translation of a beautiful prayer, for the fulfilment of the very promise which we have been considering; in which, we may trust, the holy men, whose testimony concerning the Spirit we have been examining, would gladly have joined.*

"O Lord Jesus, holy Jesus, who didst vouchsafe to die for our

* It is found among Anselm's, as the 19th, and is well suited to the troubled circumstances of his life, and to his earnest longings after rest and peace. It is also found in the *Liber Meditationum*, which is publisht among the works of St Augustin, but is generally recognized not to be his, and is supposed on probable grounds by the Benedictine Editors to have been composed or compiled, at least a large part of it, by John, Abbot of Fescamp, a contemporary of Anselm's. This John of Fescamp has recently been introduced to modern readers by the master of medieval lore in his interesting Essays on the Dark Ages, pp. 314—321. Mr Maitland there gives a letter from him to the Empress Agnes, which appears from the Benedictine Introduction to the *Liber Meditationum* to have been prefixt to that book; and he says that the book itself, he believes, "exists only in manuscript." One must not readily assume that one has found anything in this field of knowledge, that Mr Maitland has overlookt: but he appears not to have been aware of the reasons for supposing that the *Liber Meditationum* is, or comprises, the book sent by the Abbot to the Empress. How far these reasons may avail to prove that the prayer in the text is by him, and not by Anselm, I have not the means of determining. If it be by the former, we gain an addition to the list of devotional writers. A translation of the *Liber Meditationum* was publisht at the beginning of the last century by Dean Stanhope.

sins, and didst rise again for our justification, I beseech Thee by Thy glorious resurrection, raise me from the grave of all my vices and sins, and grant me daily a part in the first resurrection, that I may truly deserve to receive a part in Thy resurrection. O Thou most sweet, most kind, most loving, most dear, most precious, most desired, most amiable, most beauteous Saviour, Thou hast ascended into heaven in the triumph of Thy glory, and sittest at the right hand of the Father: O most mighty King, draw me upward to Thee, that I may run after Thee, after the odour of Thine ointments, that I may run and not faint, while Thou drawest and leadest me as I run; draw the mouth of my soul, that thirsts after Thee, to the heavenly streams of eternal satiety; yea, draw me to Thee, the living Fountain, that according to my capacity I may drink, whence I shall ever live, my God, my Life. For Thou hast said with Thy holy and blessed mouth, *If any man thirst, let him come to Me and drink.* O Fountain of Life, grant to my thirsty soul that I may ever drink from Thee, that, according to Thy sacred and faithful promise, waters of life may flow from my belly. O Fountain of Life, fill my mind with the river of Thy pleasures, and make my soul drunk with the sober drunkenness of Thy love; that I may forget whatever is vain and earthly, and may keep Thee alone continually in my memory, as it is written, *Memor fui Dei, et delectatus sum.**

"Give me Thy Holy Spirit, signified by those waters, which Thou didst promise to give to the thirsty. Grant, I beseech Thee, that with my whole desire and with every endeavour I may strive thitherward, whither we believe Thee to have ascended on the fortieth day after Thy resurrection; that I may be detained in this present misery with my body alone, but may be with Thee always in thought and longing, that my heart may be there where Thou art, my desirable and incomparable and most lovely Treasure. For in the great deluge of this life, where we are tost about by the storms around us, and no safe haven is to be found, no dry spot where the foot of the dove may rest for a while, there is no safe

* Ps. lxxvi. 4, corresponding to lxxvii. 3, in our Version, in which the sense is just the reverse: *I remembered God, and was troubled.*

peace, no secure rest, everywhere war and strife, everywhere enemies, without fightings, within fears. And because in one part we are of heaven, in the other of earth, the corruptible body presseth down the soul. Therefore my mind, my companion and friend, being weary with the way waxes faint, and lies wounded and torn by the vanities it has past through: it hungers and thirsts greatly; and I have nought to set before it; for I am poor and destitute. Do Thou, O Lord my God, who art rich in all good, and a most bountiful dispenser of the banquet of heavenly satiety, give meat to Thy weary, collect Thy scattered, restore Thy wounded servant. Lo, he stands at the door and knocks: I beseech Thee by the bowels of Thy compassion, wherewith Thou visitedst us as the dayspring from on high, open the hand of Thy mercy to this miserable beggar, and command with a winning condescension that he come to Thee, that he rest in Thee, that he may be strengthened by Thee with living and heavenly bread; wherewith when he is satisfied, and has recovered his strength, he may mount higher, and, borne on the wings of holy desires from this valley of tears, may fly to Thy heavenly Kingdom.

"Let my spirit, Lord, I beseech Thee, put forth wings, like an eagle, and fly, and not faint; let it fly and mount even to the beauty of Thy house, and the place where Thine honour dwelleth, that there, on the table where the citizens above find refreshment, it may be fed with Thy secret things in the place of Thy pasture, near the overflowing rivers; that my heart may rest in Thee, O my God, my heart a vast sea, swelling with waves. Thou, who didst command the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm, come and walk on the waves of my heart, that everything in me may become calm and serene, while I embrace Thee, my only Good, and behold Thee, the sweet Light of my eyes, without being blinded by the darkness of my troubled thoughts. Let my spirit, Lord, fly beneath the shadow of Thy wings from the scorching cares of this world, that, being hidden in Thy refreshing coolness, it may sing rejoicingly, and say, *I will lay me down in peace and sleep.*

"Let my memory, I beseech Thee, O Lord my God, sleep

from all things that are under heaven, watching to Thee, as it is written, *I sleep, and my heart watches.* Let my soul be safe, be always secure under the wings of Thy protection, O my God. Let it abide in Thee, and be always nourisht by Thee. Let it behold Thee, when my consciousness forsakes me, and sing Thy praises with shouts of joy: and let these Thy sweet gifts be my consolation in the mean while amid these whirlwinds, until I come to Thee, who art true Peace, where there is no bow or shield or sword or war, but the highest and most perfect security, and secure tranquillity, tranquil pleasure, and pleasant happiness, and happy eternity, and eternal blessedness, and the blessed vision and praises of Thee world without end. Amen."

NOTE I: p. 25.

Andrewes, in his Sermon on our Lord's words, *If ye love Me, keep My commandments; and I will pray the Father; and He will give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever;*—the third of those on *the Sending of the Holy Ghost,*—argues the question, "How shall we love Christ, or keep His commandments, that we may receive the Holy Ghost, when, unless we first receive, we can neither love Him, nor keep them?—How saith He, *Keep, and I will give,* when He must give, or we cannot keep?" And he replies, that *to him who hath shall be given,* both in a higher degree, and in a different kind; an answer sufficient for the immediate question, and agreeing in substance with Augustin's, from whose 14th Tractate on St John the words of the question are translated: only Augustin, after his fashion, is more diffuse and rhetorical, and, as is very often the case with him, winds round and round and round the point, instead of coming up to it and clenching it. "We consider (Andrewes adds), as St Peter (1. iv. 10), the Spirit in His graces, or the graces of the Spirit, as of many kinds;—of many kinds; for our wants and defects are many. Not to go out of the Chapter,—in the very words He is called *the Spirit of Truth;* and that is one kind

of grace, to cure us of errour. In the 26 verse after, *the Spirit of Holiness*.—And here He is termed the Comforter; and that is against heaviness and trouble of mind. To him that hath Him as *the Spirit of Truth*, which is one grace, He may be promist as *the Spirit of Holiness*, or Comfort, which is another. It is well known, many partake Him as *the Spirit of Truth* in knowledge, which may well be promist them (for sure yet they have Him not) as the sanctifying Spirit.* And both these ways may He be had of some, who are subject to the Apostles disease here, heavy and cast down, and no cheerful spirit within them. So they were not clean destitute of the Spirit at this promise making, but had Him; and so well might love Him, and in some sort keep His commandments, and yet remain capable of the promise of a Comforter for all that."

* The meaning of this sentence is much obscured, nay, quite perverted, in the late Oxford reprint, by the omission of the marks of parenthesis. Andrewes says, that there are many persons, who partake the Spirit of Truth in knowledge, and to whom yet the Spirit may be promist as the Spirit of Holiness, seeing that they have Him not as such. But it would be difficult to make out this from the Oxford text: "It is well known, many partake Him as 'the Spirit of Truth' in knowledge, which may well be promised them, for sure yet they have Him not as the sanctifying Spirit" (p. 155). When thus pointed, the words mean, that the Spirit of Truth may well be promist to those who have not the sanctifying Spirit; which being at variance with the whole purport of the passage, I referred to the old Folio, and there saw plainly what Andrewes intended to say. I know no writer in whom the nicest accuracy in punctuation is so much needed to render him intelligible, owing to the parenthetical knottiness of his style, in which juxtaposition is a very unsafe criterion of continuity. He himself seems to have attended to it carefully in his manuscripts, if we may judge from the curious system followed in the old editions,—a system which may indeed be simplified with advantage; only at every change one should look out sharply lest the meaning be misrepresented or obscured. In the next line the Oxford text gives, "the Apostle's disease," as if it were the disease of some one Apostle, not of the whole body. This is one of a class of mistakes common in the reprints of our older writers, arising from the ignorance which prevails concerning the history of our grammar. Few persons are distinctly aware that the practice of denoting the genitive singular by an apostrophe was not common, except in certain peculiar words, till the latter part of the seventeenth century; or that the absurd and unmeaning mark, which we now subjoin to denote the genitive plural, only got into vogue about the middle of the eighteenth. If our editors bore this in mind, they would feel called upon to exercise a little

Now it is doubtless quite true that they, in whom the Spirit dwells, and who submit to His governance, will be led by Him from one grace to another, and that, when new emergencies and difficulties arise, new powers to meet them will be unfolded in their souls. Only Andrewes, from the character of his mind, as well as from the philosophy in which he had been trained, was disposed to look at the work of the Spirit rather as mechanical, than as dynamical or organical, agreeing herein with the great body of theologians, who have been readier to conceive that the Spirit brings some fresh gift on every fresh occasion, than that He is a principle of life abiding in the soul, swaying its desires, exalting and purifying its affections, strengthening its faculties, and turning them to their appropriate purpose.* In so many

discrimination, when they come to an ambiguous form. Ten lines back, where the edition of 1641 has "in the very words," the Oxford gives "in the very next words." The insertion of *next* may rest upon authority; but it looks like an interpolation: the shorter expression is more in Andrewes manner.

I make not these remarks censoriously. In this age of speed and slovenliness, —of water-colours and lithography and photography,—when everybody has so many things to do, that nobody can do anything, and the only way of keeping the world's wheels in motion is to make matter do the work of mind,—and when that patient and unwearіable love of study, which animated men in former generations, and which thought no labour too great to be spent even on minute questions of grammar and orthography, if it did but lead to a satisfactory result, is no longer to be found, owing to the blighting system of using emulation, instead of the love of knowledge, as the main instrument of education,—the reprint of Andrewes is certainly among the more creditable samples of its class. But now that the most valuable portions of our early literature are gaining circulation in modern types, not only through England, but in the remotest quarters of the globe, where there will be no means of referring to the original text, it is desirable that our editors should more than ever feel that laborious accuracy in the least things is an indispensable part of their duty. Hence I would fain hope that the Editor of Andrewes may be induced to compare his reprint, line by line, with the best of the old editions, and to publish a full list of errata,—though, to judge from the few sentences that I have examined, it would occupy more than one sheet,—along with the Bishop's Tracts, a reprint of which is much to be wisht. The task will indeed be irksome: but he who edits a book pledges himself to see that the text shall be correct: as it is, I have often been puzzled to discover the meaning in the sermons which I have read in the reprint, and have only ascertained it by examining the old edition.

* As this sheet is passing through the press, I have met with a like remark,

regions of thought do we find counterparts to the opposite views, which regard light, the one as a composite aggregate, the other as a plastic and multiform unit. Besides it is a very inadequate conception of the change which was to be effected in the Apostles by the Comforter,—and which, we know from the Book of Acts, was accomplisht within a few days of the Ascension,—to speak of them as having Him already as the Spirit of Truth, and as the Spirit of Holiness, and so needing Him only as the Spirit of Comfort. Andrewes did not mean this, though his words would seem to imply something of the sort. For all our Lord's expressions about the sending of the Comforter plainly declare that His presence was to be something entirely new, and the like of which had not yet been seen upon earth; that it depended in some mysterious manner on His own death and resurrection, and was to be totally different from any spiritual influences which the Apostles had till then received; in a word, that it was to be the great distinctive privilege of His Church. Such emphatical words as *I will send you another Comforter*, and the other similar expressions, are far more than a promise that One, who was dwelling in them

referring to a different part of the work of the Spirit, but exprest almost in the same words, by Ackermann, one of the ablest among the rising theologians of Germany, in an elaborate and in many respects very valuable Dissertation on the meaning of the words *πνεῦμα*, *νοῦς*, and the German *Geist*, publisht in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for 1839. "Theologians have not unfrequently been guilty of a gross errour with regard to the biblical idea of inspiration, from looking upon it as mechanical instead of dynamical. From the passages cited (Gen. xli. 38, Job xxxii. 8, Isai. xi. 2, Matth. x. 20, Luke ii. 40, John xiv. 17, 26. xvi. 13, Rom. vii. 16, 1 Cor. ii. 10. xii. 3, Gal. iv. 6, 2 Pet. i. 21) it is sufficiently evident that the Bible speaks of the working of the Spirit of God as dynamical. Hence theologians ought never to have adopted or encouraged the crude notion, that persons under inspiration were like so many drawers, wherein the Holy Ghost put such and such things, which they then took out as something ready-made, and laid before the world, so that their recipiency with reference to the Spirit inspiring them was like that of a letterbox. Whereas inspiration, according to the Bible, is to be regarded as a vivifying and animating operation on the spiritual faculty in man, by which its energy and capacity are extraordinarily hightened, so that his powers of internal perception discern things spread out before them clearly and distinctly, which at other times lay beyond his range of vision, and were dark and hidden." p. 890.

already, should shew forth His power in a new way, under this fresh affliction. So too those words of St John, which formed the subject of the last note, certify us that the Apostles cannot at this time have received the Spirit, in that sense in which His gifts were to be the peculiar blessing of the Christian dispensation.

If we examine the representation of the conduct of the Apostles during their Lord's life, as set before us in the four Gospels,—if we consider how weak their faith was, how easily it was troubled by doubts and fears, which the reiterated proofs of His divine power could not allay, — how this its feebleness hampered and hindered them in the exercise of the gifts with which He had endowed them,—how carnal their wishes were still, set upon earthly prizes, incapable of understanding the pure glory of the Kingdom of Heaven, nay, disturbing them with jealousies and rivalries,—and further how slow their minds were to receive the heavenly light of their Master's teaching,—how unable they were, even on that last evening, to apprehend the spiritual meaning of His words, —we cannot but recognize, when we turn to the Book of Acts, that a total change had been wrought in them, a change exactly coinciding with the effects, which, they had been promist, would be produced by the Comforter; wherefore this change may with the amplest reason be regarded as being, in all its parts, the fulfilment of that promise. Moreover, as according to the terms of the promise, the Comforter was to abide with the Church for ever, the moral powers and spiritual graces, which the Apostles then received, have been granted ever since to believers in Christ, after the measure of their faith. This change in the Apostles gives us a complete explanation and confirmation of St John's saying, that the Spirit was not given until Jesus was glorified: which saying seems incompatible with the notion that the Apostles had received any of the distinctively Christian gifts of the Spirit, at all events before the Resurrection. Now divine truth, we may feel sure, is always consistent with itself, although, according to the form which ideas ever put on, when they are brought down into the region of the reflective understanding, it will perpetually appear to involve contradictions. Hence we must

not doubt that, if there are any passages in Scripture, which seem repugnant to the right interpretation of this saying in St John, such repugnance will be removed by a more careful investigation.

For instance, the very text, in preaching on which Andrewes introduces the passage just cited, and which, according to his interpretation, would imply that the Apostles had already received some of the peculiar gifts of the Spirit,—our Lord's words *If ye love Me, keep My commandments: and I will pray the Father; and He will give you another Comforter*,—cannot be at variance with the declaration that the Spirit was not given till after Jesus was glorified. Now at first sight these words seem thoroughly to confirm that declaration, inasmuch as they palpably refer to what was to take place after the Resurrection. The inconsistency is merely a matter of inference, on the ground that the disciples could not love Jesus, or keep His commandments, except through the influence of the Spirit. But the love and obedience here spoken of are not that pure and perfect love, and that perfect obedience, which the Spirit desires to produce in the heart of every believer, and which can in no respect be produced, save by His immediate power. The love of the disciples at that time was weak, frail, human love, for Him who had been their best Friend, their wisest Teacher, their greatest Benefactor: and the only obedience which could as yet be expected from them, was that which such grateful and reverential love may beget even in the natural man, under circumstances fitted to foster the better part of his nature. Without entering into the tangled argument on the character and extent of prevenient grace, we may assume, what is implied in every part of the New Testament, that the divine aid which precedes faith, in its lower sense, is wholly distinct from that special gift of the Spirit, which is vouchsafed to believers, and to them only.

There is more uncertainty with regard to the meaning of the last words in the next verse: *The Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, nor knoweth Him: but ye know Him; for He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.*

What rich treasures of knowledge are contained in this verse concerning the whole relation between man and God, nay, between man and all heavenly truth! but I merely cite it here for the light which the last words seem to afford as to the previous condition of the Apostles. In the text to this Note I have interpreted them, without consulting the expositions given by others, as though the difference of tense were meant to denote a difference of time, and as though the former clause, *for He dwelleth with you*, referred to that acquaintance with the Spirit which the Apostles had already enjoyed,—the latter clause, *and shall be in you*, to that higher gift which was to be granted to them on the day of Pentecost. A like explanation, I find, is proposed by Lampe. "Testimonium discipulis datur de meliori prae mundo dispositione, quod *cognoscant Spiritum*. Nondum quidem plene Spiritus Sancti excellentia, et ratio Oeconomiae atque operationum ejus Apostolis innotuerat. Eousque tamen jam Spiritum cognoverant, ut eorum cognitio *revelationes carnis et sanguinis*, Matth. xvi. 17, necnon scientiam discipulorum Joannis, Act. xix. 1, superaret.—Nam et miraculorum divinitatem, et doctrinae Christi veritatem, et personae ejus excellentiam agnoverant. Quod non poterat fieri, nisi simul tacite crederent eum esse Prophetam illum promissum et uberrima Spiritus mensura ungendum, Jer. xi. 2, lxi. 1, 2, 3. Ps. xlv. 8. Qualiter ergo, vs. 7, *cognitionem Patris* discipulis tribuerat, taliter nunc *cognitionem Spiritus* tribuit, imperfectam quidem, vera tamen fundamenta et rudimenta habentem. Originem hujus dispositionis indicat verbis, *Quia apud vos manet*. Ita passim interpretes, et sensu quidem commodo. Acceperant jam primitias Spiritus. Ille eos traxerat vocatione efficaci, ut cum abnegatione sui Christum sequerentur. Idem constanter iis adhaeserat in multis tentationibus, ita ut, quamvis multi alii a Jesu in diversa iverint,—fideles permanserint. Huic apud illos manenti Spiritui omnis *cognitio*, quam discipuli habebant, tribui debebat. Spiritus enim nisi per Spiritum cognosci nequit."

"Non absurdum tamen esset (he continues) τὸ ὅτι hic vertere per *quare*, seu *propterea*, quae vis in N. T. non est insolens. Confer Luc. vii. 47, et supra Joh. viii. 44. Et tum his verbis

repetitur promissio modo data, et indigitatur hanc mansionem, quam Jesus promiserat, certo iis exspectandam, quia Spiritum jam actu cognoscere inceperant. Fateor hoc mihi prae recepta versione arridere."

By this latter explanation both clauses are referred to the promist effusion of the Spirit; and thus, so far as I can find, has the passage been understood by the great body of divines from the earliest times to the present. Indeed the Vulgate, in the received edition, renders all the three verbs in the future: *Vos autem cognoscetis eum; quia apud vos manebit, et in vobis erit.* This too is the reading in the old Latin translation of the Treatise of Athanasius *De Trinitate et Spiritu Sancto*, § 7, and in Augustin's 74th Tractate on St John, who explains the words thus. "Erit in eis ut maneat, non manebit ut sit: prius est enim esse alicubi, quam manere. Sed ne putarent quod dictum est, *apud vos manebit*, ita dictum quemadmodum apud hominem hospes visibiliter manere consuevit, exposuit quid dixerit,—cum adjunxit et dixit, *in vobis erit.* Ergo invisibiliter videtur: nec si non sit in nobis, potest esse in nobis ejus scientia. Sic enim a nobis videtur in nobis et nostra conscientia: nam faciem videmus alterius, nostram videre non possumus; conscientiam vero nostram videmus, alterius non videmus. Sed conscientia nunquam est, nisi in nobis: Spiritus autem Sanctus potest esse etiam sine nobis: datur quippe, ut sit et in nobis. Sed videri et sciri quemadmodum videndus et sciendus est, non potest a nobis, si non sit in nobis."

The translation in the Vulgate is corrected by Erasmus, who gives, "*Vos autem cognoscitis eum, quia apud vos manet, et in vobis erit.*" Beza, who renders the passage, "*Vos autem nostis eum, quia apud vos habitat, et intra vos erit,*" says in his note: "*habitat, μένει.—Manere* vero hoc in loco idem valet atque *pro sede et domicilio habere;* quo sensu passim dicitur Deus *habitare* cum suis, nempe intra ipsos *ἐνεργούμενος*, quod mox subjicitur his verbis, *et intra vos erit.*" Hammond, understanding ὅτι as inferential, gives a poor paraphrase of the passage: "*But by you I suppose, and all true disciples of Mine He is highly valued; therefore He shall abide with* (*not only come to*) *you, He shall*

for ever continue among you." How strangely the Platonic δοκεῖ, *I suppose*, so becoming in the philosopher who had discovered his own ignorance, grates on our ears, when ascribed to Him in whom the fulness of all knowledge dwelt! Grotius, taking ὅτι in the same sense, says, "Videntur praecedentia indicare Spiritum, quomodo hic sumitur, prius nosci, deinde in hominem penetrare. μένει est *inhabitat*, — praesens pro brevi futuro." On the first point Calvin of course is far truer: "Ostendunt Christi verba nihil humano sensu posse de Spiritu Sancto percipi, sed eum cognosci sola fidei experientia. *Mundus*, inquit, capax non est Spiritus, quia eum non cognoscit; vos autem cognoscitis eum, quia apud vos manet. Solus ergo Spiritus est, qui in nobis habitando cognoscendum se praebet, alias ignotus et incomprehensibilis." This exposition seems nearly to coincide with that given in the Sermon. Kuinoel on the other hand says, "Praesentia, γινώσκετε, μένει, vim futurorum habent, id quod vel additum ἔσται docet:" and he is followed by Tittmann, and by Klee in his Commentary on St John. Yet one would rather think that this very use of different tenses was meant to denote a difference of time; whereas, had all the verbs been in the present, they might with more likelihood have been deemed to signify a proximate future.

Luecke, in his first edition, makes the same remark, "that γινώσκετε, as well as μένει, must be taken as futures, on account of ἔσται just after, and because the disciples did not yet know, and had not received the Spirit." In his later editions he has adopted Lachmann's reading, καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν, instead of ἔσται,—and says in the last, "Is γινώσκετε to be considered a future, as the Vulgate in some manuscripts has *cognoscetis*? The words δώσει and ἐρωτήσω just before render this probable. Then however we should have to read μενεῖ, answering to ἔσται, if this be right. But it is evident that ἔσται is a correction for ἔστιν, which Lachmann has restored; and the Vulgate has *manebit*, though the present μένει is sufficiently certain.*

* I cannot discuss Lachmann's grounds for this change, so far as it rests upon his authorities; for this would involve an examination of the principles upon which he has constructed his text. But Luecke's assertion, that ἔσται is

Meyer rightly regards the presents as indefinite. Jesus contrasts the character of the κόσμος with that of His disciples. The unbelieving world is unable to receive and to know the Spirit; the disciples, in their faith, have the capacity to receive and to know Him. But the reception as well as the knowledge are to be future: see vii. 39. The difference between παρ' ὑμῖν μένει and ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν is, that the former refers rather to the idea of the Παράκλητος, who is to be *with* them, the latter to that of the Πνεῦμα, who is to be *in* them. The Paraclete abides with them, because, as the Spirit, He is in them. Thus they can know Him from their own immediate experience. The causal ὅτι implies that the Spirit of Truth cannot be known by any one, except through his personal possession and experience."

Olshausen's explanation coincides pretty nearly with Luecke's; only he has a deeper intuition of spiritual truth, his mind being of the family of Augustin's. "The Saviour here promises a new, higher, and till then unknown Principle, the Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας. This expression implies no less that the Spirit produces the truth in those who receive Him, than that He Himself is the Truth. As God Himself is the Truth, and the Son, as the Revealer of the unseen Father, so the Spirit also, the highest manifestation of the Godhead, is the Truth in Himself, and only imparts the truth, in that He imparts Himself. Ἀλήθεια here is not the intellectual truth of reflexion, but that absolute Truth which is Life itself. Hence, by the communication of this truth, all the ματαιότης of our natural, sinful life is overcome. This Spirit is therefore described as continually abiding (παρ' ὑμῖν μένει), and as dwelling in the innermost centre of our being (ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσται). Γινώσκετε αὐτὸ is not merely a future, *you will know Him*, but *you know Him already:* Jesus could appeal to the experience of the disciples, although they had not yet received the Spirit, because they had already felt His incipient workings in their

evidently a correction, is of no force, as is often the case with arguments stated thus summarily. On the contrary, according to the primary maxims of conjectural criticism, a scribe, finding two verbs united by a καί, was much likelier to assimilate them, had they been in different tenses, than to introduce a difference, when they were in the same tense.

hearts, at occasional blessed hours of their intercourse with their Lord. The side opposed to the disciples is the κόσμος, whereby we are here to understand the hearts of men, while they continue in their natural state: these cannot receive Him, because they are unable to see Him and to know Him. Thus the latter is a condition of the former; whereas one might have supposed that conversely the reception must precede the knowledge. Of the deepest form of knowledge this is quite true; but a preliminary knowledge is also requisite for the reception of the Spirit; and this awakens the slumbering desire in our heart. Even as an eye, when shut close, cannot feel the beauty of light, so the world cannot feel the blessing of the Spirit, until that desire, which is the condition of receiving Him, is kindled within it."

These remarks are very just; but they are perfectly consistent with the explanation proposed in the Sermon: and notwithstanding the mass of authority the other way, that explanation seems to me the simplest, and to put the least force upon the words. To call γινώσκετε a present indefinite, with Luecke and Meyer, is scarcely allowable, if we take it as referring to a definite future event, or to a state which was to rise out of such an event. But if we make a distinction between the outward and the inward presence of the Spirit, and suppose that the Apostles as yet had only enjoyed the former, recognizing His power in a measure as manifested in the life and discourse of their Lord, and being so far enlightened by Him as to discern the divine character of that power, then the promise of the higher gift to them would be in full conformity with that principle, which runs through the whole Scripture, as it does through all the dispensations of life, that to him who has shall be given. The difficulties which have often been felt, and which have occasioned interminable controversies, concerning the priority of the outward or the inward act, might be lessened, if we were to meditate on the facts presented to us by all the operations of life; how in all there is a combination of two coordinate elements; how, for instance, in perception there is a reciprocal action of the object and the percipient, which must be coinstantaneous, admitting of no

priority, no exclusive causation, on one side or the other; although even here a like controversy has started up, and one psychological school ascribes all primary causative power to the objects of knowledge, another to the mind that knows. At the same time both the object of knowledge and the subject imply a prior Cause, whereby they have been set in this state of reciprocal action, whereby the perceiver has been endowed with his power of perceiving, and the object has been fitted for acting upon his perceptions. In like manner the common processes of the mind might greatly help us to understand how they, who do not perceive and know, cannot receive. Moreover the state which I have supposed to be here represented as that of the Apostles, at the time when Christ promist to send the Comforter to them, is a very common one in every age of the Church, and perhaps was never commoner than in these days. There are numbers of persons, with regard to whom one cannot assert, that the Spirit has so taken possession of their souls, as to be the Guide and Ruler of their thoughts and feelings, and to lead them to a full recognition of the Saviour and His atonement, but who take pleasure, more or less, in spiritual conversation, in the study of the Bible and other godly books, and in religious exercises and services. Of such persons we may say, that they *know the Spirit, because He dwelleth with them;* they recognize Him *in His* operations, as manifested in the ordinances of the Church, or the lives and words of those whom He has sanctified and enlightened; and we may cherish a trustful hope, if those feelings have life and reality, that He, whom they have known when He was *dwelling with them*, will in due time *be in them*.

An additional proof that the disciples cannot as yet have received the Spirit of Truth, seems to lie in our Lord's words in xv. 26, and xvi. 13, where He promises that He will send the Spirit of Truth to them, and speaks of the time when the Spirit of Truth shall be come. Indeed all their remarks and questions on this last evening, their doubts and distrust afterward, St John's express declaration (xx. 9) that *as yet* even He and Peter *knew not the Scripture, that Jesus was to rise again from the*

dead,—the dullness and slowness of heart to believe all that the Prophets had spoken, with which Jesus reproaches the two disciples on their way to Emmaus, and which was shared more or less by the rest,—certify us that the Spirit of Truth was still to come. It is true, Peter had made that confession, of which Jesus pronounced, that it had not been revealed to him by flesh and blood, but by His Father in heaven. Yet, wonderful as that confession was, coming from the poor fisherman, and declaring that He, who had not where to lay His head, was the Christ, the Son of the living God,—how far did it fall short of that acknowledgement that Jesus Christ is the Lord,—of that recognition of His mediatorial power and office, and of the atoning efficacy of His incarnation and death,—which is the essential work of the Spirit, and which cannot spring from any other source! If proof of this were needful, it may be found in Peter's attempt, which is recorded immediately after, to dissuade his Master from encountering the very sufferings whereby His mediatorial office was to be fulfilled.

As to the promise in Matt. x. 20, Mark xiii. 11, Luke xii. 12, that the Spirit shall teach the disciples what they are to say, when they are brought before magistrates for their Master's sake, the context in St Matthew shews that this does not refer immediately to their first mission during our Lord's life, when we have no record of their having had to endure such persecution, but to the period subsequent to the day of Pentecost, when the persecutions, by which the Church was to be strengthened and purified, commenced.

Into the enquiry as to the nature of the gift, which Jesus bestows on the Apostles in John xx. 22, and the relation between that gift and those which were bestowed on the day of Pentecost, I need not enter here, seeing that at all events that gift was subsequent to the Resurrection, and must be regarded as the initial fulfilment of the promise that He would send the Comforter to abide in them. Augustin asks several times over, why Christ gave the Spirit to the Apostles on two distinct occasions, namely, on the evening after the Resurrection, and on the

day of Pentecost; and he has a favorite solution for this difficulty, which solution he brings forward in his 75th Tractate on St John, in his Treatise on the Trinity (xv. 46), and in his 265th Sermon; where he introduces it with a beautiful acknowledgement and apology for his ignorance. The solution however is no solution at all: it does not even touch the question to be solved, but looks entirely away from it into the region of fanciful numerical analogies. "Arbitror (he says), sed arbitror, ideo bis datum esse Spiritum Sanctum, ut commendarentur duo praecepta caritatis. — Una caritas, et duo praecepta: unus Spiritus, et duo data." In an earlier work, *Contra Epistolam Manichaei*, (§. 11,) he finds out another reason of the same class, as indeed such reasons may easily be found in abundance: "Propter geminam clarificationem, secundum hominem et secundum Deum, bis etiam datus est Spiritus Sanctus; semel, postquam resurrexit a mortuis, cum insufflavit in faciem discipulorum, dicens, *Accipite Spiritum Sanctum.* Et iterum, postquam ascendit in coelum, decem diebus transactis; qui numerus perfectionem significat; cum septenario numero, in quo conditus est mundus, additur Trinitas conditoris. De quibus rebus inter spirituales viros pie cauteque multa tractantur." This is a specimen, and far from an unfavorable one, of the fantastical trifling which we find perpetually in the exegetical writings of the Fathers, and which their worshipers nowadays propound to us as deep truths; the reaction from the dry prosaic spirit of the last century having produced a ravenous craving for all manner of extravagant follies, and the great ambition of many among the disciples of the new school in our theology being, as it would seem, that this shall be signalized as the Age of Irrationalism. Happy though it has been for our divinity in some respects, that we have returned of late with greater reverence to the works of the Fathers, the evil effects of this change will be greater than its benefits, unless we apply that rule to them, which we are enjoined to apply to everything human, of proving all things, and only holding fast to that which is good. Let us hold fast to that which they derived from the wisdom and spirit of Christ; and let us reject what they derived

from the spirit of the world, and from the fleeting fashion of their own age. Among the qualities which they draw from this source, is their fondness for allegories and for numerical analogies. It would have been deemed profound in those days to say, that the reason a man has two eyes is, that there is a sun and moon in the sky—their not being copresent would not have disturbed the discoverer of such a grand analogy between the microcosm and the macrocosm;—or that he has one neck, because the tower of Babel was one; or that he has five fingers, because there are five strings to the lyre, or five acts to a drama; or that the hairs of his head are innumerable, because the grains of sand on the seashore are so. The striking thing in the passages quoted from Augustin is, not that the explanation is a bad one, but that it implies an ignorance of what an explanation is, and of the method in which we are to attain to it: and the same thing we find perpetually as well in the Fathers, as in the contemporary grammarians and rhetoricians. For it was an age when men had almost lost the feeling and the perception of reality. The spirit of the old world was all but extinct; the spirit of Christendom was growing up, and had not yet taken possession of the mind of man. It was an age of bloated bodies, and spectral souls. Men could not lay hold on anything; they could not look anything in the face. They took pomp and pageantry for greatness, lust for pleasure, rhetoric for eloquence, similitude in form for affinity and identity. Instead of grafting fresh slips from the tree of knowledge, they contented themselves with picking up the dead leaves. And as no man can ever keep entirely free from the contagion of his age, we find more or less of these absurdities in the Fathers also. But in them the life of Christendom was germinating: in some of them, above all in Augustin, it was pushing forth vigorously. By this we may be fed and edified: only let us beware of taking the husk for the kernel, of picking up the hollow nuts instead of gathering the sound ones.

Note J : p. 29.

Tauler, in his Sermons on our text, takes occasion to enforce his mystical view of Christianity, interpreting our Lord's words of the necessity of our being entirely delivered from the bondage of the creature, that we may enjoy the beatitude of a perfect union with God. There is such deep wisdom and beauty in his exposition, that I will quote a considerable part of it. Many readers will perhaps be surprised, on these and on other accounts, to find that there was so much of truth in the theology of the fourteenth century: and even this passage will enable us to understand how Luther came to feel such a love and admiration for Tauler, who seems to have exercised more influence, than almost any divine except Augustin, in forming the mind of the great Reformer.*

"What (he says) is meant by Christ's going away from us? Nothing else than our destitution, hopelessness, and helplessness, that we are heavy and slow in all good things, and cold and dark; for then Christ is gone from us. If persons, who are in this state, render it useful and fruitful for themselves, this would be a truly profitable, noble, blessed, and divine thing for them. Let a man be thoroughly in this state, and keep himself calm withal, to him all variety will be fused into unity; and he will have joy in sorrow, and be patient under reproach, in constant peace amid war and trouble; and all bitterness will to him become true sweetness.—

"Now, children, seeing that the Holy Ghost could not come to these dear disciples of the Lord, unless Christ went away from

* It is interesting to find Luther writing thus to Spalatin in December 1516, that is, more than ten months before the publication of his celebrated theses, at a time when he entertained no thought of the contest he was to engage in. "Si te delectat puram, solidam, antiquae simillimam theologiam legere, in Germanica lingua effusam, sermones Johannis Tauleri, praedicatoriae professionis, tibi comparare potes.—Neque enim ego vel in Latina, vel in nostra lingua theologiam vidi salubriorem et cum Evangelio consonantiorem. Gusta ergo, et vide, quam suavis est Dominus, ubi prius gustaris et videris quam amarum est quicquid nos sumus."

them, it is reasonable that we should look what we take in hand; and therefore leave all things for God's sake; and God will assuredly be given to you in all things. Do this with diligence, and with a stedfast cleaving to the truth; and you will receive a wonderful reward from God in this present time.—

"Observe how high, and in what way, man must be carried up, to reach the state of his highest blessedness; for this can only be through a real abandonment of those things, which are especially pleasant and lovely to him and his nature. To all these he must wholly die, and must let them go, however good and holy and spiritual and precious he may deem them. For if it was necessary that Christ's disciples should be deprived of His lovely, holy, gracious humanity, to be fitted for receiving the Holy Ghost, no man, it is certain, can be a recipient of divine grace, whose heart is possest by any creature.—

"Sinful persons, or open sinners, are hindered by the creature, in that they make use thereof against God, according to their own will. These people go astray in God's way. David says, *Cursed are they who err in God's way* (Ps. cxix. 21), that is, in the creature. There are also sundry good folks, who spend too much care upon the necessaries of this life, or look too much for pleasure to outward things. Against these Christ says, *He who loves his life shall lose it;* that is, carnal love, he who holds this too dear, loses his life; *and he who hates his life, shall receive everlasting life:* that is, they who resist their disorderly lusts and desires, and do not follow them.

"Another hindrance keeps back good people in true spirituality, through the misuse of the seven sacraments. He who dwells with pleasure on the sign of a holy Sacrament, does not get to the inward truth; for the sacraments all lead to the pure truth. Marriage is a sign of the union of the divine and human nature, and also of the union of the soul with God: but he who would stop at the sign alone, is hindered by his outward senses from reaching the eternal truth; for this is not a true marriage. There are also some men who make too much of repentance and confession, and cleave to the sign, and do not strive to reach the

pure truth. Against these Christ says, *He who is washed needeth not save to wash his feet:* that is, he who has once been washt with a hearty repentance and sincere confession, needs nothing more than that he confess his daily sins, and not his old sins, which he has already repented of and confest: but he must wash his feet, that is, his desires and conscience, these he must purify from his daily sins. Moreover many good men, by spending too much anxiety on outward gestures toward the sacred Body of our Lord, hinder themselves in divers ways, so that they cannot receive Him spiritually, and enter inwardly into the truth; for this is a desire after a real union, and not in appearance merely. Hence they do not receive the sacrament worthily; for all sacraments are the signs of spiritual truth.—

"Again there are some, ay, many people, who do not rightly worship the Father in the truth. For so soon as a man prays to God for any creature, he prays for his own harm: for since a creature is a creature, it bears its own bitterness and disquiet, pain and evil about it: therefore such people meet their deserts when they have trouble and bitterness; for they have prayed for it. He who seeks God, if he seeks anything beside God, will not find Him: but he who seeks God alone in the truth, will find Him, and all that God can give, with Him.

"Again, many good people hinder themselves in their perfection by this, that they look solely to the humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that they give themselves too much to visions. They cherish the images of outward things in their minds, whether it be angels or men, or the humanity of Christ, and believe what they are told, when they hear that they are especially favoured, or of other men's faults or virtues, or hear that God purposes to do something by their means. Herein they are often deceived: for God never does anything through any creature, but only through His own pure goodness. And yet He said to His disciples, *It is good for you that I go away:* thus to them that wish to be His disciples in high perfection, His humanity is a hindrance, if they fix upon it and cleave to it with fondness: for they should follow God in all His ways; therefore His Humanity should lead

them further to His Deity. For Christ said, *I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life: no man cometh to the Father, but by Me.* Greatly then do they err, who suppose that they can do anything good of themselves; for Christ said, that of Himself He did nothing.

"Christ's true Humanity alone, in its union with His Deity, we are to worship; for the man Christ is truly God; and God is truly Man. Therefore we are not to trouble ourselves about any creature, but solely to seek God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is our only Way to the Father. Now even if we come into the Way of Truth, which is Christ, yet we are not perfectly blessed, although we behold the Truth of God: for while we are beholding, we are not one with that which we behold: so long as there is anything in our perceptions or understanding, we are not one with the One: for where there is nothing but One, we can see nothing but One: for we cannot see God except in blindness, or know Him except in ignorance. St Augustin says, that no soul can come to God, unless it go to God without a creature, and taste Him without a likeness. Therefore, because the soul is a creature, it must cast itself out of itself, and in its hour of contemplation must cast out all saints and angels; for these are all creatures, and hinder the soul in its union with God. For it should be bare of all things, without need of anything; and then it can come to God in His likeness; for nothing unites so much as likeness, and receives its colour so soon; for God will then give Himself to the faculties of the soul, so that the soul grows in the likeness of God, and takes His colour. The image lies in the soul's powers, the likeness in its virtues, the divine colour in its union: and thus its union becomes so intimate, that it does not work its works in the form of a creature, but in its divine form, wherein it is united to God, nay, that its works are taken from it, and God works all its works in His form. And then, while it beholds God, and thus becomes more united with Him, the union may become such, that God by degrees pours Himself into it, and draws it so entirely into Himself, that no distinction any longer remains between virtue and vice, and that the soul does not recognize itself as at all distinct from God.—

Therefore let the light of grace overpower the light of nature in you: for the higher knowledge the soul attains in the light of grace, the darker does it deem the light of nature. If then it would know the real truth, it should observe, whether it is drawn away from all things, whether it has lost itself, whether it loves God with His love, whether it be not hindered by any things, and whether God alone lives in it: if so, it has lost itself, as Mary lost Jesus, when He went into the school of His Father's highest doctrine; wherefore He heeded not His mother. Thus it happens to the noblest soul that goes into God's school: there it learns to know what God is, in His Deity and in the Trinity, and what He is in His Humanity, and to know the all-gracious Will of God. That man is most truly of God, who works all his works out of love, and gives up his will to the will of his heavenly Father."

Andrewes on the other hand, in his Sermon on our text, enters on more dangerous ground, and tries to shew that in certain cases it may be expedient for the soul to lose the presence of Christ altogether, without restricting this to His Humanity. "The Fathers go yet further, and enquire whether this also be not true in His spiritual presence, and resolve that even in regard of that it is no less true. To some *vobis*, it is expedient that even after that manner also Christ go from them. And who are they? One *vobis*, when men grow faint in seeking and careless in keeping Him. —Gone He was, and meet He should so be, to teach them to rise and seek, to watch and keep Him better. Another *vobis*, when men grow high-conceited and overweening of themselves and their own strength, and say with David, *Non movebor*, as if they had Christ pinned to them, and with Peter, *Etsi omnes non ego*. It is more than time Christ be gone from such, to teach them to see and know themselves better. But if Christ leave us, if He withdraw His spiritual presence, we fall into sin; and that cannot be expedient for any. *Good that I have been in trouble;* for *before I was troubled, I went wrong;* but not good for any to fall into sin. Yes indeed: *Audeo dicere*, saith St Augustin, I dare avow it, *Expedit superbo ut incidat in peccatum*,—there are the very terms,—it is expedient they fall into some notorious sin, as David,

as Peter did, that their faces may be filled with shame, and they by that confusion learn to walk with more humility. The messenger of Satan, that was sent the Apostle to buffet him, was of this nature, and to no other end sent, but to prevent this malady. In a word, Christ must withdraw,—no remedy,—that we may grow humble, and, being humble, the Holy Ghost may come: for He cometh to none, rests on none, giveth grace to none, but the humble. So we see, Christ may be, and is, even according to His spiritual presence, withdrawn from some persons, and for their good,—*Christus abit, ut Paracletus veniat*;—and that many ways meet it is, it so should be. This makes us say, *Go Lord, set up Thyself above the heavens, and Thy glory over all the earth.*"

In these remarks there is a groundwork of truth, though the assertions about David and St Paul are very questionable; and on two points, the most startling ones, the good Bishop has been led by his exceeding fondness for paradox to overstate and misstate the fact. For one cannot well say that Christ is *spiritually present* in a proud or a careless heart. So far as a heart is proud, it excludes Him, as with a gate of iron: so far as it is careless, it cannot hold him. Moreover, without entering into the mysterious question, which has been so much agitated in various theological and philosophical schools, as to the expediency of evil, and whether or no it was expedient that Adam should fall into sin, it is plain that in the examples referred to the problem is totally different. If a man be proud, or careless, sin is already in him; and when a spiritual disease is latent in the constitution, it is often expedient and salutary that the morbid matter should be cast out and got rid of by its open eruption, and the consequent sanatory discipline. Thus do ingenious logicians puzzle themselves and others by using ambiguous words without asking themselves what they mean. Indeed the whole notion of Christ's "withdrawing His spiritual presence that the Holy Ghost may come," implies great vagueness of thought. For this itself is the work of the Holy Ghost, Christ's spiritual presence in the soul. *He was not to speak of Himself,* but to *glorify Christ, to receive of Christ's, and to shew it to us.*

A different, and, it seems to me, a correcter view of those circumstances in the Christian life, which present the closest analogy to the expediency of our Lord's departure from the disciples, is taken by Hossbach, one of the most eloquent living preachers in Germany, in the third Sermon of his first Volume, on the Gospel for the fourth Sunday after Easter. After speaking of the effect which was to be produced on the disciples, he continues: "This is the way and the manner in which we too receive the Holy Ghost, and in which He begins to glorify the Saviour in us. Often years will pass away, over us as over the disciples, long years, during which we may hear the word of the Lord daily, and yet are not penetrated thoroughly thereby. He evermore opens the fountains of His grace, to refresh us with His lifegiving water; but we let it dry up without drinking it into our hearts. We feel indeed that He is holding out something grand and glorious; and we take pleasure also in His words: but that which is deepest and most precious in them is totally lost to us, because our sense for it has not yet been awakened. He has so many things to say to us; but we cannot bear them yet; for the lifegiving Spirit has not yet come and enlightened us. Such is wont to be the condition of all in our earlier years, when the word of the Saviour is first brought before our souls: we receive it with our understandings, and acknowledge the truth contained in it; and at solemn and stirring moments we may be acted upon by it powerfully; but anon we are drawn away by the many charms which life presents to us; and we go afar from the Lord, or at best divide ourselves between His service and that of the world Alas! and there are, we all know, still worse cases. Many depart altogether from the Fountain of Life, and follow the promptings of sensual pleasure, which leads them to destruction. But even supposing that we have gained a holy love for the Saviour during our youth, and have preserved it continually amid the temptations of the world, even if we have not closed our hearts against the workings of the Holy Ghost, who works without ceasing in all such as belong to the household of the

Saviour, still our union with the Saviour will be wanting on our side in stability and intimacy: we shall often pass on blindly, when He desires to give us His richest and most glorious revelations; often we shall be unable to understand what He means, when He addresses us with His deep, spiritual words. Whence comes this? whence, except that we, like His first disciples, want that experience of life, which alone can open our minds to receive His deeper meaning, and which we cannot regard as anything but an ordinance of God the Holy Ghost, to glorify the Saviour more and more in us. For he who knows not the world and its manifold complicated relations from his own observation,—he who has not yet felt the insecurity and mutability of this transitory existence,—he who has never yet been tost to and fro by the storms of life, and so has had little or no occasion to look beyond this temporal to an eternal state,—such a person can understand but little of Him, who came for this very purpose, to bring mankind to eternal life: his life will be like a smooth surface, into which the healing waters of the Gospel cannot enter, and from which they glide off without effect. Something like this must we conceive to have been the state of the disciples at the time when our Lord spake the words of the text to them. But as He said to them that it was good for them that He should go away,—as He promist them that, in the very midst of the afflictions which awaited them, the purifying and strengthening Spirit, whom they needed, would come,—in like manner does He aid us also, and render us gradually richer in that experience, whereby the Spirit whom He sends will find the surest access to our hearts. O, they come for us too, the more our outward sphere of life unfolds and widens,—they come, the days of heavy sorrow, the dark hours in which we see what was dearest and most precious to us on this earth vanish away,—the heavy, crushing state, in which we find neither counsel nor comfort,—they come, the times of distress, in which our human neighbours have neither power nor will to help us. But along with them comes the Holy Spirit, whom the Saviour promist to send, and lifts up man's downcast eyes

from temporal things to eternal; He raises the quaking heart to prayer, and intercedes for it with unutterable groanings; He purifies, comforts, and strengthens it; and through the midst of the dark clouds of affliction which surround us, He shews us the bright form of the Saviour, and places us beneath the rays of His eternal light. Thus in our afflictions is Christ glorified in us by the Holy Spirit. Thenceforward we understand, far otherwise than before, what He meant when He called upon us to enter into the communion of His sufferings, and to be fashioned after the likeness of His death. The word of Life, which we had so often disregarded or misunderstood, comes suddenly before our soul in wonderful clearness; and the sorrowing heart finds therein, what the glad heart did not seek, a sacred, inexhaustible fountain of everlasting life, and that rich, heavenly consolation which this world cannot give. Thus, in proportion as a man's temporal life grows dark, his eternal life brightens: through painful experience and bitter grief the Spirit leads him to Him who cries to all the weary and heavy-laden, *Come to Me, and I will refresh you.* And he who once in the hour of his need has received grace for grace from the fulness of the Lord, cannot turn away from Him again: he cannot but cleave more and more closely to Him, and receive His divine life into himself: nay, he cannot cease thanking God for the heavy trial, in which the Holy Ghost has come to him. For he has lost what was perishable, and has gained what is imperishable: his lot is the highest which can befall a man: Jesus Christ is glorified in him."

The other passages cited in these notes are almost all of them such as I have met with, or at least such as have only attracted my attention, since the Sermons were preacht: hence any coincidences that may occur in them are accidental, or, more correctly speaking, what might naturally be expected when persons are contemplating the same objects attentively. But with Hossbach's Sermon I had long been familiar; therefore whatever resemblance to it may be found in mine must be derived from it.

NOTE J a: p. 34. l. 16.

On the precise meaning of the name, Paraclete, as given by our Lord, in His last discourse, to the Holy Spirit, who was to come after His departure, different opinions have been entertained since the early ages of the Church. The chief part of the Greek Fathers, as may be seen in Suicer's quotations from Origen, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Cyril, connected it with the Hellenistic use of παρακαλεῖν and παράκλησις to denote the act of consoling and consolation. In the early Latin Church on the other hand, Παράκλητος was commonly rendered *Advocatus*, agreeably to its signification in classical Greek. That this is the true interpretation, is contended by Knapp in a Dissertation which, like most of his, has much merit philologically: Luecke calls it incontrovertible. In the first Epistle of St John (ii. 1), the only other passage of the New Testament where the word occurs, and where it is applied to Christ Himself, our Translators, following the common consent of theologians, render it by *Advocate:* which word, though its meaning is narrower than that of the Roman *Advocatus*, seems in this place sufficiently to express what the Apostle intended, when he said, that we have a Paraclete with the Father, who is the Propitiation for our sins. The office of the English *advocate* however, which relates especially to the pleading of a cause, does not correspond to that assigned by our Lord to the Holy Spirit. Knapp shews that the Latin *advocatus*, like the Greek παράκλητος, answered more nearly to our general term, *counsel*, having to advise, to direct, to support, rather than to plead: and it is only in this sense that the name is applied to the Holy Spirit, who was not to plead for the disciples, but to plead in them, to direct them what they were to say, to prompt, to encourage, to support them, and to lead them to the truth. Hence the English word *advocate* would not represent the office of the Holy Spirit as the Paraclete. It would have been well indeed if a word coextensive in signification could have been found, so that the unity of the office

which our two Blessed Paracletes have vouchsafed to assume, —and which is implied where our Lord says that the Father will send them *another Paraclete,* thereby designating Himself as the first,—should have been as manifest in our Version as in the original. But I know not how this could be effected, unless we contented ourselves with merely Anglicizing the Greek word, according to the practice which we have followed in so many ecclesiastical terms, for instance, in *apostle, bishop, deacon;* a practice however which is not without injury, inasmuch as it not only obscures our perception of the meaning of the word thus imported, but, by severing it from its etymological associations, deprives it of a portion of its power. In the Rhemish Version, which has in great part been constructed on the convenient system of taking the words of the Vulgate, clipping off the Latin, and tacking on English terminations, this has been done in the Gospel, where it gives *Paraclete* in all the four passages: but the advantage which might have accrued from this, is lost through the use of *Advocate* in the Epistle. Here too it follows the Vulgate, which has *Paracletus,* or rather *Paraclitus** in the Gospel, *Advocatus* in the Epistle.

* The change of *Paracletus* into *Paraclitus* was analogous to what took place in many words, in which the Greek η was regarded as equivalent to the Latin *i*: an ecclesiastical parallel is furnisht by the expression *Kyrie eleison.* But when the Greek original was forgotten, the Latin form easily gave rise to a mistake about its etymology: hence the penultima was supposed to be short, and is so treated even by Prudentius. Thus it was very natural that the same errour should creep into the common chanting of the Liturgy. Erasmus however, whose knowledge of grammar seems to have been more profound, as his interest in it was still livelier than that which he took in theological truth, after a poor note on the meaning of the word *Paracletus,* adds a very long one, one of his three longest on the whole Gospel of St John, upon the sin committed by this malpronunciation, wittily, though somewhat profanely, or at least in a tone better suited to his satirical writings, urging the offense of those who, *quoties quoties id faciunt, Deum si non una syllaba, certe uno fraudant tempore.* Andrewes on the other hand, to whom nothing comes amiss for his Sermons, not even a pun founded on a blunder, surprises us somewhat by saying, in the fourth *On the Sending of the Holy Ghost,*—" To go to a lawyer's reading, and not hear it, serves us not for our worldly doubts; nor to hear the physic lecture, for the complaints of our bodies. No; we make them *Paracletos,* we call them to us, we question with them in

At present so many sacred associations have connected themselves for generation after generation with the name of *the Comforter*, that it would seem something like an act of sacrilege to change it. Indeed, if anybody ever reads Campbell's translation of the Gospels, he must feel a shock of pain, I should think, when he comes to this part of St John, and finds, "I will entreat the Father; and He will give you another *Monitor*;" and again, "If I do not depart, the *Monitor* will not come to you." Campbell here adopts a third sense of the word Παράκλητος, which Ernesti, in conformity to the abovementioned doctrinary spirit of the last century, maintained should be rendered by *Doctor*, or *Teacher*. Knapp however shews that this sense is less appropriate than the other two. In fact, if we understand the word *Comforter*, not merely in its secondary and common sense, as Consoler, but also in its primary and etymological sense, as Strengthener and Supporter, it would be difficult to find any word in our language so well fitted to express a range of meaning corresponding to that embraced by the Greek Παράκλητος, although etymologically different. It seems to be one of the words which have come to us through the Latin of the Church; of which words it would be interesting if some scholar learned in the archeology of our language would draw up a complete list. For though *confortare* is scarcely found in classical Latin, it is common in the Vulgate, and had been used in earlier translations of the Bible, as we see from Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* iv. 15, where he quotes Isaiah xxxv. 3, *Confortamini manus resolutae;* and when our ancestors first adopted

particular, we have private conference, about our estates. Only for our souls affairs it is enough to take our directions in open churches, and there delivered in gross: private conference we endure not; a *Paracletus* there we need not. One we must have, to know thoroughly the state of our lands or goods: one we must have entirely acquainted with the state of our body: in our souls it holdeth not: I say no more: it were good it did. 'We make him a stranger all our life long. He is *Paraclitus*, as they were wont to pronounce him, truly *Paraclitus*, one whom we declined and lookt over our shoulders at. And then, in our extremity, suddenly He is *Paracletus:* we seek and send for Him; we would come a little acquainted with Him. But take we heed of *Nescio vos:* it is a true answer: we take too little a time to breed acquaintance in. *Nescio vos*, I fear, they find, that so seek Him: *Paracletus* they do not; *Paraclitus* rather."

it, they retained its Latin sense. Thus it is continually used by Wiclif to represent its Latin original; for instance, in Luke xxii. 43, *And an aungel apperide to him fro hevene and coumfortide him;* (Apparuit autem illi Angelus de coelo, *confortans* eum); Acts ix. 19, *And whanne he hadde take mete he was coumfortid;* (Et cum accepisset cibum *confortatus* est); 1 Cor. xvi. 13. *Do ghe manli and be ghe coumfortid in the Lord;* (Viriliter agite et *confortamini*); Phil. iv. 13. *I mai alle thingis in him that coumfortith me;* (Omnia possum in eo qui me *confortat*): see also Eph. vi. 10, Col. i. 11, 2 Tim. ii. 1, iv. 17. In other passages however, we find that the later sense of the word, which has since entirely supplanted the primary one, had already attacht itself thereto; for instance, in 2 Cor. i. 3, 4. *Blessid be god and the fadir of oure lord jesus crist, fadir of mercies and god of all coumfort, which coumfortith us in al oure tribulacioun, that also we moun coumforte hem that ben in al disese;* where the Vulgate has *consolatio* and *consolari*. Hence it might be thought doubtful in what sense the word *Counfortour* was used by Wiclif, in the four passages of the Gospel, for the Paraclete; unless we recollected that the alternative was between *advocatus* and *consolator*, and that the great body of divines prior to his time had followed the Greek Fathers in taking the latter sense.

Indeed even Augustin, though in his 74th Tractate on St John he says, "Paracletus Latine dicitur Advocatus; et dictum est de Christo, *Advocatum habemus ad Patrem, Jesum Christum justum,*" and though in the 92d he takes this sense in explaining xv. 26, yet in the 94th seems almost to prefer the other explanation; or rather he adopts both, though without accurately tracing the connexion between them. "Consolator ille (he says) vel Advocatus (utrumque enim interpretatur quod est graece Paracletus) Christo abscedente fuerat necessarius; et ideo de illo non dixerat ab initio quando cum illis erat, quia ejus praesentia consolabantur: abscessurus autem oportebat ut diceret illum esse venturum, per quem futurum erat ut caritate diffusa in cordibus suis verbum Dei cum fiducia praedicarent; et illo intrinsecus apud eos testimonium perhibente de Christo, ipsi quoque testimonium perhiberent; neque

scandalizarentur cum inimici Judaei absque synagogis facerent eos, et interficerent arbitrantes obsequium se praestare Deo: quoniam caritas omnia tolerat, quae diffundenda erat in cordibus eorum per Spiritus Sancti donum. Hinc ergo iste totus ducitur sensus, quia facturus eos erat martyres suos, id est testes suos per Spiritum Sanctum; ut illo in eis operante, persecutionum quaecunque aspera tolerarent, nec frigescerent a caritate praedicandi, illo divino igne succensi. *Haec* ergo, inquit, *locutus sum vobis, ut cum venerit hora eorum reminiscamini quia ego dixi vobis.* Haec scilicet locutus sum vobis, non tantum quia passuri estis ista; sed quia, cum venerit Paracletus ille, testimonium perhibebit de me, ne ista timendo taceatis, unde fiet ut etiam vos testimonium perhibeatis. *Haec autem vobis ab initio non dixi, quia vobiscum eram,* et ego vos consolabar mea corporali praesentia, exhibita humanis sensibus vestris, quam parvuli capere poteratis." In his much earlier work upon the Sermon on the Mount (i. 2) he had said, with reference to the declaration that *they who mourn shall be comforted,* "Consolabuntur Spiritu Sancto, qui maxime propterea Paracletus nominatur, id est, Consolator, ut temporalem amittentes aeterna laetitia perfruantur."

On the strength of the authorities which have been cited, it became the received notion in the Church, that to console or comfort was the distinctive work of the Paraclete: and it was not till the second generation of the Reformers began to apply their classical learning to the criticism of the New Testament, that the other interpretation was revived. Indeed Erasmus, who in two passages, xiv. 26, and xv. 26, retains *Paracletus,* and in the other two substitutes *Consolator,* says, in a note on xiv. 16, "Hoc loco commodius erat vertere *Consolatorem,* ne quis duos Paracletos imaginaretur. Nam quod hactenus locutus est, consolandi gratia locutus est. Ita Paracletus erat Christus. Pollicetur autem sese et alterum missurum Consolatorem, nempe Spiritum Veritatis." Here he totally misses the force of ἄλλον Παράκλητον, in supposing that our Lord merely applied the term to Himself, in reference to His present discourse to comfort the disciples. Luther renders Παράκλητος by *Tröster,* and urges

the blessed meaning of the name with his own inimitable power. Calvin, as usual, gives an excellent explanation in a few words. "Paracleti nomen tam Christo quam Spiritui hic tribuitur, et jure: utrique enim commune munus est, nos consolari et exhortari et nos tueri suo patrocinio. Fuit suorum patronus Christus quamdiu in mundo vixit; deinde Spiritus tutelae et praesidio eos commisit. Si quaerat quispiam, Annon sub Christi clientela etiam hodie simus, responsio facilis est, Christum esse perpetuum patronum, sed non visibili modo. Quamdiu versatus est in mundo, palam se illis patronum exhibuit; nunc vero per Spiritum suum nos tutatur. *Alium* a se vocat propter bonorum, quae ab utroque percipimus, discrimen. Christi proprium fuit, expiando peccata mundi iram Dei placare, redimere a morte homines, justitiam ac vitam acquirere: Spiritus proprium est, nos tam ipsius Christi quam omnium ejus bonorum facere participes."

Beza on the other hand translates Παράκλητος by *Advocatus* in all the five passages in which it occurs, explaining it by a reference to St Paul's words (Rom. viii. 26), about the Spirit as making intercession for us. The same explanation is given by Pearson, on the eighth Article of the Creed. But surely it is better to look for the interpretation in the context of St John, where it is plain that the help which the Apostles are to receive from the Παράκλητος, is in their warfare with the world: for it is a delusive practice, though a very common one, to seek the exposition of a passage of Scripture in any other part, however remote, of the sacred Volume, rather than in the passage itself. Nor is Beza happier in suggesting that ἄλλον Παράκλητον δώσει should be rendered *Dabit alium qui sit vobis advocatus*. Grotius is more clearsighted here. "Alium Oratorem Christus pollicetur, qui causam suorum agat apud mundum, sicut ipse acturus est apud Patrem." "Et notandum (he adds) Dei Spiritui, qui est Παράκλητος, opponi Spiritum malignum, qui est κατήγορος, et sic dicitur Apocal. xii. 10." The same antithesis had been pointed out by Ireneus (III. 17) in a passage on the gift of the Spirit, in which we find the oldest extant form of a couple of favorite allegories. "Hanc muneris gratiam praevidens Gedeon—demutavit

petitionem, et super vellus lanae, in quo tantum primum ros fuerat, quod erat typus populi, ariditatem futuram prophetans; hoc est, non jam habituros eos a Deo Spiritum Sanctum, sicut Esaias ait, *Et nubibus mandabo ne pluant super eam;* in omni autem terra fieri ros, quod est Spiritus Dei, qui descendit in Dominum,—quem ipsum iterum dedit Ecclesiae, in omnem terram mittens de coelis Paracletum, ubi et diabolum tamquam fulgur projectum ait Dominus. Quapropter necessarius nobis est ros Dei, ut non comburamur, neque infructuosi efficiamur, et ubi *accusatorem* habemus, illic habeamus et *Paracletum;* commendante Domino Spiritui Sancto suum hominem, qui inciderat in latrones, cui ipse misertus est, et ligavit vulnera ejus, dans duo denaria regalia, ut per Spiritum imaginem et inscriptionem Patris et Filii accipientes, fructificemus creditum nobis denarium."

Since the time of Grotius the interpretation of Παράκλητος as *Advocatus* has been commonly adopted by Biblical scholars, for instance, by Hammond, by Pearson, by Lampe, by Wetstein, by Bengel. To Knapp's Dissertation I have already referred. Luecke and Tholuck follow him; and De Wette in his corrected Version has adopted the word *Beistand,* which Knapp recommended. Still the sense of *Comforter,* as it was so closely connected with the word according to its Hellenistic usage, is also very appropriate, both to the general work of the Spirit, and to the special reason for which our Lord here promises His help. Only we should bear in mind that the Spirit is the *Comforter,* in the primary as well as the secondary sense of that word, and that He did not come merely to console the disciples for their loss, but mainly to strengthen their hearts and minds, by enabling them to understand the whole truth, and to feel the whole power of the Gospel.

What led our Translators, from Tyndall downward, to render Οὐκ ἀφήσω ὑμᾶς ὀρφανούς, in xiv. 18, by *I will not leave you comfortless,* I cannot perceive; Wiclif has *fadirless. Orphans,* the marginal reading in the Authorized Version, ought to have been received into the text: for the force and beauty of the original are much impaired by the change.

Note K: p. 35.

Πάμπολυ, says Demosthenes, in his Speech against Androtion (§. 27), λοιδορία τε καὶ αἰτία κεχωρισμένον ἐστὶν ἐλέγχου· αἰτία μὲν γάρ ἐστιν, ὅταν τις ψιλῷ χρησάμενος λόγῳ μὴ παράσχηται πίστιν ὧν λέγει, ἔλεγχος δὲ, ὅταν ὧν ἂν εἴπῃ τις καὶ ταὐληθὲς ὁμοῦ δείξῃ. In the early Greek language indeed the prevalent sense of ἐλέγχειν seems to have been *to reprove, to rebuke, to reproach;* as we see in the Homeric use, both of the verb, and of its derivatives ἐλέγχεα and ἐλεγχέες, which are applied as opprobrious terms to persons. But in the phraseology of the courts of justice, and of the schools, ἐλέγχειν implied demonstration, and some sort of conviction, differing however from ἀποδείκνυναι, in that the latter was simply *to prove*, whereas ἐλέγχειν includes the refutation of an opponent. Thus Aristotle (περὶ σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων, c. 1) defines ἔλεγχος as συλλογισμὸς μετ' ἀντιφάσεως τοῦ συμπεράσματος. Hence, a complex notion being comprehended in the word, its usage naturally swayed sometimes toward the one side, sometimes toward the other: and this ambiguity we also find in the writers of the New Testament; wherefore the leading notion can only be determined by the context in each case. For instance, in Luke iii. 19, 1 Tim. v. 20, Tit. i. 13, Rev. iii. 19, it is that of *reproving* or *rebuking*; in Matth. xviii. 15, Tit. i. 9, and probably in 2 Tim. iv. 2, that of *convincing*. In the last passage indeed we render ἔλεγξε by *reprove;* but this, when ἐπιτίμησον follows immediately after, would be a sort of pleonasm: besides the main work to be effected by the preaching of the Gospel would be omitted, unless it is exprest by ἔλεγξε, the work which especially needs to be performed ἐν πάσῃ μακροθυμίᾳ καὶ διδαχῇ, that is, *with all patience and teaching;* for the rendering in our Version, *longsuffering*, hardly gives the force of μακροθυμία in this place; and *doctrine* for διδαχὴ seems to have crept in here, as in some other passages, through the medium of *doctrina* in the Latin Versions; though *doctrine* in English does not appropriately express the act of teaching, but only that which is taught. Again

there are passages in which the form *convict* would most adequately represent ἐλέγχειν. Thus, in James ii. 9, ἁμαρτίαν ἐργάζεσθε ἐλεγχόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ὡς παραβάται should be rendered *Ye commit sin, being convicted by the law as transgressors.* In John viii. 9, we translate ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἐλεγχόμενοι *being convicted by their conscience.* In John viii. 46, τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐλέγχει με περὶ ἁμαρτίας,—where Tyndall's, Cranmer's, and the Geneva New Testament had *rebuke*,—and that of 1611 substituted *Which of you convinceth me of sin?—convicteth* would have been preferable. On the other hand, in Hebr. xii. 5, where we render μηδὲ ἐκλύου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος *nor faint when thou art rebuked of Him,* the meaning of the original would perhaps have been better exprest by *when thou art tried by Him;* for this is a very common signification of ἐλέγχειν, derived from its forensic usage.

Now the passage among all these which comes the nearest to our text, is the last cited from St John, viii. 46: τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐλέγχει με περὶ ἁμαρτίας; This is the same form of words as ἐλέγξει τὸν κόσμον περὶ ἁμαρτίας· and if the first clause stood alone, we might render it, as I have said in the Sermon, *He will convict the world of sin.* But since our modern usage restricts the form *convict* to its legal sense, and to such other cases as correspond closely thereto, where the conviction is of something personal in him who is convicted, it would scarcely be appropriate to speak of *convicting* the world *of the judgement of its Prince,* still less *of Christ's righteousness;* though this also indirectly conveys the condemnation of the world. For the reasons stated in the Sermon it seems to me that *convincing,* rather than *reproving,* the world is the main part of the work which our Lord in His promise ascribes to the Comforter; the conviction however, in each of the three instances, implying a severe reproof; whereas the reproof would not necessarily imply any conviction. And though the Revisers of our authorized Version, as perhaps they ought rather to be called than the Translators, have followed Wiclif and the Geneva Bible in keeping *reprove* in the text,—while Tyndall and Coverdale and Cranmer's Bible have *rebuke,*—they have shewn, by putting *convince* in the margin, that they felt some doubt about

the correctness of the other rendering. The general adoption of the latter would naturally be occasioned in part by the Latin *arguet*, in which, though its original signification was no less wide than that of ἐλέγχω, the sense of *reproving* became more predominant, and which was retained from the Vulgate by Erasmus, and even by Beza.* The latter however says in his note, "*Arguet*, ἐλέγξει, id est, convincet, ita ut nihil habeat quod praetexat," and makes this the prominent notion in his detailed exposition of the whole passage.

Luther, rendering ἐλέγχειν by *strafen*, almost entirely loses sight of the work of *convincing*, as assigned in this place to the Comforter: but there is his wonderful living eloquence in the manner in which he expands his interpretation of the passage, and applies it to the events of his own times. The disciples, he says, on hearing our Lord's promise, might have askt, "What will the Comforter do to us, and through our means? Hereto Jesus makes answer, clearly setting forth His office and work, that He was to rebuke the world, and was to exercise this rebuke by the word of the Apostles over the whole world. So that He speaks of His Kingdom, which He purpost to establish upon earth after His Ascension, and which was to spread mightily through the whole world by the power of the Holy Ghost, and to bring all things into subjection to Him; which however was not to be a kingdom of this world, so that He should smite with the sword, depose kings and princes, and set up others, or create a new order of things and laws; but was to be a government to be carried on solely by the word or preaching of the Apostles, and yet the whole world was to be subjected and made obedient to Him thereby. And He calls the office in plain terms that of rebuking the world, that is, of reproving all that it did and was, and telling mankind that they were all, in their then state, punishable and unrighteous

* Of course the Rhemish version turns *arguet* into *shal argue*, according to its common practice of keeping the words of the Vulgate, and merely Anglicizing the termination, with little regard as to whether the English form would convey the same meaning. Thus the purpose of having the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue was ingeniously frustrated; for the readers of that Version must often be unable to understand it, except by translating it back into Latin.

before God, and that they must listen to the preaching of Christ, or be eternally condemned and lost. Thus He here gives His Apostles and the preachers of the Gospel the highest authority and power above every authority upon earth, that they must rebuke the world with their preaching, and that all men must for God's sake be subject to this preaching, and must suffer themselves to be rebuked by it, if they would receive God's grace, and be saved. Verily this is a vast grasp in a word, and the beginning of a war which was to be great and arduous, that these few, mean, poor beggars, the Apostles, are to stir up the whole world, and bring it upon their shoulders. For what is meant by *the world?* Not one or two of their fellows; but all emperors, kings, princes, and whatever is noble, rich, great, learned, wise, or anything upon earth: all these are to be rebuked by their preaching, as being ignorant, unrighteous, and condemned before God, with all their wisdom, righteousness, and power, which they had hitherto had and made boast of.—The world cries out furiously, when this sermon begins, that it is a mischievous, intolerable sermon, producing dissension and confusion, giving rise to disobedience, insurrection, tumult. And we cannot wonder at these complaints: for it is a vexatious matter, that the preachers should take upon themselves to reprove all without distinction, and should allow none to be just and good before God. Who can deem it right or reasonable that this sermon should breed such a hubbub, and bring about changes and innovations, so that the whole former religion and worship, with so many beautiful ceremonies of such long standing, should be despised, and should fall?—And the most vexatious thing of all is, that they who undertake the work of rebuking, are not high and mighty, learned, or otherwise eminent men, but poor, mean, unknown, despised fishermen, and such folks as everybody would class with beggars and vagabonds. If other people did this, who have some rank, and are set to govern the world; or if it had been deliberated upon in due form, adopted, and approved by such persons, or (as the phrase is now) settled by a general council. But that these few beggars, of whom nobody knows whence they come, and who never askt anybody, without

command or license should come forward, and dictate to the whole world, and alter all things,—who can endure or approve of this? Well, here you see that Christ says, the Holy Ghost shall *rebuke the world*, and shall do this by these His messengers: so that it is not they, but the Holy Ghost that rebukes, through whose command and office they preach. And if He did not this, they would leave it alone. For without Him they would neither have the understanding to frame such a rebuke and judgement upon the whole world; nor would they have the courage to come forward openly, and attack the whole world. For they are not so mad and silly as not to see and feel what awaits them: indeed Christ had told them sufficiently before, that they were to risk their bodies and lives. Doubtless they would much rather have been silent, and have left the world unrebuked, if it had depended on themselves. But this office was laid upon them and commanded them by the Holy Ghost, that they must do it, and that God will have it so. At the same time however Christ gives them the assurance and comfort, that, because it is the office and work of the Holy Ghost, He will direct it, and will make way with His rebukes, and that it shall not be quencht by the world, although the world set itself with all its might against it, fiercely raging and roaring, cursing and slaying.—Well, as I said, what speak ye to me about this? It is not our doing. Speak to Him, who here says, *The Holy Ghost shall rebuke the world.* But if He is to rebuke, He must not be silent, much less flatter, and say what the world loves to hear. If they will not hear it, the Holy Ghost will not cease from His rebuke for all their raging and muttering, but will continue it until they give over or perish. If dissensions and tumults arise on this account, tell me, Whose fault is this, except his, who will not bear or listen to this sermon of the Holy Ghost? Who is disobedient here? They who take up and preach the sermon according to God's commandment? or they who set themselves violently against God's commandment, and claim to be in the right, and complain of disobedience, if one does not preach and do as they wish? If they would receive this sermon, as others do, and as they ought to do by God's solemn

command, there would be no dissension; but all people would be of one mind, as true Christians are. Since however they run with their mad heads against it, storming and raging, we must needs let it be, that they should excite divisions and uprore; but we will see who is the strongest, and who carries his work to an end. Our Papists have already conspired together so often, and resolved to destroy this doctrine, or they will not lay down their heads in peace: but I trust they will not storm the Holy Ghost, who has hitherto preserved Christianity and the Gospel, out of heaven quite so soon as they expect. Should it turn out however, that they themselves are cast down and consumed to ashes, as happened of yore to Rome and to Jerusalem, they must blame themselves."

In thus rendering ἐλέγχειν by *strafen*, Luther seems to have adopted what was already the received version among his countrymen. For his favorite Tauler has the same word, though he applies it very differently, but still with his own deep beauty. "The Holy Ghost (he says) *wird die Welt strafen;* that is, will enable man to see clearly, whether the world is lying concealed within him, hidden in the principle of his being: this He will reprove, declare, explain, and rebuke. Now what is the world in us? It is the ways, the workings, the imaginations of the world, the world's comfort, joy, love, and grief, in love, in fear, in sorrow, in care: for St Bernard says, 'With all wherein thou rejoicest and sorrowest, thou shalt also be judged.' Children, this will the Holy Ghost, when He comes to us, clearly reveal, and rebuke us on account thereof, so that, if we are reasonable, we shall never have rest or quiet, so long as we know and find this evil and noxious possession within us. And when one finds this evil inclination in a man, that he is possest by any creature, be it living or dead, and he remains unrebuked, all this is the world. And when a man keeps this in himself unrebuked, this is a true, manifest sign that the Holy Ghost has not entered into the principle of his life: for Christ has said, *When He comes, He will rebuke* all these things." The same word is also used by Luther in that passage of the book of Genesis (vi. 3), where it seems to be declared that the

Spirit, who was given back to man on the day of Pentecost, was in some sort to be taken away. The words which we translate *My Spirit shall not always strive with man*, are rendered by Luther, *Die Menschen wollen sich meinen Geist nicht mehr strafen lassen.*

Augustin too (*In Joann. Tract.* xcv. 1), looking solely at the Latin *arguet*, explains the Spirit's work to be that of *reproving*, without reference to any conviction. "Quid est hoc? (he says on our text). Numquidnam Dominus Christus non arguit mundum de peccato? cum ait, *Si non venissem, et locutus eis fuissem, peccatum non haberent; nunc autem excusationem non habent de peccato suo.*—Numquid non arguit de justitia? ubi ait, *Pater juste, mundus te non cognovit.* Numquid non arguit de judicio? ubi se ait sinistris esse dicturum, *Ite in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus.* — Quid est ergo quod tanquam proprie tribuit hoc Spiritui Sancto? An forte, quia Christus in Judaeorum tantum gente locutus est, mundum non videtur arguisse, ut ille intelligatur argui qui audit arguentem? Spiritus autem Sanctus, in discipulis ejus toto orbe diffusis, non unam gentem intelligitur arguisse, sed mundum.—Sed quis audeat dicere quod per discipulos Christi arguit mundum Spiritus Sanctus, et non arguat ipse Christus? cum clamet Apostolus, *An vultis experimentum accipere ejus qui in me loquitur Christus?* Quos itaque arguit Spiritus Sanctus, arguit utique et Christus. Sed quantum mihi videtur, quia per Spiritum Sanctum diffundenda erat caritas in cordibus eorum, quae foras mittit timorem, quo impediri possent ne arguere mundum, qui persecutionibus fremebat, auderent, propterea dixit, *Ille arguet mundum;* tanquam diceret, Ille diffundet in cordibus vestris caritatem; sic enim timore depulso arguendi habebitis libertatem." Here, it seems to me, this great Father has involved himself in unprofitable perplexities, and mist the force of the passage, by mistaking the meaning of ἐλέγχειν, and thus losing sight of the distinction between Christ's work and that of the Spirit, as the latter is set before us in this and other places of Scripture, namely, the conviction which He was to produce by glorifying Christ in the hearts of such as were to be called to the inheritance of faith. When we discern this truth, the difficulties

here raised by Augustin seem little better than trifling. Nor is his solution of his last difficulty by bringing in *caritas*, as he often does when he is at a loss for an explanation, at all satisfactory. The Spirit had other gifts to bestow on the Apostles, beside *caritas;* and among His other gifts are some that were more to the purpose here. He was to teach them what to say, to speak in them and through them, and to carry their words with power to the hearts of their hearers. He was to act not only upon the Apostles, but also through them upon the world; and the world was to be the object of His ἔλεγχος. The Latin word *arguere* however so naturally suggested the notion of reproving, that in his 143d and 144th Sermons, where he again treats of this passage, Augustin assumes throughout, as a thing plain and certain, that this is the special work ascribed here to the Spirit.

There being such a general agreement among the translators of the New Testament, at least down to recent times, in adopting a different interpretation of ἐλέγχειν from that which I have carried through the whole course of these Sermons, I am in a manner bound to shew that my own interpretation is not destitute of authority. In fact, so far as I can judge, it has been adopted by a great majority of the divines who have given any exposition of this passage; at all events since the Revival of letters and the Reformation led men to apply their grammatical and philological knowledge to the interpretation of the Scriptures. Chrysostom indeed, when explaining this passage in his 78th Homily on St John, takes ἐλέγξει in the sense of *convicting*, but mainly with a view to the condemnation of the world. Οὐκ ἀτιμωρητὶ, he says, ταῦτα πράξουσιν, ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἔλθῃ· ἱκανὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἤδη γεγενημένα ἐπιστομίσαι αὐτούς· ὅταν δὲ καὶ δι' ἐκείνου ταῦτα γίνηται, καὶ διδάγματα τελειότερα, καὶ σημεῖα μείζονα, πόλλῳ μᾶλλον κατακριθήσονται.—πᾶσαν ἀπολογίαν αὐτῶν ἐκκόψει, καὶ δείξει πεπλημμεληκότας ἀσύγγνωστα. This too is the tenour of the interpretation by Theodore of Mopsuesta, as given in the *Catena* publisht by Dr Cramer. Οὕτω φοβερά τίς ἐστιν, φησὶ, τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἡ κάθοδος, ὡς ἐπιφοιτήσαντος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, φανῆναι τῶν ἐπιβεβουλευκότων ἐμοὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. To the

same effect Apollinaris says, in the same *Catena*: Ἐλέγξει τον κόσμον, ὡς ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν κατακεκριμμένον διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν· ἡ γὰρ πίστις ἁμαρτίαν λέλυκεν, ἀπιστίαν δὲ δέδεκε· καὶ φαινόμενον ἐν τοῖς πιστεύουσι τὸ Πνεῦμα κατάκρισις ἦν τῶν ἀπιστούντων· ἐστερημένοι γὰρ τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐξηλέγχοντο τῆς παρούσης τοῖς πεπιστευκόσι· καὶ τοῦτο ἐδείκνυεν αὐτοὺς ἐναγῆ σκεύη καὶ ἀνεπιτήδεια τῷ Πνεύματι. Yet the story of the day of Pentecost ought to be sufficient to prove that the conviction wrought by the Spirit is a conviction unto salvation, rather than unto condemnation. But man has ever been readier to convict in order to condemn, than to convince in order to bless; and this portion of the old man has stuck tenaciously even to those who have been called to the preaching of the Gospel, insomuch that many have seemed to fancy that the Holy Ghost also shared their predilection, utterly alien as it is to the Spirit of love.

Here too we are reminded of that same deficiency, which I have had occasion to remark more than once, and which gives such a narrow, lifeless character to a large part of the expositions of Scripture by the Fathers,—their aptness to look at the words spoken, and the things done, as though they were past, and related solely to the past, without sufficient regard to that which was permanent in them, and which gives them an ever-living, present interest for all ages, and for every single member of the Church. Thus, in considering the ἔλεγχος of the Spirit, as we see, they scarcely thought of any other ἔλεγχος than that which He carried on in the first age, by means of the Apostles themselves. Yet that part of the question, which is of far the deepest interest and importance, is the ἔλεγχος which He has been carrying on ever since, which He is still carrying on, and without which no soul would ever be rescued from the sin of unbelief, or would recognize the righteousness of Christ, or find a holy fear and a holy joy in the certainty that the Prince of this world has been judged. Now it is the vivid consciousness of this abiding power in the word of God, the assurance that it does not merely relate to the past, but no less to the present and the future, that it is the same yesterday, today, and for ever,—this it is that gives such an incomparable value to the expositions of Scripture by the great

Reformers. How Luther felt that the Spirit was exercising His office of reproving the world no less mightily in his days than in those of the Apostles, we have seen above. Calvin's exposition is excellent. "*Arguet mundum*, inquit, hoc est, non manebit inclusus in vobis, sed potentia ejus se a vobis proferet in totum mundum. Spiritum ergo illis promittit, qui futurus sit judex mundi, et per quem eorum praedicatio adeo viva efficaxque futura sit, ut in ordinem cogat qui prius effreni licentia exultantes nullo metu nec reverentia tenebantur. Notandum autem est, Christum non de arcanis revelationibus hic loqui, sed de Spiritus virtute, quae in externa Evangelii doctrina et hominum voce apparet. Unde enim fit ut in animos penetret vox hominis, radicem illic agat, fructificet denique ex lapideis cordibus carnea faciens, et innovans ipsos homines, nisi quia Spiritus Christi eam vivificat? Alioqui esset mortua litera et inanis sonitus, quemadmodum pulcre docet Paulus (2 Cor. iii. 6), ubi se ministrum Spiritus esse jactat, quia Deus potenter in ejus doctrina operabatur. Sensus ergo est, cum Spiritu donati fuerint Apostoli, coelesti ac divina virtute instructos fore, qua jurisdictionem in toto mundo exerceant. Caeterum hoc Spiritui potius quam ipsis tribuitur, quia nihil habebunt propriae potestatis, utpote qui ministri tantum erunt et organa, solus autem Spiritus in illis praesidebit. Sub *mundi* nomine tam eos qui vere convertendi erant ad Christum, quam hypocritas et reprobos comprehendi existimo. Duobus enim modis homines arguit Spiritus in Evangelii praedicatione. Quidam enim serio tanguntur, ut sponte se humilient, sponte judicio subscribant quo damnantur. Alii, etsi convicti reatum non possunt effugere, non tamen ex animo cedunt, nec se submittunt in jus ac ditionem Spiritus Sancti: quin potius subacti intus fremunt, et confusi non desinunt tamen intus contumaciam alere. Nunc tenemus quomodo Spiritus mundum arguere debuerit per Apostolos; nempe quia judicium suum Deus in Evangelio patefecit, quo perculsae conscientiae mala sua et Dei ipsius gratiam sentire coeperunt. Nam verbum ἐλέγχειν pro *convincere* hic accipitur. Atque ad hujus loci intelligentiam non parum lucis affert quod habetur 1 Cor. xiv. 24, ubi sic Paulus, *Si prophetent omnes, ingrediatur*

autem incredulus vel idiota, arguitur ab omnibus, dijudicatur ab omnibus, et sic occulta cordis ejus manifesta fiunt. Proprie illic Paulus de una arguendi specie agit, cum scilicet Dominus electos suos ad poenitentiam adducit per Evangelium: sed hinc dilucide patet, quomodo Spiritus Dei in sonitu vocis humanae homines, prius jugo non assuetos, imperium suum agnoscere et subire cogat."

Beza, we have already seen, concurs with Calvin in interpreting ἐλέγχειν by *convincere*. Grotius says, "Diximus Παράκλητον esse defensorem causae: ejus munus est ἐλέγχειν τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας, *convincere de causae suae rectitudine*." Hammond, in the margin, renders the verse thus: *And He, when He comes, shall convince the world* &c. And Pole cites Lucas Brugensis, Piscator, Camero, Gerhard, and Camerarius, as giving the same translation of ἐλέγξει. Wetstein explains the verse, "Spiritus Sanctus—discipulos docebit, postquam Jesus majorem Judicem appellasset (1 Pet. ii. 23), causam ejus denuo ab ipso Deo fuisse cognitam, qui et accusatores et reum et judicem judicaverit."

In Donne's 34th Sermon, which is on our text, we find a long discussion on the meaning of *reprove*. "This word, that is here translated *to reprove, arguere*, hath a double use and signification in the Scriptures: first, to reprehend, to rebuke, to correct, with authority, with severity; so David, *Ne in furore arguas me, O Lord, rebuke me not in Thine anger;* and secondly, to convince, to prove, to make a thing evident by undeniable inferences and necessary consequences: so, in the instructions of God's ministers, the first is *to reprove*, and then *to rebuke* (2 Tim. iv. 2. see above p. 528): so that reproving is an act of a milder sense than rebuking is. St Augustin interprets these words twice in his works: and in the first place he follows the first signification of the word, that the Holy Ghost should proceed—by power, by severity, against the world. But though that sense will stand well with the first act of this reproof,—that He shall *reprove*, that is, reprehend *the world of sin*,—yet it will not seem so properly said, to reprehend the world of righteousness or of judgement: for how is righteousness and judgement the subject of reprehension? Therefore St Augustin himself, in the other place

where he handles these words, embraces the second sense: *Hoc est arguere mundum, ostendere vera esse quae non credidit*:* this is to reprove the world, to convince the world of her errours and mistakings: and so (scarce any excepted) do all the ancient expositors take it, according to that, *all things are reproved of the light, and so made manifest:* the light does not reprehend them, not rebuke them, not chide, not upbraid them; but to declare them, to manifest them, to make the world see clearly what they are, this is to reprove. That reproving then, which is warrantable by the Holy Ghost, is not a sharp increpation, a bitter proceeding, proceeding only out of power and authority, but by enlightening and informing and convincing the understanding. The signification of this word, which the Holy Ghost uses here for reproof, ἔλεγχος, is best deduced and manifested to us by the philosopher who had so much use of the word, who expresses it thus: *Elenchus est syllogismus contra contraria opinantem:* a reproof is a proof, a proof by way of argument, against another man, who holds a contrary opinion. All the pieces must be laid together: for first it must be against an opinion, and then an opinion contrary to truth, and then such an opinion held, insisted upon, maintained; and after all this the reproof must lie in argument, not in force."

In Diodati's French Bible our verse is rendered, *Et quand il sera venu, il conveincra le monde de peché, et de justice, et de jugement.* And the following note is subjoined, giving a good summary explanation of it. "Par sa secrette vertu, jointe à la predication de ma parole, il imprimera dans la conscience des hommes, et surtout des ennemis de mon Regne, meslés dedans mon Eglise,

* No reference is given in my edition of Donne, the octavo reprint; but he is evidently referring to the *Quaestiones de Novo Testamento*, in the 89th of which the writer treats of our text, and says, "Hoc est arguere mundum ostendere illi vera esse quae credere noluit." This work however is generally recoghized not to be by Augustin; and the correctness of the decision is manifest, not indeed from the discrepancy in the interpretation of this passage,—such diversities will always be found, and, it is to be hoped, far greater, when a man's writings are spread over a surface of forty years,—but from the total difference in the style and mode of thought, as well as from many points of detail. Still, as these *Questions* are by a contemporary, if not by a somewhat earlier writer, they are just as good evidence for the antiquity of the interpretation.

et faisans fausse profession de mon Nom, et ayans connoissance de mon Evangile, des vifs sentimens, et des convictions de peché: d'autant qu'ils auront rejetté le remede de grace, qui leur aura esté presenté en moi: et aussi par l'example du Diable, leur Chef, desja condamné sans ressource, il leur scelera la certitude de leur jugement. Et au contraire il donnera aux enfans de Dieu des persuasions tres assurées de la vraie justice, que je leur aurai acquise par ma mort et parfaite satisfaction: dont le certain argument sera, qu'en vertu d'elle moimesme serai passé à la vie celeste et glorieuse, pour en prendre la possession pour moi et pour toute mon Eglise."

The same translation of ἐλέγξει was also received by the Catholic Church in France. In Bossuet's *Meditations sur l'Evangile*, that of the 19th day in the second part is on these words: *Et quand il viendra, il convaincra le monde touchant le péché, et touchant la justice, et touchant le jugement.* "C'est sur ce péché, et de ce péché (of not believing in Jesus), que le Saint-Esprit devoit convaincre le monde incrédule. Jésus Christ avoit convaincu les Juifs de ce péché en deux manières, l'une en accomplissant les prophéties, qui est la manière la plus efficace de les expliquer; l'autre en faisant des miracles que personne n'avoit jamais fait; ce qui leur ôtoit toute excuse, en sorte qu'il ne manquoit rien à la conviction. Et toutefois le Saint-Esprit la pousse encore plus loin:—et premièrement celle des prophéties. Car le Saint-Esprit inspire à saint Pierre la preuve de la résurrection de Jésus-Christ tirée de David, que cet apôtre, plein des lumières et du feu de ce divin Esprit, pousse—au dernier point de conviction. — Secondement, quant à la conviction des miracles, le Saint-Esprit y met la perfection. Car si la source en étoit tarie en Jésus-Christ, on auroit pu croire qu'elle étoit passagère et trompeuse en Jésus-Christ même: mais comme elle se continue dans les apôtres, qui guérissent publiquement et à la vue de tout le peuple cet impotent, en témoignage de la résurrection de Jésus-Christ, la conviction est poussée bien au-delà de la suffisance; et le Saint-Esprit la porte — jusqu'à la dernière évidence. Cette continuation de miracles étoit l'ouvrage du Saint-Esprit. Jésus-

Christ avoit dit, qu'il chassoit les démons par l'Esprit de Dieu; et tous les autres miracles devoient être aussi singulièrement attribués au Saint-Esprit. Le même Esprit de miracles se continuant dans les apôtres, on voyoit la suite des desseins de Dieu, et l'entière confirmation de la verité.—Puisque le Saint-Esprit, pour donner à Jésus-Christ des témoins de sa résurrection, descend visiblement sur ses apôtres;—puisqu' il les remplit de courage; que de foibles qu'ils etoient, il les rend forts; d'idiots et d'ignorans qu'ils etoient, les rend pleins d'une divine science, et leur donne des paroles qui fermoient la bouche à leurs adversaires;—puisq' au lieu qu'ils etoient des lâches, qui avoient oublié leur maître tous ensemble en prenant la fuite, et le premier de leur troupeau en le reniant, il en avoit fait d'intrépides défenseurs de sa doctrine et de sa résurrection; puisqu' enfin,—non content de leur inspirer l'intelligence des prophéties,—il les remplit eux-mêmes de l'esprit de prophétie, et les fait agir et parler comme des hommes inspirés;—tous ces ouvrages admirables du Saint-Esprit prouvent que Jésus-Christ a dit la vérité, en assurant que ce même Esprit convaincroit de nouveau, et d'une manière encore plus concluante, l'incrédulité du monde.—Ajoutez à toutes ces choses la sainteté que el Saint-Esprit établissoit dans l'Eglise par des effets si éclatans, et cette parfaite unité de coeurs qui etoit son véritable ouvrage, et le caractère sensible de sa présence. Ajoutez la redoutable autorité que Dieu mettoit dans l'Eglise, en sorte que mentir à Pierre, c'etoit mentir au Saint-Esprit. On voit assez par toutes ces choses l'efficace du témoignage de ce même Esprit pour convaincre l'incrédulité." All this is ingeniously and ably put, though in parts too much in the manner of an advocate; and too exclusive stress is laid on the outward evidence by which the Spirit was to produce His conviction. The conviction too, according to the narrow and shallow Romish notion of faith, is represented as little else than a mere conviction of the understanding in the way of argument, and thus falls far short of the conviction by the Spirit spoken of in the text, inasmuch as it is a conviction of the fitness of believing in Christ, not of the sin of not believing in Him. But at all events nothing can be more decided than Bossuet's interpretation

of ἐλέγχειν as *convincing*: nay, he has gone too far in neglecting the other element in its meaning.

Lampe, as usual, is full, so as almost to exhaust his subject; and much of what he says is sound and good. He explains ἐλέγχειν here, and in viii. 9, as designating "opus doctoris, *qui veritatem, quae hactenus non est agnita, ita ad conscientiam etiam renitentis demonstrat, ut victas dare manus cogatur.* Hoc opus excellentissimo modo Spiritui Sancto proprium est. Ille hac ipsa convictione paracletici sui muneris partem obit, dum Christi apud mundum causam agit. Et emphatice ei tribuitur ἔλεγχος. Nam doctoris ille et paedagogi inter homines munus exercet, et quidem inter tales qui natura coeci sunt, non tantum ignorantes *ea quae sunt Spiritus Dei*, sed etiam *οὐ δεχόμενοι*, (1. Cor. ii. 14)—rejicientes per incredulitatem, quin contra nitentes ratiociniis carnalibus.—Atque haec excoecatio tanta est, ut omnis ars humana ad ejus medelam sit insufficiens.—Quare Spiritus Sanctus—clarissima argumentorum luce ita tenebras intellectus perrumpit, ut voluntas etiam obstinatissima resistere ei amplius nequeat.—Est autem vis,—non *coactiva*, sed *convictiva*.—Non agit tanquam cum stipite, sed tanquam cum creatura rationali, persuadendo.—Agit partim externe, partim interne: externe per verbum;—praeconium igitur Evangelii rite institutum pro elencho ipsius Spiritus haberi debet.—Accedunt saepenumero singularia Dei opera, signa, judicia, per quae testimonium verbi a Spiritu roboratur.—Illa maximum momentum ad hanc convictionem habuisse, Whitbyo et aliis concedimus, ita tamen ut in eo non subsistamus. Nihil horum salutarem effectum producere potest, nisi accedat interna Spiritus Sancti operatio.—Inter salutares autem convictiones numeramus, quod animos occulte flectat, ut ad verbum attendant, Act xvi. 14; quod cor molle et carneum det, quod ad periculi sui agnitionem trepidat et conquassatur, Act. ii. 37, xvi. 30; quod intellectum ita illuminet, ut dispulsis praejudiciis carnalibus veram viae salutis rationem cum plena conscientiae convictione agnoscat, Eph. i. 17. 18;—quod amorem veritatis et desiderium eam adhuc exsertius cognoscendi, eique obediendi instillet, unde fides salvifica gignitur."

But the best explanation that I have seen, of the force of

ἐλέγχειν in this passage, is Luecke's. The rationalist tendency to regard it as merely expressing the work of teaching and producing conviction by logical processes compelled him to bring out and insist on the other branch of the meaning. "The testimony of the Holy Ghost in behalf of Christ over against the unbelieving world is mainly a refutation, ἔλεγχος, a demonstration of the world's wrong and errour. The whole preaching of the Apostles, as addrest to the world, necessarily takes this polemical form: see 1 Tim. v. 20, 2 Tim. iii. 16, iv. 2, Tit. i. 9, 13, ii. 15.—Ἐλέγχειν always implies the refutation, the overcoming of an errour, a wrong, by the truth and right. Now when this is brought before our conscience through the ἔλεγχος, there arises a feeling of sin, which is always painful: thus every ἔλεγχος is a chastening, a punishment. Hence this office has been called the *Strafamt* of the HolyGhost. The effect of the Holy Ghost's ἔλεγχος in the world may be hardening; but its aim is the deliverance of the world. The world, according to St John, is the body of those who are not yet redeemed, who are still to be redeemed, not of the condemned. If the ἔλεγχος of the world is a moral process, its result may just as well be the conversion, as the nonconversion of the world. Thus alone did the ἔλεγχος of the Spirit answer the end for which Christ came, or afford a cheering support to the Apostles. It is true, the κρίσις, with which the ἔλεγχος closes, is the condemnation, not however of the world, but of the Prince of the world." Tholuck and Olshausen remark that in the word ἐλέγχειν the notion of convincing and that of reproving are mixt up together. So too Ackermann, in the Dissertation before cited, says, "In reference to the carnalmindedness, which had gained such a dominion over the world, and which was without any feeling of God, or any submission to God, Jesus speaks of a punitive power of the Holy Ghost, in John xvi. 8. For ἐλέγχειν in this place means more than *to convince:* it implies a breaking down and casting out of the whole power of ungodliness, both in the outward life of the world, and in the inner life of the conscience (p. 892)." This coincides entirely with the view taken in the Sermons: only it seemed to me that the Spirit's permanent work,

within the range of Christendom, was most adequately exprest, with reference to its threefold object, by *convincing*.

NOTE L. p. 35.

There is no controversy, and little difference, about the translation of the three words, which designate the subjects of the Comforter's threefold conviction. The Vulgate, Erasmus, Beza render them by *peccatum, justitia,* and *judicium*. In English, the Rhemish Version, as might be expected, retains *justice* for the second; and the Latin word is more appropriate here than in many other cases; though even here the corresponding Saxon word better expresses the vital principle dwelling and working in the soul, while the Latin, in conformity to the predominant character of the language, and of the nation whose image that language reflects, relates rather to outward acts and conduct. The difference is analogous to that which we find in the translations of the sixth beatitude, where, instead of *the pure in heart*, the Rhemish is led by the Vulgate, *beati mundo corde*, to put *Blessed are the clean of heart*. And I trust it is neither unjust nor fanciful to look upon these two words as in some measure symbolical of the distinctive characters of the Reformed Churches and of that of Rome, that is to say, so far as each answers to its peculiar principle and idea. The former seek *purity*, and cannot be satisfied without it, and therefore are always oppressed with a deep consciousness of impurity: the latter aims at *cleanness*, which may be attained in a high degree, and by means of outward acts. So may *justice;* but *righteousness* is unattainable. I do not mean that the Romish Church is altogether regardless of purity and righteousness, or the Reformed of cleanness and justice. Specific distinctions are seldom absolute, but relative, and are formed by the predominance of one or other of the constitutive elements, by the development of that which had been latent, the coming forward of that which had been in the background, the superiority of that which had been subordinate. Neither are the cleanness and justice inculcated by the

Church of Rome irrespective of purity and righteousness; nor are the purity and righteousness, the ideas of which were the beacon-stars of the Reformation, irrespective of cleanness and justice. Indeed it would be utterly impossible for either to exist without some admixture of the other. But the errour, which is the caricature and corruption of each Church, and has evermore lifted up its head therein, marks its tendency by its main danger: and this in the Church of Rome has been the proneness to Pelagianism, in the Reformed Churches the aptness to run into Antinomianism. Our modern impugners and revilers of the Reformation have never duly recognized these main distinctions between the two great branches, into which the Western Church since that event has been divided: hence they have gone blindly astray in their judgements upon each, blaming and praising inconsiderately and irrelevantly, nay, at times blaming where they ought to have praised, and praising where they ought to have blamed; even as in their own theology they want to turn back the hands of the world's great clock, and to pull us down to *cleanness* and *justice*, to the rudiments of outward acts and observances,—*touch not, taste not, handle not*,—instead of urging and helping us on to that inward *purity* and *righteousness*, which we are to seek from the Comforter, and which He alone can give.

Wiclif renders the three words by *synne* and *rightwisnesse* and *doom*: for though he translated from the Vulgate, it is surprising how little Latin he has mixt up with the Saxon element of our language. Tyndall has *synne*, *rightwesnes*, and *judgement*. I know not how far one may rely in such a matter on the accuracy of the reprint of Coverdale, which gives *synne*, *righteousnes*, and *judgement*. At all events in the Quarto Bible printed by Grafton in 1553 these are the three words: so that here, at a period when great changes were going on in our language as well as in other things, and when many ancient forms were corrupted from forgetfulness of their original force, we see how the old English words *rightwise* and *rightwisness*, with which the readers of Chaucer must be familiar, were transformed into *righteous* and *righteousness*, from an erroneous notion that they belonged to

that large class of adjectives in *ous*, which have come to us from the Latin and French.

This seems to be the fittest place for speaking of an interpretation or illustration of this passage, which appears to have been suggested in the first instance by Grotius. After remarking that Παράκλητος is *defensor causae*, and that ἐλέγχειν also is a forensic word, "conveniens personae causarum actori," he adds, "ita et quae sequuntur. Tria enim sunt causarum genera; publica judicia de criminibus περὶ ἁμαρτίας (*de peccato*) sive *facinore*; privata ex aequo et bono, δικαιοσύνη (*justitia*) id est, *aequitas*; privata certam ex lege formulam habentia, κρίσις (*judicium*)." In other words, Grotius compares the first ἔλεγχος to a criminal action, the second to a civil action at equity, and the third to a civil action at law. The criminal action περὶ ἁμαρτίας he explains thus: "Cum evenerint omnia quae praedixi de mittendo Spiritu, apparebit me esse Prophetam, secundum regulam Deut. xviii. 22; ac proinde eos qui mihi non credunt gravissimis suppliciis afficiendos ex lege publici judicii quae exstat ibidem xviii. 19: et haec supplicia Deus coram oculis mundi de Judaeis exiget excidio gentis." On the civil action at equity he says: "Natura aequi et boni, quae δικαιοσύνης, id est, *aequitatis* nomine intelligitur, hoc exigit, ut Rectores, etiamsi lex nulla praecesserit, bonos mala passos aliquibus bonis solentur: 2 Thess. i. 6, 7. Hebr. vi. 10. Ostendit ergo Spiritus Deum aequum esse Rectorem, ut qui me extra omnem injuriae contactum (hoc enim est quod ait, *Non videbitis Me*, ut supra vii. 36) in suae Majestatis consortium receperit." Finally the civil suit at law is set forth thus: "Inter κρίσεις, id est, *judicia quae inter partes exercentur*, est eximia illa de Talione, Levit. xxiv. 20, ut qui injuste cuiquam nocuit, ipse tantundem mali ferat. Diabolus causa fuit mortis Christi: jure igitur ipse Deo condemnante passus est quod ipsi est pro morte, exutus regno suo per destructionem idololatriae aliorumque vitiorum, peragente id Spiritu Sancto. Tot igitur modis per Spiritum Sanctum tanquam fidelissimum patronum probata est Christi causa, non sine maximo fructu apud pios animos."

Unquestionably there is much ingenuity in the framing and

working out of this notion: but I cannot perceive the slightest ground in the passage itself for supposing that it contains a reference to the procedure in the Jewish courts of justice, such as is manifest on the face of the text in Matth. v. 22. And what ground had Grotius for assuming that this tripartite juridical scheme existed in Judea? As he has not adduced any, nor have the writers since his time who have adopted his conjecture, we may fairly believe that, as Lampe says, "tota haec distinctio in cerebro Grotii tantum nota fuerit." If we look at the details of the interpretation, it is very doubtful whether Deut. xviii. 19 involves any mention of a criminal action. The words, *I will require it of him*, refer rather to judgements, national and personal, such as the Jews brought on themselves time after time by their unbelief. But if one leg of the comparison breaks down, the whole falls. Again, the meaning of δικαιοσύνη appears to be misapprehended by Grotius: this however will come before us more appropriately in a subsequent Note. Moreover, if any one of the three actions looks especially fitted to be deemed a criminal one, it would rather be the last than the first: and as Henry More observes, though he adopts the interpretation, in his *Mystery of Godliness* (B. V. c. 12), "τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς seems something lame here, the members being so heterogeneal one to another;" that is, with reference to the *Lex Talionis*, which Grotius makes the principle of his κρίσις. But the main objection to the interpretation is, that it degrades and contracts, or, so to speak, shrivels up the meaning of the whole passage, until all the precious truths of infinite length and breadth and depth and highth contained in it shrink into a mere puzzling enigmatical statement of a historical fact. This however only rendered the interpretation more acceptable to Hammond, who is fond of taking the words of the New Testament in their lowest and narrowest sense, and who thus, along with Grotius, must rank among the precursors of the rationalizing exegesis of the next century. But before I turn to him, I would remark with regard to Grotius, that, when referring to his Commentary, I have often been reminded of the report that he had an inclination to join the Church of Rome;

and it has seemed to me that the low, pragmatical, earthly view of the Gospel manifested therein,—as also in his elegant treatise *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*, — affords a strong confirmation to that report. Protestantism requires that intense energy of faith and piercing insight into divine truth, wherewith St Paul in the first age of the Church protested with such irresistible power against the inroads and usurpations of Judaism, and which was vouchsafed so largely in the great age of the Reformation. They who have these graces, must protest against the ordinances and rites, which are ever seeking to seat themselves on the throne of Faith and Truth. But when these qualities decay, when faith is feeble and dwindles into a mere act of the understanding, and when there is no longer any vivid perception of spiritual realities, Protestantism is apt to become purely negative: a negative tendency takes possession of the whole mind: it criticizes, rationalizes, Socinianizes, sets up the abstractions of the understanding as the only forms of truth. Or else they who cannot rest in this negative state, whose hearts crave something positive, but whose faith is too weak to find what they want in Christ and His Spirit, regarding the great works which accompanied the foundation of Christianity as bygone and historical, will readily turn to some outward institution and to outward ordinances, promising to supply them with that objective reality, which they cannot discern in the word of God, and in the conviction and communion of the Comforter.

To return to Hammond: his paraphrase and long note on our text are an expansion of what Grotius says, without the addition of a single argument, merely stating prolixly and confusedly what Grotius had stated concisely and clearly. He does indeed also refer to Schindler's *Pentaglotton*: but Lampe, quoting the passage cited, shews that only through a misapprehension of its meaning can it be supposed to countenance the Grotian dream. Hammond has indeed one advantage, that the conjecture, which in Grotius is captivating from its ingenuity, and which did captivate Henry More thereby, in him becomes wholly repulsive. Wolzogen too, in his Commentary on St John, adopts the chief

part of this interpretation, as indeed he is apt to follow Grotius, whose views are mostly very acceptable to a Socinian. Lampe also cites Possinus as having brought forward a modified form of this interpretation: but none of its advocates has done any thing to lessen its inherent improbability; and we may safely adopt Lampe's conclusion, who rejects it as utterly groundless. Indeed the recent commentators on St John, so far as I am acquainted with them, have not even noticed it.

NOTE M: p. 36.

Ἐὰν δὲ πάντες προφητεύσωσιν, εἰσέλθῃ δέ τις ἄπιστος ἢ ἰδιώτης, ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ πάντων, ἀνακρίνεται ὑπὸ πάντων. Here the ambiguity, or rather the fulness of meaning comprised in the word ἐλέγχω has furnisht occasion for a variety of interpretations, in all of which there may be a portion of truth: and these differences have been increast by the uncertainty as to the particular signification of προφητεύειν and ἰδιώτης in this passage.

With regard to προφητεύειν, the sense of our English derivative from it, according to popular usage, is much narrower than that of the Greek verb; and we are involuntarily led thereby to fancy, whenever we meet with the word, that it was intended to convey the notion of a prediction of future events, such as can only be known by inspiration. This however was only a part of the prophetic office and gift, even under the Old Dispensation, and is still more inadequate to its idea in the New Testament, more especially where St Paul speaks of it in his Epistle to the Church of Corinth. The true meaning of the word is well explained by Bleek, one of the best German biblical scholars, in an essay *on the Gift of Speaking with Tongues*, in the second volume of the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*. After referring to the distinction which Plato in the Timeus draws between the μάντις and the προφήτης, and pointing out how nearly it coincides with that between γλώσσαις λαλεῖν and προφητεύειν in this passage of St Paul, he adds, " St Paul however speaks of this as a special

χάρισμα, distinct, not only from the γλώσσαις λαλεῖν, but also from the ἑρμήνεια γλωσσῶν, so that προφήτης in him is not to be understood in the same sense as in the passage cited from Plato. But we should be no less far from the truth, if, with many of the modern interpreters, we refer the word merely to the singing of religious songs, or the exposition of the Jewish Prophets. There is no reason why we should not take προφητεύειν in this passage, and in all others in the New Testament where Christian prophets are spoken of, in the same sense as the προφήτεια of the Prophets of the Old Testament. It denotes the communication of all manner of knowledge, which has not been acquired in a natural way, by tradition, or by the perceptions of the senses, or by reflexion, but by immediate revelation. It does not matter whether that which is communicated in this manner be something future, or anything else that is hidden, and that God wills to make known to man. The idea of prophecy even under the Old Testament is not confined to the announcement of the future; nor is this its essential element: nor again is the reference to the future, to that which is to take place according to God's purpose, excluded from Christian prophecy: see Acts xi. 28. xxi. 11. This however is less brought forward here as the main point, which is rather the declaration of what is hidden in men's hearts, and admonitions, exhortations, and warnings connected therewith. Only the προφητευόων must always speak by reason of a divine revelation granted specially to him:" pp. 57—59. To this explanation Olshausen has added some good remarks in his note on 1 Cor. xiv. 1. " From the whole character and relative position of the Old Testament, it followed that the task of the prophets bore mainly on the revelation of the future. Everything in the institutions of the Old Testament, like the inward yearnings of all good men, pointed to that which was to come. In the New Testament on the other hand this part of the prophetic office necessarily fell into the background, as men were living in the enjoyment of the completion of all the promises.—In the New Testament the προφήτεια appears principally as that gift of the Spirit, by which faith is awakened and aroused in the hearts of

unbelievers." Thus the great subject of prophecy was the same under both Dispensations, Jesus the Incarnate Son of God; and under both Dispensations it was the gift of the same Spirit, even of the Comforter,—who, having reproved the world of sin and of righteousness and of judgement under the Old Testament, has entered upon His more blessed office of convincing the world thereof under the New Testament.

As to the meaning of ἰδιώτης, which has been discust of late years repeatedly,—for instance by Bleek in the Essay just cited, by Neander in his *History of the Apostolical Church* (p. 185), and by Heydenreich, Billroth, Rueckert, Olshausen, in their Commentaries on this Epistle,—it does not seem to me that any one of them has quite clearly markt out a sense suited to all the three verses in this chapter (16. 23. 24), in which the word occurs. By Chrysostom, who is followed by Theophylact, ἰδιώτης in v. 16 is interpreted λαϊκὸς, by Theodoret ὁ ἐν τῷ λαϊκῷ τάγματι τεταγμένος. The agreement however among these three Fathers is not that of three independent witnesses, who had come to the same conclusion, each led by his own researches; for both Theodoret and Theophylact very often do little else than transcribe, or abridge, or paraphrase Chrysostom. And though Olshausen follows them, and argues from this passage that the distinction between the clergy and laity must already have existed in the Church at Corinth, this is a feeble groundwork for such a hypothesis, a groundwork too that soon slips away, inasmuch as this sense is inapplicable to the other passages in the New Testament in which ἰδιώτης is found. The Fathers of the fourth, fifth, and eleventh century seem to have transferred the relations of their own times, in this as in many other things, by a fallacy very natural in an uncritical age, to the first. Whether ἰδιώτης was ever used to denote *a layman*, I know not: Suicer quotes no examples for this sense, except those in which Theodoret and Theophylact interpret it as so used by St Paul; and the need which the former finds to explain the word by the analogy of the common soldier is a presumption that it would not have been intelligible without. In classical Greek the derivative sense bears

witness of the Greek notion of the indispensableness of public life, even to the right development of the intellect: hence it signified a rude, ignorant person, answering nearly to *a boor*. And this sense agrees with the context in Acts iv. 13: *θεωροῦντες δὲ τὴν τοῦ Πέτρου παῤῥησίαν καὶ Ἰωάννου, καὶ καταλαβόμενοι ὅτι ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοί εἰσιν καὶ ἰδιῶται, ἐθαύμαζον*. So does it in the second Epistle to the Corinthians, xi. 6, where St Paul says of himself, *εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ γνώσει*. Nor is it inappropriate to any one of the three passages in the 14th Chapter of the first Epistle. If we try to form a conception of the position of the early Church, we shall perceive that, as is the case at present wherever we have missions among the heathens, beside the *ἐκκλησία* of those who were called to be saints through the knowledge of Christ, there were two classes of men with whom the Church came into contact, the *ἄπιστοι*, who openly denied and resisted the new doctrine, whether from any lingering belief in their old false gods, or from universal scepticism, or upon grounds of human reasoning, and those who came to listen to the new teachers, without any prepossessions against them, and in many cases with prepossessions in their favour, by reason of the graces manifested in their lives. Of these there would be divers classes: Theodoret interprets *ἰδιῶται* in the 23d verse to be *οἱ ἀμύητοι*· and it would seem from the 16th verse that the catechumens were probably included under the name: since the *ἰδιῶται* are spoken of as joining in the service, by saying *Amen* after the thanksgiving, and appear to have had a special place assigned to them; for I hardly think that *ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου* can be a mere periphrasis without any special significance. The analogy of the Court of the Gentiles in the temple at Jerusalem would naturally lead to the appointment of a similar place for the *ἰδιῶται*; and it is not unlikely that something of the kind had been usual in the synagogues in various parts of the world.

Now in the 22d verse St Paul says, first, that *tongues* were intended to be a sign, not for believers, but for unbelievers; even as all miracles were, the main purpose of which was to be *σημεῖα*, signs to startle men and draw attention to him by whom they

were wrought: for the notion that miracles have an argumentative and demonstrative efficacy, and that the faith of Christians is to be grounded upon them, belongs to a much later age, and is in fact the theological parallel to the materialist hypothesis, that all our knowledge is derived from the senses. St Paul then adds, that *prophesying* is not for unbelievers, but for believers, that is to say, chiefly and primarily for those who have already received the first principles of Christian faith, but who, in order to grow therein, need that those principles should be set forth with the power of the Spirit, as they expand through the gradations and ramifications of Christian life. Nevertheless, he goes on to state, *prophesying* has also a use with reference to unbelievers, nay, a greater use than *tongues*. For if, when the whole Church was assembled, all were to speak with tongues, and a party of unbelievers or persons ignorant of Christianity were to come in, they would think that everybody was mad. But if, instead of this, all were to exercise the gift of prophecy, then, if an unbeliever or an ignorant person should come in, ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ πάντων, ἀνακρίνεται ὑπὸ πάντων. By these last words, those who, in the notion of prophecy, lay the chief stress on the supernatural knowledge of outward facts, conceive St Paul to have implied that the ἄπιστός τις ἢ ἰδιώτης had come into the church with some specific malignant intention, and that this intention of his was detected by the prophets, and divulged to the whole congregation. Even Chrysostom speaks of this, as though it were the main point. Ἐλέγχεται γὰρ ὑπὸ πάντων· τοντέστιν, ἃ ἐπὶ καρδίας ἔχει, ταῦτα εἰς μέσον ἄγεται καὶ δείκνυται πᾶσιν. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἴσον εἰσελθόντα τινὰ ἰδεῖν τὸν μὲν Περσιστὶ, τὸν δὲ Συριστὶ φθεγγόμενον, καὶ εἰσελθόντα ἀκοῦσαι τὰ ἀπορρήτα τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας, καὶ εἴτε πειράζων καὶ μετὰ πονηρᾶς γνώμης, εἴτε ὑγιῶς εἰσελήλυθε, καὶ ὅτι τὸ καὶ τὸ αὐτῷ πέπρακται, καὶ τὸ βεβούλευται. And he refers to the instance of Sapphira. In all this however, as he is often wont, he narrows the meaning to that which was outward and temporary; and he loses sight of that higher ἔλεγχος of the Spirit, which alone was to be an abiding power in the Church, the conviction of sin, not of any one or more evil purposes or actions, but of the sinfulness of our whole

nature. This is the secret which is revealed and made manifest to the unbeliever or ἰδιώτης by the prophesying in the congregation: and thus is he brought to acknowledge the wisdom of God dwelling in the Church. How poor and superficial are such interpretations of Scripture, which are the prevalent ones among the Fathers, when compared with those revelations of the inner man, and of the power of the Spirit, which were vouchsafed to the Reformers! Calvin illustrates this verse by a comparison with that in the Epistle to the Hebrews; *The word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and a discerner of the thoughts and purposes of the heart.* And having thus got the right clew, he proceeds: "Quod ad praesentem locum spectat, non est difficile nunc intelligere quid sit *coargui* et *dijudicari*. Torpent hominum conscientiae, nec malorum suorum displicentia tanguntur, quamdiu ignorantiae tenebris sunt obvolutae.—Verbum autem Dei usque in ultimos animi recessus penetrat, et, quasi illato lumine, tenebras discutit, et excutit mortiferum illum torporem. Sic ergo coarguuntur infideles, quia dum intelligunt sibi negotium esse cum Deo, serio tanguntur et expavescunt: item dijudicantur, quia, cum ante in tenebris abditi miseriam turpitudinemque suam non cernerent, nunc in lucem extracti coguntur testimonium contra se ferre.—Coarguitur, inquam, infidelis, non quod propheta vel tacita opinione, vel ore palam, judicium ferat, sed quia audientis conscientia judicium suum ex doctrina concipit. Dijudicatur, quia descendit in se ipsum, et, habito examine, sibi innotescit, qui ante sui oblitus erat. Quo etiam pertinet illud Christi dictum, *Spiritus, cum veniet, arguet mundum de peccato:* atque id est quod subjicit continuo, *occulta cordis ejus manifesta fieri:* neque enim significat, meo quidem judicio, reliquis patefieri, qualis sit, sed potius conscientiam expergefieri, ut sua, quae ante latebant, mala cognoscat." Thus does the great master quietly put aside one idle fancy after another, and walk on straightforward in the light of truth.

Among the lessons deducible from these verses, two are so directly opposed to certain errours which have got into vogue with

the disciples of our newfangled theology, that it may not be useless to point out how those errours are refuted thereby. In the first place it is well known to be a fashion nowadays to decry the holy ordinance of preaching. For as a man walking in the dark along a passage, when he has knockt his head against the wall on the one side, is pretty sure in the recoil to knock it against the wall on the opposite side, so is it with the world, and with the religious world as well as the rest. The undue, because exclusive, exaltation of preaching has been followed by an undue depreciation of it. Now this is not the place to examine into the various causes, lying in the present condition of the world, and in the present aspect of the human mind, which have given such a paramount importance to preaching, and which no wise man will dare to disregard, however he may deplore them, or deem them morbidly excessive. I have only to remark here, what intelligent readers of the Bible must be well aware of, that preaching is that ordinance in the Church of later times, which answers to the prophesying of the apostolic age. Its subject is the same, Jesus, the Incarnate Son of God, the Crucified Saviour of the world. Its purpose is the same, to set Him visibly before men's hearts and minds, and by so doing to convince them of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgement. And if it be faithful, it will have the same power, the power of the Spirit. Thus it is especially fitted to be the instrument of converting the unbeliever: and few, I think, will question that, among all the means of grace, it has been the most efficacious in stirring the consciences of the ἄπιστοι and ἰδιῶται, so that the secrets of their hearts have become manifest to them, and they have been brought to confess that the light of God's truth dwells in the word of the Gospel. This efficacy indeed with regard to unbelievers, the disparagers of preaching are mostly ready to acknowledge; and so they grant its usefulness for the conversion of the heathens: but the calamitous delusions which have been propagated by the asserters of the magical power of the baptismal act, prevent their duly recognizing what a vast proportion of ἄπιστοι and ἰδιῶται is to be found in these days within the pale of the Church. Nor does St Paul say that the sole use of

prophesying is for unbelievers: he says the very contrary, that prophesying is not for unbelievers, but for believers, that is, mainly and principally. He was not so ignorant of human nature as to suppose, that, because we have been buried with Christ by baptism into death, we may therefore dispense with any means of instruction or exhortation, in order that we may indeed walk in newness of life, and reckon ourselves dead to sin, but alive to God through Jesus Christ. It is true, preaching is a work of the intellect: the highest faculties of the human mind can find no more suitable or worthier employment: but is this to render it a mere human work? is this to exclude it from the influence of the Spirit? Surely it was in men's hearts and minds that God sent down His Spirit to dwell: and it is in the gifts and outpourings of the heart and mind that the graces of the Spirit are especially manifested. Yet many are far more willing to believe that the power of the Spirit lies in outward acts and outward symbols. Thus the fetish-worshiper and the idolater have still their counterparts in Christendom. Nay, how many are there still, who share in the blunder of the Corinthians, and would deem the speaking with tongues a much surer proof of God's presence, than all the preaching of faith and love! I am not referring specially to the Irvingites, who combined the exaltation of preaching with the opposite delusion. There are numberless cravers after *σημεῖα*, beside the Irvingites; and there have been such in every age of the Church. There are the worshipers of the mere elements in the Sacraments. There are those who fancy the dead stones in God's house more precious and momentous than the living. There are those who attach more importance to gestures and postures, to crossings and genuflexions, to surplices and copes, than to the doctrine of truth and the practice of love. There are those who long to see the presence of miracles, of *σημεῖα* and *θαύματα*, in the Church, and who, adopting the errour of the Church of Rome, would regard these as a more certain token of the presence of God, than the prophesying of faith, the ἔλεγχος of the Spirit. Prophesying indeed is only for a time, and *will be done away, when that which is perfect is come;* while prayer and praise

and thanksgiving will endure through eternity. Not that the inductive intellect is to be extinguisht; but it will expand into the intuitive. Until however that which is perfect is come,—so long as there is any sophistry to be exposed, any misrepresentation to be corrected, any errour to be refuted,—so long as there is any ignorance to be enlightened, any infirmity of purpose to be strengthened,—so long as men's hearts and minds are subject to the action of influences which draw them away from the path of divine truth,—so long will it be necessary for the Church to wield the sword of the Spirit in combating all her foes through the sacred ordinance of prophesying or preaching.

The other remark which I would draw from this passage of St Paul, as pertinent to one of the extravagances of our days, relates to the criterion by which, here and in other places, the great Apostle measures the value of the various gifts and other means appointed for the edification of the Church,—their comparative utility or expediency with regard to that purpose. This idea runs through the whole passage, finding vent especially in that noble exclamation, *I thank God, I speak with tongues more than ye all; yet in the church I would rather speak five words with my understanding, that I might instruct others, than ten thousand words in a tongue.* Alas! how perpetually has the Church, how perpetually have its individual members, acted in direct opposition to this magnanimous humility! In such a spirit much censure has lately been poured on that portion of our Church who have been designated by the title of *evangelical*, because, in estimating the relative importance of any ordinance or instrument of grace, they have lookt almost exclusively to its serviceableness for the conversion and spiritual edification of their brethren. This has been condemned as a utilitarian spirit; and it has been said that they ought to have lookt, not to such narrow, earthly objects as the good of human souls, but to the one grand object, which we ought always to set before us, the glory of God. A utilitarian spirit! It would be difficult to produce a more singular instance of the manner in which we let ourselves be blown about by mere sounds. The wisest and best writers in our own country, in France, and in

Germany, have been zealously employed during the last fifty or sixty years in denouncing that utilitarian spirit, which had set up a low, temporal, earthbound utility, as the test whereby to settle what is right or wrong, good or evil, among the laws and principles of the moral world. And now those who, rejecting all earthly aims and considerations, have made the eternal, moral and spiritual good of souls, their rule of judgement and of action, not with reference to principles, but to means, are called utilitarians. Verily then St Paul must be termed the first utilitarian. Nay, for what but this very purpose, which is thus disparaged with an odious name, did the Son of God shed His blood on the Cross? Here we perceive how intense man's appetite for slavery is, seeing that, when Wisdom, after long and laborious exertions, has delivered him from an errour, he will take up the very weapon of his deliverance, and fashion new fetters out of it. On the other hand it is true that the Glory of God is the noblest and worthiest object of human endeavour. But *Glory* again is an ambiguous word, has a human as well as a divine sense, and these are far asunder as the poles. The natural man would never have conceived that the glory of God would manifest itself in the still small voice. He wants something grand, splendid, pompous, —temples, mosques, and cathedrals, white and purple robes and processions, incense-offerings and solemn chants, things that strike the eye and the ear. Or he will require something that shall be strange and startling, repugnant to the common order of things, and to natural appetites and inclinations,—mortifications and flagellations, fakirs and hermits and dervishes, monks and nuns. Nay, he may blind himself into seeking the glory of God by that which is terrible and cruel and destructive, as Dominic and Alva and many of their collegues may probably have done, and some who took part in the massacre of the Hugonots. It would seem too as if Attila, and other like hellhounds, had whetted their natural thirst for blood, by persuading themselves that they were the ministers of God's wrath, and were to spread His glory by the slaughter of millions of mankind. Hence there is great need that our minds should be disentangled from this natural confusion, of mixing up

their own notions of glory with God's; and we should be continually gazing upon the mirror presented to us in the Gospel and life of His Son, in order to learn where and in what God seeks and finds His glory. Then shall we learn, as St Paul learnt, that the best way in which we can labour to promote the glory of God, is by diligence in endeavouring to further the great work, which He especially desires to see, the salvation of souls, and their edification with all the graces of His Spirit.

NOTE N: p. 38.

See the passage of Donne quoted in p. 538. All that seems requisite to be said on this point has been anticipated in Note K.

NOTE O: p. 38.

Tit. I. 9. Ἀντεχόμενον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου, ἵνα δυνατὸς ᾖ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ καὶ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντα ἐλέγχειν. This verse is rendered by Tyndall, *And such as cleveth unto the true worde of doctryne, that he maye be able to exhorte with wholsome learning, and to improve them that saye against it. Improve* seems here to be nearly equivalent to *disprove* or refute. Tyndall's translation, with slight variations, is retained in our subsequent Bibles down to the Authorized Version, where it is considerably altered thus: *Holding fast the faithful word, as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers.* Here two material improvements have been made. Ὁ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστὸς λόγος is not *the true word of doctrine*, but the *true* or *faithful word as received by teaching:* and ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ is much better exprest by *sound doctrine*, than by *wholesome learning.* At the same time the latter part of the verse has been misrendered, in a manner that obscures, if it does not pervert, the sense, which is, *that he may be able both to exhort,*

(or rather *to instruct,*) *in sound doctrine, and to convince,* (or *to refute*) *the gainsayers.* Our Version seems to make the main part of the ministerial office consist in dealing with *gainsayers;* whereas the more important part of it, the instructing ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ὑγιαινούσῃ, pertains mainly to the training of the believing members of the Church: this clause in the Greek depends merely on the verb παρακαλεῖν, not on ἐλέγχειν.

NOTE P: p. 38.

Donne, in speaking on this point, in his 35th Sermon, pours out a strain of that rich eloquence in which his prose-writings abound. "This one word, *arguet, He shall reprove, convince,* admits three acceptations: First, in the future,—*He shall:* and so the *cum venerit, when He comes,* signifies *antequam abierit,* before He departs. He came at Pentecost, and presently set on foot His commission by the Apostles, to reprove, convince the world of sin, and hath proceeded ever since by their successors in reducing nation after nation: and before the consummation of the world, before He retire to rest eternally in the bosom of the Father and the Son, from whom He proceeded, He shall reprove the whole world of sin, that is, bring them to a knowledge that, in the breach of the law of nature, and in the guiltiness of original sin, they are all under a burthen, which none of them all of themselves can discharge. This work St Paul seems to hasten sooner. To convince the Jews of their infidelity, he argues thus: *Have not they heard the Gospel? They,* that is, the Gentiles; and if they, much more you: and that they had heard it he proves by the application of those words, *Their voice is gone through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world;* that is, the voice of the Apostles in the preaching of the Gospel.

"Hence grew that distraction and perplexity which we find in the Fathers, whether it could be truly said that the Gospel had been preacht over all the world in those times. If we number the Fathers, most are of that opinion, that before the destruction of the

Temple of Jerusalem this was fulfilled. Of those that think the contrary, some proceed upon reasons ill grounded, particularly Origen: *Quid de Britannis et Germanis, qui nec adhuc audierunt verbum Evangelii?*—For before Origen's time,—in what darkness soever he mistook us to be, we had a blessed and a glorious discovery of the Gospel of Christ Jesus in this island. St Jerome, who denies this universal preaching of the Gospel before the destruction of the Temple, yet doubts not but that the fulfilling of that prophecy was then in action, and in a great forwardness. *Jam completum, aut brevi cernimus complendum;—nec puto aliquam remanere gentem quae Christi nomen ignorat.*—

"The later divines and the School, that find not this early and general preaching over the world to lie in proof, proceed to a more safe way, that there was then *odor Evangelii*, a sweet savour of the Gospel, issued, though it were not yet arrived to all parts; as, if a plentiful and diffusive perfume were set up in a house, we would say the house were perfumed, though that perfume were not yet come to every corner of the house. But not to thrust the world into so narrow a strait, as it is when a decree is said to have gone out from Augustus *to tax all the world*,—for this was but the Roman world;—nor, that *there were men dwelling at Jerusalem, devout men, of every nation under heaven*,—for this was but of nations discovered and traded withal then;—nor, when St Paul says that *the faith of the Romans was publisht to the world*,—for that was as far as he had gone;—those words of our Saviour, *The Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preacht in all the world for a witness to all nations; and then shall the end come*, have evermore by all ancient and modern Fathers and schools, preachers and writers, expositors and controverters, been literally understood, that before the end of the world the Gospel shall be actually, really, evidently, effectually, preacht to all nations: and so, *cum venerit, when the Holy Ghost comes*, that is, *antequam abierit, before He go*, He shall reprove, convince, the whole world of sin, and this, as He is a Comforter, by accompanying their knowledge of sin with the knowledge of the Gospel for the remission of sins.

"It agrees with the nature of goodness to be so diffusive,

communicable to all. It agrees with the nature of God, who is Goodness, that, as all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened, and so came the Flood over all, so there should be *diluvium Spiritus*, a flowing out of the Holy Ghost upon all, as He promises, *I will pour it out upon all*, and *diluvium gentium*, that all nations should flow up to Him. For this Spirit *spirat ubi vult, breathes where it pleases Him :* and though a natural wind cannot blow east and west, north and south together, this Spirit at once breathes upon the most contrary dispositions, upon the presuming, and upon the despairing sinner, and in an instant can denizen and naturalize that soul that was an alien to the Covenant, empale and inlay that soul that was bred upon the common amongst the Gentiles, transform that soul which was a goat into a sheep, invite that soul which was a lost sheep to the fold again, shine upon that soul that sits in darkness and in the shadow of death, and so melt and pour out that soul that yet understands nothing of the Divine nature, nor of the Spirit of God, that it shall become partaker of the Divine nature, and be the same spirit with the Lord.—Shall any man murmur or draw into disputation why this Spirit doth not breathe in all nations at once? or why not sooner than it doth in some? Doth this Spirit fall and rest upon every soul in this congregation now? May not one man find that he receives Him now, and suffer Him to go away again? May not another, who felt no motion of Him now, recollect himself at home, and remember something then which hath been said now to the quickening of this Spirit in him there? Since the Holy Ghost visits us so, successively, not all at once, not all with an equal establishment, we may safely embrace that acceptation of this word, *arguet*, He shall, He will, *antequam abierit*, before the end come, *reprove*, convince, the whole world of sin, by this His way, the way of comfort, the preaching of the Gospel."

This extract from Donne is sufficient in this place to explain the meaning of the word κόσμος, which in the text, as in so many other passages in the New Testament, has been misunderstood and misinterpreted, so as to afford a prop for divers errours, some

of them of no slight moment, at least from the days of the Donatists downward. In like manner Perkins, in his *Treatise of Conscience*, contending against the blasphemous proposition, that they who had never heard of Christ were to be condemned for not believing in Him, says, that "some of the schoolmen" had supported that proposition by this text, as though the declaration that the Holy Ghost *shall judge the world of sin, because they have not believed in Christ*, implied that condemnation on account of this sin was to pass on all mankind from the beginning, and in every region of the earth. To which he answers, that "by the world we must not understand all and every man since the Creation, but all nations and kingdoms in the last age of the world, to whom the Gospel was revealed." *Works*, vol. i. p. 523.

Tittmann, following in the wake of the dull rationalism of the last generation, would confine κόσμος here to Judea. "In hoc loco—primum sumere possumus hoc, per τὸν κόσμον, ut in his sermonibus Domini universis, intelligi in primis mundum Judaicum." Of this shallow interpretation I shall have to speak in Note V. He might have learnt better from Lampe, whose work, had it been more studied, would have preserved many of the subsequent commentators from much ignorance and absurdity. "Sensu hic latiori (he says) quam capitibus praecedentibus *mundus* accipitur, pro universitate Judaeorum et Gentium.—Mundus hic per Christum reconciliabatur Deo: 2 Cor. v. 19, Joh. i. 29, 1 Joh. ii. 2. Idem Christo datus erat per testamentum Patris in peculium: Ps. ii. 8. Haeres ille verus mundi, tanquam antitypus Abrahami futurus. Fas ergo erat ut per Spiritum ad eum finem adaptaretur."

NOTE Q: p. 64.

Each part of the threefold work of the Comforter, as briefly set forth in this passage of St John, has furnisht occasion for a diversity of interpretations; which, as the subject is one reaching down to the living centre of truth, exhibit the characters of the various schools in theology. In speaking of our immediate text,

Chrysostom, as he is wont on such points, takes the narrower and more superficial view, looking almost exclusively at that conviction which was to be wrought by means of signs and wonders and other external proofs. *Ὅταν δὲ καὶ δι' ἐκείνου* (by the Comforter) *ταῦτα γίνηται, καὶ διδάγματα τελειότερα καὶ σημεῖα μείζονα, πολλῷ μᾶλλον κατακριθήσονται, ὁρῶντες τοσαῦτα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου γινόμενα· ὅπερ σαφεστέραν ποιεῖ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. νῦν μὲν γὰρ δύνανται λέγειν, ὅτι ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱὸς, οὗ ἡμεῖς οἴδαμεν τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα· ὅταν δὲ ἴδωσι θάνατον λυόμενον, κακίαν ἐκβαλλομένην, χωλείαν φύσεως διορθουμένην, δαίμονας ἐλαυνομένους, πνεύματος χορηγίαν ἄφατον, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐμοῦ καλουμένου γινόμενα, τί ἐροῦσι;—τὸ δὲ ἐλέγξει περὶ ἁμαρτίας, τούτεστι, πᾶσαν ἀπολογίαν αὐτῶν ἐκκόψει καὶ δείξει πεπλημμεληκότας ἀσύγγνωστα.* In this argument it would seem to be implied that the outward miracles wrought by the Apostles were greater than our Lord's. More effectual indeed they were in producing conviction: this however was not on account of any higher demonstrative power lying in them: it was a consequence of that very conviction of sin which the Spirit awakened. When men were *prickt in their hearts*, then they were ready to recognize the truths, of which the miracles were the signs. Besides the advocates of this exposition forget that, when a man has been brought by a train of reasoning to acknowledge a proposition, which he had previously denied, he does not say, *How wicked I was!* but, at the utmost, *How foolish I was, not to see this before!* Only when the miracles were carried home to the heart by the demonstration of the Spirit, convincing men of the divine character, of *the righteousness*, of Him, by whom, and in whose name, they were wrought, did they also serve to arouse the conviction of the sin of having rejected Him. Nevertheless Theophylact, as usual, does little else than transcribe Chrysostom. *Ἐλέγξει τὸν κόσμον περὶ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ δείξει αὐτοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς, ὅτι οὐ πιστεύουσιν. ὅταν γὰρ ἴδωσι διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν πνεύματι σημεῖα ἐξαίσια καὶ τέρατα γινόμενα, καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτω πιστεύσωσι, πῶς οὐ κατακρίσεως ἄξιοι, καὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ μεγίστῃ ἔνοχοι;—ἀπροφάσιστος ἔσται*

αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀπιστία, τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου τοιαῦτα ἐπιτελοῦντος.

Among later divines this view has been adopted by many; for instance, by Grotius, and by Bossuet, as is seen in the passages already quoted in pp. 546 and 540. In like manner Hammond loses all the power and depth of our Lord's declaration, that *the Comforter will convince the world of sin, because they believe not in Me,* by paraphrasing it thus: "He shall charge it with the crime of not believing in Me, by the gift of tongues, &c., evidencing that I, that am to be preacht by that means, am indeed the true Messias, and so likewise by the fulfilling those predictions which now I give you." If any one wishes to see into what a maze of dulness this may be expanded, he may read that portion of Hammond's note, which refers to the Comforter's convincing the world of sin. Even the meagre rationalism of such men as Kuinoel,—who reduces the meaning of the promise to "Adjutor ille per vos vestramque doctrinam contemtores meos eo perducet, ut intelligant et fateri cogantur se peccasse, quod meam doctrinam repudiarint, vos vi divina adjuti eos *ἀπιστίας* convincetis,"—is scarcely so repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, inasmuch as it implies a conscience and a sense of moral truth in the mind, to which the conviction is to be addrest.

On the other hand Augustin, who had a much profounder insight into the Scriptural meaning and power of faith, and the sinfulness of unbelief, discusses our text in his 143d Sermon. "Medicina omnium animae vulnerum, et una propitiatio pro delictis hominum est, credere in Christum: nec omnino quisquam mundari potest, sive ab originali peccato,—sive a peccatis quae ipsi non resistendo carnali concupiscentiae—addiderunt, nisi per fidem coadunentur et compaginentur corpori ejus, qui sine ulla illecebra carnali—conceptus est,—*et peccatum non fecit, nec inventus est dolus in ore ejus.* In eum quippe credentes, filii Dei fiunt; quia ex Deo nascuntur per adoptionis gratiam, quae est in fide Jesu Christi.—De hoc ergo uno peccato voluit mundum argui, quod non credunt in eum: videlicet, quia in eum credendo cuncta peccata solvuntur, hoc unum imputari voluit, quo caetera

colligantur. Et quia credendo nascuntur ex Deo, et filii Dei fiunt: *Dedit* enim, inquit, *illis potestatem filios Dei fieri, credentibus in eum.* Qui ergo credit in Filium Dei, in quantum adhaeret illi, et fit etiam ipse per adoptionem filius et haeres Dei, —in tantum non peccat. Unde dicit Joannes: *Qui natus est ex Deo, non peccat.* Et ideo peccatum unde mundus arguitur hoc est, quod non credunt in eum. Hoc est peccatum de quo itidem dicit: *Si non venissem, peccatum non haberent.* Numquid enim alia innumerabilia peccata non habebant? Sed adventu ejus hoc unum peccatum accessit non credentibus, quo caetera tenerentur. In credentibus autem quia hoc unum defuit, factum est ut cuncta dimitterentur credentibus. Nec ob aliud apostolus Paulus, *Omnes,* inquit, *peccaverunt et egent gloria Dei;* ut qui crediderit in eum non confundatur.—Itaque cum de Judaeorum infidelitate loqueretur, non ait, Etenim si quidam illorum peccaverunt, numquid peccatum eorum fidem Dei evacuabit? Quomodo enim diceret, Si quidam illorum peccaverunt, cum ipse dixerit, *Omnes enim peccaverunt?* Sed ait, *Si quidam illorum non crediderunt, numquid incredulitas eorum fidem Dei evacuabit?* Ut hoc peccatum expressius demonstraret, quo uno clauditur adversus caetera, ne per Dei gratiam relaxentur. De quo uno peccato per adventum Spiritus Sancti, hoc est, per donum ipsius gratiae quod fidelibus datur, mundus arguitur." There is a far clearer perception of Christian truth in this passage, though, according to the general character of Augustin's writings, it is wanting in philosophical precision, accumulating a variety of explanations, without clearly marking out the right one, or shewing how they are to be reconciled. This defect is still more apparent in the 144th Sermon, which is on the same text, but evidently written at a different time. In it he says, "Oboritur nobis intelligendi desiderium, cur peccatum hominum quasi solum esset, non credere in Christum, ita de hoc solo dixit, quod mundum Spiritus Sanctus argueret: si autem manifestum est praeter hanc infidelitatem alia multa hominum esse peccata, cur de hoc solo mundum Spiritus Sanctus arguat. An quia peccata omnia per infidelitatem tenentur, per fidem dimittuntur; propterea hoc unum prae caeteris

imputat Deus, per quod fit ut caetera non solvantur, dum non credit in humilem Deum homo superbus? Sic enim scriptum est: *Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam.*—De peccato igitur arguuntur infideles, id est, dilectores mundi; nam ipsi significantur *mundi* nomine,—non alio quam quod non crediderunt in Christum. Hoc denique peccatum si non sit, nulla peccata remanebunt, quia justo ex fide vivente cuncta solvuntur. Sed multum interest, utrum quisque credat ipsum esse Christum, et utrum credat in Christum. Nam ipsum esse Christum et daemones crediderunt; nec tamen in Christum daemones crediderunt. Ille enim credit in Christum, qui et sperat in Christum et diligit Christum. Nam si fidem habet sine spe ac sine dilectione, Christum esse credit, non in Christum credit. Qui ergo in Christum credit, credendo in Christum, venit in eum Christus, et quodam modo unitur in eum, et membrum in corpore ejus efficitur. Quod fieri non potest, nisi et spes accedat et caritas."

These passages sufficiently prove that, according to Augustin's conception, faith was something much higher, more living, and more powerful, than mere belief. Yet even he did not set the true idea of faith clearly and distinctly before his mind, any more than any other divine in the long interval between St Paul and Luther. In the Commentary of Thomas Aquinas, which is assuredly a most favorable sample of the exegesis of the middle ages, the explanations of Chrysostom and Augustin are set side by side, but without any attempt to exercise judgement by giving a preference to either, or to elicit the portions of the truth which each had inadequately exprest. In fact, notwithstanding the extraordinary subtilty exhibited by many of the schoolmen, and the genius which manifested itself during the middle ages in divers regions of thought and art, the human mind in many respects was still in its nonage, *under tutors and governors until the time appointed by the Father.*

In Anselm's Treatise *De Concordia Gratiae et Liberi Arbitrii* (c. vii.), the question is discust, "Cur arguantur illi, qui verbum Dei non suscipiunt, cum hoc facere nequeant nisi gratia eorum voluntates dirigente?" and this discussion is founded on our text,

" Dicit enim Dominus de Spiritu Sancto, *Ille arguet mundum de peccato, quia non crediderunt in me.* Ad quod licet forsitan difficile sit respondere, quod tamen Deo dante possum, tacere non debeo. Notandum est quia impotentia quae descendit ex culpa non excusat impotentem, culpa manente. Unde in infantibus, in quibus exigit Deus a natura humana justitiam, quam accepit in primis parentibus cum potestate servandi illam in omnem prolem suam, non excusat eam impotentia habendi justitiam ; quoniam propter culpam in hanc corruit impotentiam.—Quoniam ergo peccando deseruit justitiam, ad peccatum illi imputatur impotentia, quam ipsa peccando sibi fecit. Nec solum impotentia justitiam habendi, sed etiam impotentia illam intelligendi, similiter in non baptizatis imputatur ad peccatum ; quoniam pariter descendit a peccato. Possumus etiam rationabiliter asserere quia quod a prima conditionis humanae dignitate ac fortitudine atque pulcritudine minorata et corrupta est, illi ad culpam imputatur. Per hoc namque minoravit, quantum in ipsa fuit, honorem et laudem Dei. Quippe secundum dignitatem operis, laudatur et praedicatur sapientia artificis. Quanto igitur natura humana pretiosum opus Dei, unde ipse glorificandus erat, in se minoravit atque foedavit, tanto sua culpa Deum exhonoravit. Quod illi ad tantum statuitur peccatum, ut non nisi per mortem Dei deleatur. Siquidem ipsos motus, sive appetitus, quibus propter peccatum Adae, sicut bruta animalia, subjacemus,—satis ostendit sacra auctoritas imputari ad peccatum. Quippe cum de solo motu irae, sine opere vel voce, dicit Dominus, *Qui irascitur fratri suo, reus erit judicio,* aperte monstrat culpam non esse levem, quam tam gravis, scilicet, mortis sequitur damnatio.—Et cum Paulus de illis, qui carnem, id est, concupiscentias sentiunt nolentes, ait, *Nihil damnationis est his qui sunt in Jesu Christo, qui non secundum carnem ambulant,* hoc est non voluntate consentiunt, sine dubio significat eos, qui non sunt in Christo, sequi damnationem, quoties sentiunt carnem, etiamsi non secundum illam ambulant. Quoniam sic factus est homo, ut eam sentire—non deberet. Si quis igitur quae dixi diligenter considerat, nullatenus eos, qui propter culpam suam verbum Dei suscipere nequeunt, recte arguendos

dubitat." This passage, although there must needs be a ground of deep truth in whatever proceeds from one of the greatest masters in theology, contains two or three questionable positions, which seem to border closely on awful errours. Indeed it can hardly be otherwise, when the processes of logic are employed to draw inferences from the mysterious realities of religion: for in every reality there is something which logic cannot appreciate, and through the neglect of which the conclusions deduced by logic concerning its formal verities become more or less inapplicable. In the first place Anselm's remarks, in their bearing on God's justice, are warpt by that proneness, which is so grievously common among divines, to close their eyes against the light of conscience, and against that idea of justice and right, which is one of the pole-stars of the human mind, and to pare and screw down the notion of justice into accordance with the scheme of propositions which they have built up into their theological system. It has been contended indeed by many, that we can have no correct conception of justice, except what we derive from the Bible: so fond are men of pampering their sloth and selfsufficiency by assuming that they have the only key to all knowledge in their hands, and that everything else is naught. But without stopping to argue against this debasing fallacy, which all history and philosophy and poetry and the laws of all nations refute, or to shew how the reverse is implied in every page of the Bible itself, speaking, as it everywhere does, to the reason and the conscience, it is sufficient to call to mind that sublime question, *Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?* that is, *Shall He not do what shall be recognized to be right by man's reason and conscience?* And this question, be it remembered, is one which man was permitted to ask, and that too beneath the early dawn of Revelation, when divine truth was just beginning to exercise its informing power upon the understanding: nor do we read that this question was regarded as presumptuous, but on the contrary that the Judge of all the earth vouchsafed to give ear to it and to justify His ways. Moreover we should never allow ourselves to lose sight of the great principle declared by St Paul, that, in all

cases in which God can be contemplated as reckoning with man, the scale of this reckoning will be *according to what a man has, and not according to what he has not:* and we must scrupulously beware of representing God, after the manner of so many, as dealing with men like a sophist or a juggler, making believe that they have what they have not, and that they have not what they have. It may indeed happen that inferences, which we regard as legitimately deduced from other coordinate scriptural truths, will seem to militate against this principle: but let us rather distrust our logic than our conscience, and be assured that such inferences, however correct they may appear, must in some point or other have started aside like a broken bow. Let us never doubt that no man will be condemned by the Allrighteous Judge for the want of that which he could not have had: our condemnation will be, and is, that we have not that which we might have had, and that we have a clinging, crushing weight of sin, which we have gathered and heapt upon ourselves, which benumbs all our efforts, and palsies all our faculties, and from which, if we had given ear to the exhortations of our better monitors, inward and outward, we might have been free. Again, in what Anselm says about God's glory, and its being impaired by the sinfulness of man, there is a leaning toward the notion that God's glory is shewn forth by the qualities of His works, rather than in the manifestation of His own Holiness and Righteousness and Truth and Mercy and Love. Further, the remark on our Lord's words concerning anger implies an indistinct apprehension of that great evangelical truth, that the essential sinfulness of sin lies in the heart, in the inward feeling when indulged, and not merely in the outward act, of which alone Law can take cognizance. Finally it is anything but a legitimate conversion of St Paul's words, to say that *there is condemnation to those who are not in Christ Jesus, even though they do not walk according to the flesh.* If we look at the whole passage connectedly, we shall perceive that they who are not in Christ Jesus, and have not the power of the Spirit to support them, cannot do otherwise than walk according to the flesh, through the infirmity of their will, by reason

whereof *they do that which they allow not, and do not that which they would.*

Tauler, in his Sermon on our text, merely speaks of the Spirit as reproving sin, without reference to the particular sin, of which it is here declared that He was to convict the world. But what he says has his characteristic depth. "He will reprove them for their sins. What are their sins? Now know that the eternal God made all things, and appointed each thing for its right end. Thus He made fire, that it should rise up, and stones, that they should fall down. Thus nature has given to the eyes to see, to the ears to hear, to the hands to work, and to the feet to walk; and thus each member is obedient to the natural will, without any opposition, whether the matter be easy or hard, sweet or sour, if so be that the will thoroughly wills it; thus too the members are thoroughly obedient, even when it is an affair of life or death. This appears often in many lovers of this world, how they merrily and joyfully cast away all ease, and riches thereto, and honour, for that which they so wantonly and foolishly love, to the end that their carnal lust may thus be satisfied. Now the Spirit says in us, Who in this age is thus obedient to God, and thus exact in all His commandments, giving up himself and all earthly things according to His will, though God verily ought to be our Ruler? This sin the Holy Ghost reproves, when He comes, that man so greatly and so often resists this Divine Will and its good admonitions. This sin, and many hidden offenses, the Holy Ghost rebukes, when He comes to a man. This rebuke works a quick, sharp, hard judgement in a man, and a hellish pain, and an intolerable woe, whereof worldly men, who live according to nature, know little. This is one of the surest signs that the Holy Ghost is in truth present. When this judgement is indeed born, the case is safe. For a thousand offenses, which a man truly acknowledges and confesses himself to be guilty of, are not so perilous and so mischievous to a man, as a single offense, which thou wilt not recognize, nor allow thyself to be convinced of. Now know, those spiritual men, who are so much pleased with themselves, with what they do and what they do

not, are all in dangerous sin; and nothing will ever come of such selfwilled men."

Thus here again, if we desire to dive into the mysterious depths of meaning contained in this declaration concerning the Comforter, we must come down to the age of the Reformation. Luther explains it with his usual fulness and energy. "What (he asks) is it that the Holy Ghost is to rebuke? Christ mentions three things, and says, *He shall rebuke the world by reason of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgement;* and He Himself explains what He means. They are dark words however, and a strange speech, to those who do not understand, and are not used to the Scriptures. But to those who know the doctrine of the Gospel concerning Christ from the writings of the Apostles, especially of this Evangelist John, they ought not to be strange or unintelligible.

"The first thing is: *He will rebuke the world for sin, because they believe not in Me.* What is this? Is not sin already rebuked and condemned in the world? Who does not know that adultery, murder, stealing, &c., are wrong? Have not even the heathens forbidden and punisht such things? What need we then the Holy Ghost to rebuke sin? But what manner of sin is this of which He speaks, *that they believe not in Me?* Has He nothing else to rebuke? It is plain, He does not speak of those sins, which the world sees and rebukes; this He shews sufficiently by those words, *that they believe not in Me:* for who ever heard that this is to be the sin which condemns the whole world, the not believing in Christ?—Seeing however that this rebuke for sin is to pass upon the whole world, universally and without distinction, and that no one is to be exempted, be he who he may, it follows that the sins for which all men are to be rebuked by the Holy Ghost, must be different from those which are notorious, and recognized by the world. For one cannot rebuke everybody on account of these; since there are many who live so that no one can reprove or blame them, but all the world must praise them as honest, honorable, nay, as upright persons, who not only avoid sin, but also exercise themselves in a handsome, honorable walk, and in good works. Should you ask however, What sin

have they? or, What is rebuked in them? Christ makes answer, *that they believe not in Me.* Here stands in brief what makes them all sinners, and condemns them; and all is comprised in this one thing, they are without the faith and knowledge of Christ. Thus are they shortly and roundly concluded under sin, so that one need not seek long and ask, Which, and what manner of sin is to be rebuked in each? or How many various sins there may be? Here you have it all in one word, that this one thing is rebuked in all at once, and is the sin of the whole world, that they are without Christ, or have not faith.

"Therefore the meaning of these words is briefly, that the Holy Ghost shall pass this judgement on all mankind, as they are found upon earth, be they Gentiles or Jews, guilty or innocent before the world, and on all that they do and are, even on what they deem the best and greatest holiness, that they are and must continue under the wrath and condemnation of God, and that they cannot be delivered from this, unless they believe in Christ. Let who can, come and boast of his or other men's honesty, virtues, good works, and holy life; here you are told that it is nothing worth, when the Holy Ghost, with His breath, that is, through the office of preaching, (as Isaiah says, xl. 7,) breathes and *blows upon it.* For this rebuke passes upon all, so that all their glory must fall, and whatever they do or may be cannot avail them before God. Thus He does by the mouth of St Paul, near the beginning of the Epistle to the Romans, when he casts all, both Jews and Gentiles, under sin, and says that for this reason was the Gospel revealed from heaven, that all the world might be forced to confess themselves guilty of sin. For here, he says (iii. 23), is no difference; *for all have sinned, and come short of the glory which they ought to have before God.* With this word all the glory and pride of men is smitten to the ground. They may have the glory of being mighty, noble, learned, well-behaved, praiseworthy rulers, honorable, honest folks; nay, they may be called holy before the world, and have such glory and advantage as St Paul gives to the Jews, that they are God's people, the children of the holy patriarchs, that they have the law and promises of God, and that Christ

was to be born of them: but what is all such glory, if they have not the glory which they ought to have before God? What have they, if they have not God?—that they must be eternally lost.

"Do you ask, Why! how can this be? What is wanting in these things, that they are of no worth before God? Is all this to be matter of condemnation, their being well-behaved, honest, honorable folks, governing well and laudably, not stealing, robbing, or committing adultery, but living chastely, orderly, obediently, and performing many good works according to the law? Are not all these excellent gifts of God, and praiseworthy virtues? Ay, verily, that say we too, and teach moreover, that God has commanded these things, and that it is His will that men should live thus, and be honest. Why then is this rebuked here, and turned into sin? There is another Judge, who judges all men's lives and souls, and has much sharper eyes to see sin and to rebuke it, than we can understand or conceive. This Judge says, that all are sinners, and to be rebuked for their sin. Him surely we ought to believe, and to grant that He speaks rightly and truly: for He rebukes us also on account of this very blindness, that we do not see or perceive how we with all our doings are sinners before God.

"You must know however that He is not speaking here of men's outward life and conduct, which the world can weigh and judge, but that He pierces inward to the very bottom of the heart, which is the source and fountain where the true main sins lie hid, such as the worship of false gods, neglect of God, unbelief, disobedience, evil concupiscence, and resistence against God's commandments, in short, what St Paul (Rom. viii. 7) calls *being fleshly minded;* to which he gives the title and name, that it *is enmity against God, and cannot be subject to the law of God.* This is the stem and the root of all other sins, the very prime sin which we inherit from Adam out of Paradise, so that, were it not for this there would never be any robbery, or murder, or adultery, &c. Now the world does indeed see these outward evil deeds, nay, wonders and complains that people are so bad, but knows not how it comes to pass. It sees the stream of water flowing along, and all manner of fruits and leaves sprouting out of the evil tree; but

whence the fountain flows, and where the root lies, it knows not. It sets to work and tries to remedy the matter, to check wickedness, and to make people good, by laws and the lash of punishment. But although this may last a long while, nothing is profited thereby. The course of waters may be checkt; but the main source is not stopt: the suckers may be cropt off; but this does not take anything from the root. Now it is lost labour, it is of no avail, so long as one checks and patches and heals outwardly, while the stem and root and source of evil abides within. The first thing to do is to stop the source, to take away the root of the tree; else it will break and burst out in ten places, when you have stopt and checkt it in one. The cure must be radical; else you may smear and cover over everlastingly with ointments and plaisters; the wound will keep on inflaming and festering, and only become worse. In fine, experience teaches, and the world must confess, that it cannot even check outward gross vices and misdeeds, although it represses and punishes them with all its might; as indeed it ought to do. Much less can it take away that sin, which lies inwardly in man's nature, and which is the main sin, but which the world knows not.

"Therefore this sin abides over the whole world; and this judgement passes upon all that may be thought and done by all men, as they are born of Adam, be it evil or good, right or wrong, in the eyes of the world; nor can any one escape here, or boast above another; but all are alike before God; and all must confess themselves guilty, and worthy of everlasting death and condemnation; and all must have remained eternally therein; nor could any counsel or help against it have been found in any creature, if God had chosen to deal with us according to our merits, and to His justice. But now, forasmuch as out of His unfathomable goodness He took compassion upon this our misery, He sent Christ His dear Son from Heaven to counsel and help us; in order that He might take our sin and condemnation upon Himself, and might atone for it by the offering of His Body and Blood, and reconcile God to us. And He gave commandment that this should be preacht in all the world, and that this Christ should be set before

all mankind, so that they might cleave by faith to Him, if they would come out of sin, God's wrath and eternal condemnation, to redemption and reconciliation, and the kingdom of God.

" Thus this sermon has two parts: first, it sets before all the world, that they are all under sin and wrath, condemned by the Law, and requires that we should acknowledge this; next it shews how we may obtain redemption from this state, and favour with God, namely, by this one means, that we take hold of Christ by faith.

" But, when this sermon begins, then comes forth the true sin, which is spoken of here, and which that sermon produces, namely, *that they believe not in Me.* For the world will not listen to this sermon, that they are all to be sinners before God, and that their righteous deeds are of no worth before Him, and that only through this crucified Christ can they obtain grace and salvation. This unbelief in Christ then becomes the all-embracing sin, which brings men into condemnation, so that there is no remedy.

" Even before, as I have said, unbelief was the main sin in all men, the beginning and the first sin in Paradise itself, and will continue doubtless the last of all sins. For when Adam and Eve had God's word, which they ought to have believed, and when, so long as they clave thereto, they had God and life therein, they were assailed in the first instance by unbelief in this word. *Yea,* said the serpent to Eve, *hath God said, ye shall not eat of every tree in the garden?* Here he makes his first thrust against her faith, so that she may leave hold of the word, and not esteem it as God's word. For what he cared chiefly for, was not the eating of the forbidden apple, but the bringing them out of the faith wherein they lived before God, into unbelief; from which, he knew, would follow disobedience and all sin, as its fruits.

" The unbelief however, spoken of in the text, is not merely that which is planted by Adam in man's nature, but plainly this, that men believe not in Christ, that is, when the Gospel of Christ is preacht, in order that we may confess our sins, and through Christ seek and obtain grace. For when Christ came, the sin of Adam and of the whole human race, namely, their previous

unbelief and disobedience, was taken away before God by Christ's sufferings and death; and He built a new Heaven of grace and forgiveness; so that the sin which we have inherited from Adam, shall no longer keep us under God's wrath and condemnation, if we believe in this Saviour. And henceforward he who is condemned must not complain of Adam and of his inborn sin; for this Seed of the woman, promist by God to bruise the head of the serpent, is now come, and has atoned for this sin, and taken away condemnation. But he must cry out against himself, for not having accepted or believed in this Christ, the devil's Head-bruiser and Sin-strangler.

"Thus every man's danger rests with himself; and it is his own fault if he is condemned; not because he is a sinner through the sin of Adam, and deserving of condemnation by reason of his former unbelief; but because he will not accept this Saviour Christ, who takes away our sin and condemnation. True it is indeed that Adam has condemned us all, inasmuch as he brought us along with him into sin, and under the power of the devil. But now that Christ, the second Adam, is come, born without sin, and has taken away sin, it can no longer condemn me if I believe in Him; but I shall be delivered from it through Him, and be saved. If on the other hand I do not believe, the same sin and condemnation must continue; because He who is to deliver me from it is not taken hold of; nay, it will be a doubly great and heavy sin and condemnation, that I will not believe in this dear Saviour, by whom I might be helpt, nor accept His redemption. Thus all our salvation and condemnation depend now upon this, whether we believe in Christ, or no. A judgement has at length gone forth, which closes heaven against all such as have not and will not receive this faith in Christ. For this unbelief retains all sin, so that it cannot obtain forgiveness, even as faith removes all sin. And hence without this faith everything is and continues sinful and condemnable, even in the best life and the best works which a man can perform; which, although in themselves they are praiseworthy and commanded by God, yet are corrupted by unbelief, so that on

account thereof they cannot please God; even as in faith all the works and life of a Christian are pleasing to God. In fine, without Christ everything is condemned and lost; in Christ everything is good and blessed; so that even sin, which continues in our flesh and blood, being inherited from Adam, can no longer hurt or condemn us.

"This however must not be understood as if leave were hereby granted, so that men may freely sin and do evil: for because faith brings the forgiveness of sins, and Christ is come to take away and destroy sin, it is not possible for any man to be a Christian and a believer, who lives openly, carelessly, and impenitently, in sin and according to his lusts. For where there is such a sinful life, there is also no repentance: but where there is no repentance, there is also no forgiveness of sins, and consequently no faith, which receives the forgiveness of sins. Whereas he who has the belief in this forgiveness, strives against sin, and does not follow its lusts, but wars against it until he is entirely free from it. And although in this life we cannot become wholly free from it, and sin continues ever even in the holiest of men, yet the believer has the consolation that this is covered for him by the forgiveness of Christ, and will not be reckoned for his condemnation, if so be he continues in the faith of Christ. This is what St Paul says, that *there is no condemnation for them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh*; and again, *They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with its lusts*. You see, to these it is said that sin shall not harm nor condemn them: to those who are without faith and reckless, nothing is here preacht."

In giving such long extracts from Luther, in this and other places, I have not been induced solely by the admirable clearness and force of the passages cited, but also by a wish of shewing by comparison how far superior his expositions of Scripture are, in the deep and living apprehension of the primary truths of the Gospel, to those of the best among the Fathers, even of Augustin. Much indeed of what is here said by Luther is now become familiar, mainly through his influence and that of his

brother Reformers, to all readers of religious books. But if we would do justice to any of the master minds in history, we must compare them with their predecessors: for one of the surest marks of a great heaven-sent teacher is, that the truths which he is commissioned to teach, become in course of time more and more a part of the intellectual patrimony of mankind. But when we come upon these truths in Luther, after wandering through the dusky twilight of the preceding centuries, it seems almost like the sunburst of a new revelation, or rather as if the sun, which set when St Paul was taken away from the earth, had suddenly started up again. Verily too it does one good, when one has been walking about among those who have only dim guesses as to where they are, or whither they are going, and who halt, and look back, and turn aside at every other step, to see a man taking his stand on the eternal Rock, and gazing stedfastly with unsealed eyes on the very Sun of Righteousness. An additional motive in this last instance for not cutting short the extract sooner is, that the concluding paragraph is a proof, though only among ten thousand which might easily be adduced, of the utter falsehood of the charge of Antinomianism, which has been brought against him by his modern revilers and slanderers. On this point however I shall have to speak in Note W.

Calvin's note on our verse is brief, and does not set forth as clearly as Luther how the root and ground of all sin is unbelief: but he has always something valuable to say, and says it well. "Primo notandum est judicium Spiritus a demonstratione peccati incipere: hoc enim spiritualis doctrinae exordium est, homines in peccato genitos nihil in se habere nisi peccati materiam. Porro infidelitatis meminit Christus, ut ostenderet qualis in se sit hominum natura. Nam quia vinculum quo se nobis unit est fides, donec in ipsum credamus extra eum sumus et ab eo divisi. Tantundem igitur valent haec verba acsi dixisset, Spiritus cum venerit, ostendet ac convincet, extra me regnare in mundo peccatum. Proinde hic nominatur infidelitas, quia nos separat a Christo, atque ita facit ut nihil praeter peccatum nobis relinquatur."

In Cartwright's note on this passage we again find how difficult

it was to attain to a clear insight into the radical sinfulness of unbelief. He sees that this particular manifestation of unbelief was very heinous, but does not see with the same distinctness how unbelief lies at the root of all sin. " Hic notandum ex omnibus peccatis nullum esse tetrius et horribilius infidelitate, ut quae mater et radix reliquorum omnium. Multas horrendas contumelias in Christum admiserant; sed ea omnia prae infidelitate veluti silentio sepeliuntur. Sic Heb. iii. 18, 19, tametsi multa scelera patrassent, tamen infidelitatis solius nomine exclusi perhibentur. Nec injuria, quandoquidem qui non credit in Filium, Deum mendacem facit: 1 Johan. v. 10. Hoc illustretur exemplo ab hominibus, quibusdam praesertim qui hanc injuriam morte vindicabunt, et sanguine ejus qui illis mendacii convicium imponit. Quod quidem cum semper atrox scelus fuerit, nunc tamen gravius multo est sub Evangelio: post enim tot promissa praestita, et tantam fidem in promissis maximis de Filio suo ad mortem tradito, dubitare de Dei fide longe fit gravissimum.— Deinde cum Deus, qui olim per Prophetas, nunc per Filium unicum locutus sit, Heb. i. 1, 2, etiam hoc ipso gravius fit fidem dictis derogare. Denique si grave scelus sit non credere Deo minanti, ut quod Jeremias populo objecit, *Annon manum meam extimesceretis*, v. 22, 23, nedum grave erit Deo pollicenti non credere. Hoc videmus in Actis Apostolorum, ubi Petrus perfidiam Judaeorum confidentissime coarguit."

Lampe speaks of the conviction that had already been wrought by the Spirit in earlier ages of the world. " Verum est, quod jam a mundi incunabulis mundum convicerit. De litigio ejus cum mundo antediluviano agitur Gen. vi. 3; cum Judaeis Jes. i. Hebr. iii. 7, 8. Neque ulla unquam peccatoris conversio extra Spiritus convictionem accidit. Sed sicut omnes ejus operationes in N. T. futurae erant illustriores, ita et ejus convictio.—Nam convictio Spiritus in N. T. est multo clarior, quia mysteria salutis plenius sunt revelata;—multo efficacior, cum singulari potentia omnia impedimenta perversae ratiocinationis perrumpens (2 Cor. x. 4, 5);—multo universalior, utpote non tantum ad Judaeos, sed etiam totum mundum spectans, ad ipsos *reges et judices terrae*,

Ps. ii. 10. Hinc Jes. ii. 4, de Messiae lege ex Zione exeunte, per ministerium Spiritus: *Et judicabit inter illas gentes, et convictionem faciet populis multis;* quae prophetia nostro loco valde parallela est. Confer Mich. iv. 4, et Jes. xlii. 1. *Jus proferet gentibus,* et 4. Et sic Spiritus Dei mystice aquis incubaturus."

On the conviction of sin he says: " De *peccato* Salvator indefinite loquitur. Putarem igitur non hoc illudve peccatum, sed universum peccati statum, ejusque tum maculam tum reatum, quo universus mundus premitur, intelligi. Quando enim versu sequente certi tantum alicujus peccati, nempe incredulitatis mentio fit, istud pro exemplo tantum habendum, tanquam unum ex mille. (Another proof how slowly men have been taught to discern that primary truth, which Luther so fully apprehended and so clearly enounced, that faith is the ground of all good in man, and the want of faith the ground of all evil.) Convictio de peccato—involvit, ut quis foeditatem et damnabilitatem ejus evidenter perspiciat; ut porro in sinum proprium descendat, suamque vitiositatem — agnoscat; utque hac — conscientia intime tactus turpitudinem suam detestetur, periculum extimescat, impotentiam eluctandi sentiat. Haec convictio summe est necessaria. Absque hac miseriae et peccati agnitione neque ulla salutis cura subnascetur, neque ob redemtionis opus ulla ad Deum gloria redibit.—Ad illam vero requirebatur ministerium Spiritus Sancti. Nihil enim mundus extra lucem verbi novit de peccati origine ex lapsu protoplastorum;—neque de ejus subjecto, quod non tantum sunt externa opera, sed etiam intimae cogitationes, et primoprimi pravae concupiscentiae motus.—Fatetur hanc inscitiam Apostolus, Rom. vii. 7. Neque sufficit externa harum veritatum per verbum propositio, nisi omnia effugia, quibus suam peccaminositatem caro palliare tentat,—efficacia Spiritus simul eripiantur.—

" Convictio de fidei in Jesum privatione opus erat Spiritus Sancti. Alia peccata ex lege et lumine naturae demonstrari poterant.—Ad hoc vero agnoscendum supponebatur quod vita et salus peccatoris unice in Jesu sita esset, unde sequebatur miserrimus eorum status qui fide cum eo non essent uniti. De hoc sin verbo mundo nihil constare poterat. — Et solum verbum sine

Spiritu ad convictionem non sufficere constabat in Judaeis, qui id audiverant et signa viderant, nihilominus tamen in incredulitate permanserant. Convictio haec initium sumptura a mundo Judaico, quando Apostoli ad conscientiam demonstraturi Jesum esse Christum, in nullo alio salutem esse, adeoque indignissimum fuisse facinus, quod non tantum ori Domini inobedientes exstiterint, sed etiam eundem in crucem egerint. Transitura deinde ad mundum gentium, quando ipsi docendi, quod verum Deum placandi medium hactenus ignoraverint, et propterea summa caligine et miseria obsepti fuerint. Atque haec de fidei defectu convictio aptissima erat ad demonstrandum generale peccati in omnes homines dominium. Firmissima erat haec argumentatio: Quicunque non credit in Filium et sub reatu et sub jugo peccati est. Totus mundus non credit. Minorem docebat experientia.—Caetera peccata magis erant specialia: hoc vero omnes reddebat obnoxios. Sic *omnes conclusi εἰς ἀπείθειαν, ut Deus omnium misereretur*, Rom. xi. 32. Majoris quoque utraque pars vera est. Christus enim solus est, qui a peccati et maledictione per sanguinem et tyrannide per Spiritum suum liberat. Liberationis ergo hujus exsortes sunt, qui non fide cum Christo uniti sunt: Joh. iii. 36, 1 Joh v. 12.—Aliter tamen Judaeos, aliter gentes hoc argumentum feriebat. Judaei in omni emphasi incredulitatis erant rei; et hoc eorum peccatum per se omnium erat atrocissimum;—et periculum erat *ne in peccatis morerentur*, Joh. viii. 24, nisi resipiscerent. Sed et idem peccaminositatis Judaeorum index erat. Quomodo enim possibile fuisset, ut ad tantam lucem coecutirent, nisi dominio peccati prorsus fuissent constricti?—Accedit, quod haec incredulitas omnem justitiam, quam ex lege quaerebant, abominabilem, omnia sacrificia—impura redderet.—Neque minus forte erat hoc telum ad gentes peccati agnitione sauciandos. Dum enim Judaeorum incredulitas ipsis significabatur, documentum hoc ipsis erat, quousque peccatum hactenus in mundo dominatum esset. Dum vero ipsis quoque proprius fidei defectus commonstrabatur, quamvis peccatum eorum per se non tam grave esset, *ἀπιστία* tamen haec eos ab omnibus mediis gratiae excluserat. Cum *sine Christo* fuerint, inde colligere debebant, quod

et *extra testamentum promissionis, et sine Deo, et natura filii irae* fuerint, Eph. ii. 3. 12. Nec tamen omni culpa in hac causa vacabant. Majores enim eorum ex amore peccati traditionem de Messia, quam a Patriarchis acceperant, penitus obliteraverant: et ex hac oblivione horrenda illa peccata prognata erant, in quae gentilismus inciderat: Rom. i. 21. sqq. Porro idem defectus monstrabat iis omnium actionum suarum, etiam specie tenus bonarum, peccaminositatem, quia *sine fide impossibile est placere Deo:* Hebr. xi. 6. Rom. xiv. 23.—Quam strenue et feliciter hoc argumento usi sint Apostoli post effusionem Spiritus Sancti, eventus docuit, quoad Judaeos, Act. ii. 37., iii. 14. 15. 19., iv. 11. 12; quoad gentes, Rom. i. 28, etc."

Even in Matthew Henry there is still a good deal of vagueness in the attempt to determine why unbelief should be the sin of which the Spirit convinces the world. "The Spirit, in conviction, fastens especially upon the sin of unbelief, their not believing in Christ. *First*, as the great reigning sin. There was and is a world of people that believe not in Jesus Christ; and they are not sensible that it is their sin. Natural conscience tells them that murder and theft are sin; but it is a supernatural work of the Spirit to convince them that it is a sin to suspend their belief of the Gospel, and to reject the salvation offered by it. Natural religion—lays—us under this further obligation, that whatever divine revelation shall be made to us at any time, with sufficient evidence to prove it divine, we accept it, and submit to it. This law those trangress, who, when God *speaketh to us by His Son, refuse Him that speaketh;* and therefore it is sin. *Secondly*, as the great ruining sin. Every sin is so in its own nature; no sin is so to them that believe in Christ; so that it is unbelief that damns sinners. It is because of this that they cannot *enter into rest*, that they cannot *escape the wrath of God:* it is a sin against the remedy. *Thirdly*, as that which is at the bottom of all sin: so Calvin takes it. The Spirit shall convince the world that the true reason why sin reigns among them, is because they are not by faith united to Christ."

Luecke aptly remarks, that in this explanation of the triple

ἔλεγχος by three similarly worded propositions, the unexprest subjects of the ἁμαρτία, δικαιοσύνη, and κρίσις are determined in each case by the explanatory propositions; that is, περὶ ἁμαρτίας τῶν οὐ πιστευόντων (τοῦ κόσμου), περὶ δικαιοσύνης μου (τοῦ ὑπάγοντος πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα), περὶ κρίσεως τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ κόσμου τούτου; and that the triple ὅτι determines the substance and ground of the triple ἔλεγχος. Of the first ἔλεγχος however his exposition is very narrow. "The Paraclete will convince the world of its sin, so far as it does not believe in Christ; that is, the world will be brought by the Holy Spirit to the consciousness that its unbelief is sin, a wrong; so that it will give up the delusion spoken of in v. 2.—The Paraclete finds the world unbelieving,—οὐ πιστεύουσιν,—and attacks this unbelief as a sin, which the world does not deem it."

Here, where we require a spiritual eye for truth, Olshausen is far superior. "In the first place the Spirit makes sin manifest, not however in its outward characters,—in this respect the Law awakens the knowledge of sin, (Rom. iii. 20),—but in its inward deep root. Now this is nothing else than unbelief, which we may call the mother of all sinful actions; but unbelief itself is in its most glaring form unbelief in the incarnate Christ. The inability of recognizing this purest manifestation of the Divinity implies utter blindness."

I will end this note with an extract from an interesting work by Goeschel,—an author the main object of whose writings has been to reconcile or to shew the accordance of the Hegelian Philosophy with Christian Theology,—*On Hegel and his Age*. When speaking of the manner in which Hegel had overcome the subjective character of the systems of his immediate predecessors, by demonstrating the unity and identity of the subjective with the objective, he remarks: "We may find an example of this in the highest of all phenomena, that is, the appearance of God in man, as in the flesh. This is adequate to that which it contains, and identical therewith; consequently the contents, that is, the fulness of the Godhead, are included in the phenomenon; for the substance does not transcend the form more than this surpasses itself, and by negativing itself

preserves its continuity. Christian Theology expresses the same truth, when it teaches us that the manifestation of God in man only attained its completion in the death of the Son of man. The unbelief in the deity of Christ, which is the sin of the world and o. this age, rests upon that unbelief, which characterized the critical and the transcendental idealistic philosophy, in the identity of the phenomenon with its contents, of the form with the substance, or of the finite with the infinite; which last is indeed transcendent, but for this very reason is only the more identical with the phenomenon." Here we find an answer by anticipation to the fallacy which lies at the bottom of Strausses Life of Christ, that the idea can never have an adequate exponent. Goeschel's work was publisht in 1832,—the first edition of Strausses in 1835,—justifying the correctness of Goeschel's assertion, that unbelief in Christ is still the sin of the age.

Note R p. 71.

This point is finely treated by Donne in his 34th Sermon. "In this capacity, as the Comforter, we must consider His action, *Arguet, He shall reprove;* reprove and yet comfort, nay, therefore comfort, because reprove; and then the subject of his action, *Mundum, the world,* the whole world; no part left unreproved yet no part left without comfort; and after that, what He reproves the world of,—*of sin, of righteousness, of judgement.* Can there be comfort in reproof for sin?—This seems strange; and yet this must be done, and done to our comfort; for this must be done *cum venerit,* then when the Holy Ghost, and He in that function, as the Comforter, *is come,* is present, is working.

"Beloved, reproofs upon others without charity, rather to defame them, than amend them,—reproofs upon thyself without shewing mercy to thine own soul, diffidences and jealousies and suspicions of God, either that He hated thee before thy sin, or hates thee irremediably, irreconcilably, irrecoverably, irreparably for thy sin —these are reproofs, but they are *absente Spiritu,* in the absence

of the Holy Ghost, before He comes, or when He is gone. *When He comes,* and stays, *He shall reprove,* and *reprove all the world,* and all the world of those errours, *sin, righteousness, and judgement,* and those errours upon those evidences, *Of sin, because they believe not in me,* &c. But in all this proceeding He shall never divest the nature of a Comforter: in that capacity He is sent, in that He comes and works.—

"For *No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost:* and there is our first comfort, in knowing that Christ is God. For He were—no Redeemer, He were a weak Saviour, an insufficient Mediator, a silenced Advocate, and a Judge that might be misinformed, if He were not God. And though He were God, He might be all these to my discomfort, if there were not a Holy Ghost to make all these offices comfortable to me. To be a Redeemer and not a Saviour, is but to pay my debts, and leave me nothing to live on. To be a Mediator, a person capable by His composition of two natures to intercede between God and man, and not to be my Advocate, is but to be a good counsellor, but not of counsel with me. To be a Judge of quick and dead, and to proceed out of outward evidence and not out of His bosom mercy, is but an acceleration of my conviction: I were better lie in prison still, than appear at that assize; better lie in the dust of the grave for ever, than come to that judgement. But as there is *Mens in anima,*—and every man hath a soul, but every man hath not a mind, that is, a consideration, an actuation, an application of the faculties of the soul to particulars; so there is a *Spiritus in Spiritu,* a Holy Ghost in all the holy offices of Christ, which offices being in a great part directed upon the whole world, are made comfortable to me, by being by this Holy Spirit turned upon me, and appropriated to me: for so even that name of Christ, which might most make me afraid, the name of Judge, becomes a comfort to me. To this purpose does St. Basil call the Holy Ghost, *Verbum Dei, quia Interpres Filii*: the Son of God is the Word of God, because He manifests the Father; and the Holy Ghost is the Word of God, because He applies the Son. Christ comes with that loud proclamation, *Ecce auditum fecit; Behold the Lord hath proclaimed*

it to the end of the world! Ecce Salvator! and *Ecce merces! Behold His salvation! Behold thy reward!* This is His publication in the manifest ordinances of the Church: and then the Holy Ghost whispers to thy soul as thou standest in the congregation, in that voice that He promises, *Sibilabo populum meum,—I will hiss,* I will whisper to My people by soft and inward inspirations. Christ came to tell us all, *That to as many as received Him He gave power to become the sons of God:* the Holy Ghost comes to tell thee, that thou art one of them.—

"As the world is the whole frame of the world, God hath put into it a reproof, a rebuke, lest it should seem eternal, which is a sensible decay and age in the whole frame of the world and every piece thereof; the seasons of the year irregular and distempered, the sun fainter and languishing, men less in stature and shorter-lived. No addition, but only every year new sorts, new species of worms and flies and sicknesses, which argue more and more putrefaction, of which they are engendered. And the angels of heaven, which did so familiarly converse with men in the beginning of the world, though they may not be doubted to perform to us still their ministerial assistances, yet they seem so far to have deserted this world, as that they do not appear to us, as they did to those our fathers.—Lest the world—should glorify itself, or flatter and abuse us with an opinion of eternity, we may admit usefully—this observation to be true, that there is a reproof, a rebuke borne in it, a sensible decay and mortality of the whole world. But is this a reproof agreeable to our text! a reproo. that carries comfort with it? comfort to the world itself, that it is not eternal. Truly it is, as St Paul has most pathetically exprest it: *The creature* (that is, the world) *is in an earnest expectation, the creature waiteth, the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain.* Therefore the creature, that is, the world, receives a perfect comfort in being delivered at last, and an inchoative comfort in knowing now that it *shall be delivered.* From what? From *subjection to vanity, from the bondage of corruption,* that, whereas the world is now subject to mutability and corruption, at the resurrection it shall no longer be so, but in that measure and in

that degree which it is capable of, *it shall enter into the glorious liberty of the children of God;* that is, be as free from corruption or change in that state wherein it shall be glorified, as the saints shall be in the glory of their state: for *the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun; and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold; and there shall be new heavens and new earth;* which is a state that this world could not attain to, if it were eternally to last in that condition in which it is now, a condition subject to vanity, impotency, corruption: and therefore there is a comfort in this reproof, even to this world, that it is not eternal: this world is the happier for that.

"As the world, in a second sense, signifies all the men of the world, —there is a reproof born in every man, which reproof is an uncontrollable sense, and an irresistible remorse and chiding of himself inwardly, when he is about to sin, and a horrour of the majesty of God, whom, when he is alone, he is forced, and forced by himself, to fear and to believe; though he would fain make the world believe that he did not believe in God, but lived at peace, and subsisted of himself, without being beholden to God.—Every man has this reproof born in him, that he doth ill, that he offends a God, that he breaks a law, when he sins. And this reproof is a reproof within our text; for it has this comfort with it, that howsoever some men labour to overcome the natural tenderness of the conscience, and so triumph over their own ruin, and rejoice when they can sleep and wake again without any noise in their conscience or sense of sin, yet in truth this candle cannot be blown out, this remorse cannot be overcome. But were it not a greater comfort to me if I could overcome it? No: for, though this remorse — be not grace, yet this remorse, which is the natural reproof of the soul, is that that grace works upon. Grace doth not ordinarily work upon the stiffness of the soul, upon the silence, upon the frowardness, upon the averseness of the soul; but when the soul is suppled and mellowed, and feels this reproof, this remorse in itself, that reproof, that remorse becomes as the matter, and grace enters as the form; that becomes the body, and grace becomes the soul: and that is the comfort of this natural reproof

of the world, that is, of every man, first, that it will not be quencht in itself, and then, that ordinarily it induces a nobler light than itself, which is, effectual and true repentance.

"As the world, in a third sense, signifies only the wicked world, —that world, the world of the wicked, suffer many reproofs, many rebukes in their hearts, which they will not discover, because they envy God that glory.—Certainly Herod would have been more affected, if he had thought that we should have known how his pride was punisht with those sudden worms, than with the punishment itself. This is a self-reproof: even in this, though he will not suffer it to break out to the edification of others, there is some kind of chiding himself for something misdone. But is there any comfort in this reproof?—I can hardly speak comfortably of such a man, after he is dead, that dies in such a disaffection, loth that God should receive glory, or His servants edification, by these judgements. But even with such a man, if I assisted at his death-bed, I would proceed with a hope to infuse comfort even from that disaffection of his. As long as I saw in him any acknowledgement (though a negligent, nay, though a malignant, a despiteful acknowledgement) of God, as long as I found him loth that God should receive glory, even from that lothness, from that reproof, from that acknowledgement that there is a God to whom glory is due, I would hope to draw him to glorify that God before his last gasp. My zeal should last as long as his wife's officiousness, or his children's or friends or servants obsequiousness, or the solicitude of his physicians should: as long as there were breath, they would minister some help; as long as there were any sense of God, I would hope to do some good. And so much comfort may arise even out of this reproof of the world, as the world is only the wicked world.

"In the last sense, the world signifies the saints, the elect, the good men of the world.—And this world, that is, the godliest of this world, have many reproofs, many corrections upon them; that outwardly they are the prey of the wicked, and inwardly have that *stimulum carnis*, which is the devil's solicitor, and round about them they see nothing but profanation of His word,

misemployment of His works, His creatures, misconstructions of His actions, His judgements, blasphemy of His name, negligence and undervaluation of His sacraments, violations of His sabbaths and holy convocations.—

This then is the reproof of the world, that is, of the saints of God in the world, that though *I would rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God*, I must *dwell in the tents of wickedness;* that though *my zeal consume me because my enemies have forgotten Thy words*, I must stay amongst them that have forgotten Thy words. But this and all other reproofs that arise in the godly,—have this comfort in them, that these faults that I endure in others, God hath either pardoned me, or kept from me; and that, though this world be wicked, yet when I shall come to the next world, I shall find Noah that had been drunk, and Lot, that had been incestuous, and Moses, that murmured at God's proceedings, and Job, and Jeremy, and Jonas, impatient, even to imprecations against themselves; Christ's own disciples ambitious of worldly preferment, His apostles forsaking Him, His great apostle forswearing Him, and Mary Magdalen, that had been I know not what sinner; and David, that had been all. I leave none so ill in this world, but I may carry one that was, or find some that had been as ill as they in heaven: and that blood of Jesus Christ, which had brought them thither, is offered to them that are here, who may be successors in their repentance, as they are in their sins."

NOTE S p. 84.

The vulgarminded in all ages have been incapable of conceiving that a man can be actuated by any but personal feelings and motives: in fact this is the essential difference between the vulgar and the noble mind, that the latter is moved and stirred by that which, being out of himself, is not contemplated with any reference to personal advantage or gratification. Even opinions and doctrines, when they startle people out of the torpour of custom and tradition, are mostly ascribed to rivalry, or ostentation, or some

other mode of vanity, by those who know not what it is to love truth, nor how joyfully the lover of truth will encounter all difficulties, and offer up every sacrifice, for the sake of his love. The slanders which ascribe the origin of the Reformation to Luther's jealousy of the Dominicans, or other evil passions, though their falsehood is palpable, and has been conclusively exposed over and over again, are still circulated busily by religious and literary pettifoggers at this day: and if we think of the most eminent men of our own times, we shall find that few of them have escaped being assailed with similar imputations. In a congenial spirit it is asserted by Dionysius, and has been repeated by sundry minute critics since, that Plato's expulsion of Homer and of other poets from his ideal Republic arose out of jealousy. On the other hand this paradox has been summarily condemned by many, who have never taken the trouble of enquiring how so wise a man came to entertain what they deem so flagrant an absurdity. Yet a thoughtful reader would not find it easy to answer the arguments adduced in the third and tenth books of the Republic, in proof of the mischief which the poetry most popular among the Greeks would have effected in Plato's ideal commonwealth, or to shew how he, from his point of view, could have come to any different conclusion. With the fullest conviction of the inestimable benefits which Poetry, amid the conflict and whirlpool of the passions, and along with the tendency of property and of labour, unless counteracted by higher incentives, to degrade and embase man, has wrought, and is fitted, when a true poet strikes the epic or dramatic strain, to work, we can readily understand how among the early Quakers and the Moravians, or any other community which tries practically to fulfill the conditions of the spiritual life, Poetry will find little matter, except for hymns and songs of praise; and to these Plato also gives his sanction, where he lays down *ὅτι ὅσον μόνον ὕμνους Θεοῖς καὶ ἐγκώμια τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς παραδεκτέον εἰς πόλιν*. In fact the very characters, the passions, the struggles, which have always formed the chief elements of dramatic interest, are alien from such a community; and where the realities are wholly wanting, and, instead of awakening

sympathy and admiration, would be cast out, a poet will hardly be led to delineate them, and would find no favour if he did: nor would the purificatory powers of terrour and pity be of use, where the vices which need such correctives are not to be found. In like manner, if we lift our contemplations to the angels in heaven, we can only conceive of them as singing the praises of their Maker, and telling of His wondrous works; not as taking pleasure in the representations of those mixt characters, which are the main theme of the drama, representations which often throw a halo of glory around things morally reprehensible, and which are the very works condemned for this very reason by Plato, as delusive and perversive of the moral sense. Thus Plato's views on poetry seem to be an instance of those marvellous anticipations of a higher order of things, which occur here and there in his works, anticipations which are necessarily imperfect, and may easily become distorted, from their incongruity with the world around him, and from the aptness of opposition to run into extremes. A similar apology might be offered for his notions with regard to property, which began to be realized when the first disciples *had all things common*. Nay, even for those on marriage, though here the incompatibility with the present condition of man is still wider and more glaring, it may be pleaded that *in the resurrection*, as we are told, *they neither marry, nor are given in marriage*.

In Schelling's last Lecture *On the Method of Academical Study*, Plato's condemnation of poetry is explained and vindicated in a somewhat similar manner, as resulting from the strong antithesis between poetry and philosophy among the Greeks. "It is essential that we should look at the specific point of view from which Plato pronounces his verdict upon poets. For if any philosopher ever observed the distinctions incident to different points of view, it was he: and unless we take this into account, it is impossible, as in all other places, so especially in this, to comprehend his meaning, which is ever full of references and allusions, or to reconcile the contradictions in his works with regard to the selfsame object. We must begin with recognizing that all deep philosophy, and especially that of Plato, is to be regarded as the direct antithesis in

the cultivation of the Greeks, not merely to the sensual conceptions of their religion, but also to the objective and thoroughly real forms of their polities. Now whether in a perfectly ideal and, as it were, spiritual commonwealth, such as Plato's, poetry might be dealt with in a different manner, and whether the restriction which he imposes upon it is or is not necessary, are questions which we cannot here discuss. The antithesis of all the public forms of life to philosophy could not but produce a like opposition in philosophy to them, of which Plato is neither the only, nor the first instance. From the time of Pythagoras, and still further back, down to Plato, Philosophy is conscious of being an exotic plant on the Greek soil; a consciousness which found vent in the general impulse whereby such as had been initiated into higher doctrines, either by the wisdom of earlier philosophers, or by the mysteries, were led to the mother-country of ideas, the East. But even apart from the consideration that the opposition was thus far merely historical, not philosophical, and allowing it to have been the latter, what is Plato's rejection of poetry, compared with his expressions in other works in praise of enthusiastic poetry, except a polemical attack upon poetical realism, an anticipation of the direction which the mind of man, and poetry especially, was in after-ages to take? Least of all may we assume that his judgement is to have weight as against Christian poetry, which on the whole bears the character of the infinite, no less decidedly than ancient poetry bears that of the finite. Our being able to determine the limits of the latter more precisely than Plato could, who did not know its antithesis,—our being able to rise hereby to a more comprehensive idea and construction of poetry, and to regard what he deemed utterly reprehensible in the poetry of his age, as merely the limitation which it received from the principle of beauty,—we owe to the experience of subsequent ages, seeing the fulfilment of that which Plato prophetically felt the want of. The Christian religion, and the bent of man's mind toward the spiritual world, which bent could never gain its full satisfaction, nor even the means of expressing itself, in ancient poetry, has produced a new kind of poetry and art, wherein it finds what it wants: and hereby the conditions of

a complete and purely objective view of art, even of ancient art, are supplied."

NOTE S a: p. 90, l. 4.

In a body of young men, like that which is collected in our Universities, comprising the flower and promise of the nation, there will ever be found a proneness to overrate the worth of intellectual power, and of those moral qualities which go to make up energy of character; and this exaggeration will be accompanied by a depreciation of the humbler graces, of that which is retiring and orderly and submissive. This proneness will not be universal; nor will it prevail among the majority even of the more intelligent and studious. The chief part of these are wont to regard their studies mainly as a preparation for professional and practical life, according to the establisht order of things, deeming conformity to that order a matter of course, and entertaining a sort of repugnance to those who transgress it. But a considerable portion of the more genial and finer spirits, as well as the mass of the frothy and turbulent,—Alcibiades as well as Phidippides,—are apt to find something uncongenial in that element of thought, in which their fathers lived with ease and refreshment, and to feel stirrings within them calling for something different, for something new. Now these feelings may vent themselves very reprehensibly: they may be unjust to that which is, and dreamy as to that which is to be: but still they have a right of a certain kind on their side, what Niebuhr calls *Das Recht des Werdenden*. For every generation has its own appointed work, and is not to be content with treading in the footsteps of its fathers, but has new forests to clear away, new fields of thought to plough up and cultivate. At times too, when custom and prescription have become torpid and oppressive, the champions of truth and right, Aristides and Solon, may stand in the same rank with Alcibiades and Phidippides. Now these are the very minds on which what is genial and energetic in the literature of the day acts the most powerfully:

for herein they seem to find a response to their own desires; and thus, while the mass of men are slowly and slightly moved by literature, these are hurried away by it, and may have the fashion of their minds, and of their future lives, determined in great measure by the impulses of thought received in their youth. Hence is it of such moment to the wellbeing of a nation, that what is genial and energetic in its literature should be bound in close alliance with highmindedness, and with depth of thought, and with practical wisdom. We whose entrance into intellectual life took place in the second and third decad of this century, enjoyed a singular felicity in this respect, in that the stimulaters and trainers of our thoughts were Wordsworth and Coleridge; in whom practical judgement and moral dignity and a sacred love of truth are so nobly wedded to the highest intellectual power. By them the better part of us were preserved from the noxious taint of Byron; whose antagonism to establisht opinions, and sentimental, self-ogling misanthropy, and lawless conception of heroic ruffians, in whom one virtue was mixt with a thousand crimes, alledged to be redeemed and sanctified by reckless passion, profanely called love, were sadly calculated to fascinate and delude the class of minds I have been speaking of. About the middle of the last century Rousseau was their European oracle. Some twenty years later that peculiar complexion of thought and feeling, which received its poetical representation and embodiment in *Werther* and *Goetz of Berlichingen*, being itself drawn from the age, was in such strong sympathy with it, that, by a not uncommon misunderstanding, works designed to be works of art were supposed to have an immediate practical purpose, and to be set up, not as imaginative pictures of humanity, but as lessons and models, with a view to ethical instruction and to literal imitation. Utterly morbid and corrupt as the condition of European society was in the years which preceded the French Revolution, when all earnestness and simplicity seemed to have past away from life, and a gaudy, sugared crust lay tremblingly covering hollow depths of rottenness,—while they who were wasting in voluptuous frivolity ever and anon betrayed that they were conscious of their weakness and

worthlessness by heartless irony and self-mockery,—it is not surprising that works like Schiller's *Robbers*, expressing the bitterest aversion to the whole order of the world, should have operated contagiously, or that young men should have fancied that, if they took to the highway, they should become Charles Moors.

At present, I believe, the writer to whom the same class of minds pay their chief homage, and who does more than any other toward shaping their views of life and society, is Mr Carlyle. Hence, as well as from his being, I am informed, the favorite writer with the most thoughtful and active intellects among the middle and lower ranks, it may be termed a matter of national interest, that what is sound and valuable in him should be disengaged from the errours and exaggerations with which it is frequently combined. He himself has said indeed, and ingeniously enough, in one of his panegyrics on Nature, (*Lectures on Heroes*, p. 99) that " you take wheat to cast into the earth's bosom; your wheat may be mixt with chaff, chopt straw, barn-sweepings, dust, and all imaginable rubbish; no matter: you cast it into the kind, just earth; she grows the wheat; the whole rubbish she silently absorbs, shrouds it in, says nothing of the rubbish: the yellow wheat is growing there; the good earth is silent about all the rest, has silently turned all the rest to some benefit too, and makes no complaint about it." But clever as this is, and though there is a portion of a grand truth in it, yet, as is often the case in Mr Carlyle's writings, oftener perhaps than in those of any other author to whom so much living truth has been revealed, the truth here is only a half or one-sided truth. For, without calling in the Parable of the Sower, every ploughboy knows that Nature does not perform the whole, nor even the chief part of the work, in bringing forth wheat. Chaff, it is true, does not spring up; but weeds do; and there is no commoner proverb than that *ill weeds grow apace*. Hence it is a dangerous fallacy to teach that it matters not how much errour, how much falsehood you mix up with your doctrine, provided there be certain particles of truth in it. Nature does not reject weeds, even though they be poisonous: still less does man, except he be

purified by godly discipline. If the history of the world declares anything, it declares this,—this, and that, if the same wheat be sown over and over in generation after generation, it degenerates, and ere long will produce little beside chaff. In fact one main theme of Mr Carlyle's writings is the complaint of this very transitoriness, this rapid decay and evanescence of truth and reality, of its waning and dwindling into a mere form, a formula, a sham, as he is fond of phrasing it. In proclaiming and exposing this miserable weakness of our nature, he has done good service in an age, when, while multitudes walk selfcomplacently in the worn-out shoes of their forefathers, not a few think they are grown into giants, because they stalk totteringly along upon logical stilts, thereby losing the touch of the earth, and all sympathy with reality. So again has he done good service, in an age when the means and incentives of loquacity are multiplied to such excess, by proclaiming, even with a dinning reiteration, the paramount worth and the absolute indispensableness of truth, sincerity, earnestness, to every kind of greatness, and that words, when they do not spring from a living root in the heart, are fugitive as blossoms pluckt from their stem, and can never turn into fruit. But when it is asserted that these qualities are all in all, that truth,—subjective truth, truth of character, sincerity, earnestness,—are not merely essential elements in that which is good and great, but do of themselves and by themselves constitute goodness and greatness, it is plain that the dismal power of evil in man and in the world, the lawless tendencies of the will, and the necessity of law to organize the tumultuous stirrings and heavings in man's breast into a consistent orderly whole, must be left out of view: and then an admirer of mere energy will readily fall into that abysmal errour, that Might is Right. Mr Carlyle indeed, in his wiser moments, knows far better than this, and at times has given utterance to the opposite truth with his peculiar force: he knows too how much mightier light, in its silent, beneficent operations, is than lightning, notwithstanding the roar that follows it: still, through his craving for energy and intensity, he has a constant hankering after that primary antitruth, which runs as an

undercurrent through his writings, determining his sympathies and antipathies, and ever and anon shoots up and bursts forth; for instance, in his inordinate admiration of Mirabeau, and in the general tone of his *History of the French Revolution*. Again, in his *Lectures on Heroes*, though in them the truth often wrestles with its opposite, it is not brought out with distinctness, how the informing idea alone can render the fermenting energies in man truly heroic, and how the latter are without form and void until that idea vivifies and hallows them; in a word, how the truly heroic idea is that of duty, animated by love, and kindling into selfsacrifice; and how law is the clearest, and for man in almost all cases the safest, exponent and form of duty; so that the true hero should realize Milton's grand description of a king. "Disciplined in the precepts and the practice of temperance and sobriety, without the strong drink of injurious and excessive desires, he should grow up to a noble strength and perfection, with those his illustrious and sunny locks, the laws, waving and curling about his godlike shoulders." Let us keep this normal idea before us; and then we shall be able to make out when and how a hero may, for the sake of law, contend against the laws. Whereas the doctrine, that strength, energy, earnestness, are the heroic principles in man, without due reference to discipline, self-controll, law, or objective truth, pampers a morbid selfwill and ostentation, and seems to the young to justify the very extravagances, into which, from their buoyant ardour, and their inability to perceive the fundamental grounds and structure, and the mutual adaptation and interpenetration of the various elements that have coalesced during centuries in the existing order of society, they are so apt to run. On the other hand the idolatry of strength will ever be accompanied by a disparagement, if not contempt, of that which is calm and gentle and quiet, of those who walk steadily and patiently and perseveringly along the measured path of duty. It exclaims with the fallen archangel, *To be weak is miserable, Doing or suffering.* And those fine lines in Schiller's *Wallenstein*, where the Countess Tertsky is instigating her brother-in-law to desert the Emperor,—

Necessity, impetuous remonstrant,
Who not with empty names, or shows of proxy,
Is served, who 'll have the thing and not the symbol,
Ever seeks out the greatest and the best,
And at the rudder places him, e'en though
She had been forced to take him from the rabble,—
She, this necessity, it was that placed thee
In this high office ; it was she that gave thee
Thy letters patent of inauguration.
For to the uttermost moment that they can,
This race still help themselves at cheapest rate
With slavish souls, with puppets. At the approach
Of extreme peril, when a hollow image
Is found a hollow image, and no more,
Then falls the power into the mighty hands
Of nature, of the spirit giant-born,
Who listens only to himself, knows nothing
Of stipulations, duties, reverences,
And, like the emancipated force of fire,
Unmastered scorches, ere it reaches them,
Their fine-spun webs, their artificial policy.—
For, by the laws of spirit, in the right
Is every individual character
That acts in strict consistence with itself:
Self-contradiction is the only wrong.—

these lines, which are admirably appropriate when designed as stimulants to an act of treason, are set up as enunciating the first principles of heroic morality. In fact these lines, if we change a word here and there,—for instance, writing, " when a hollow *sham* Is found a hollow *sham*, and nothing more,"—might be taken for a versification of some one or other of the passages to the same effect, which are perpetually occurring in Mr Carlyle's volumes. As the best antidote to this whole theory, let me introduce the following extract from the great teacher, by whom, as I have already said, I was preserved, along with many of my contemporaries, from a number of similar contagious delusions. In Appendix B to his first Lay Sermon, Coleridge, in speaking of the will, writes thus: " In its state of immanence or indwelling in reason and religion, the will appears indifferently as wisdom or as love ; two names of the same power, the former more intelligential, the latter more spiritual, the former more frequent in the Old, the latter

in the New Testament. But in its utmost abstraction, and consequent state of reprobation, the will becomes satanic pride and rebellious self-idolatry in the relations of the spirit to itself, and remorseless despotism relatively to others; the more hopeless as the more obdurate by its subjugation of sensual impulses, by its superiority to toil and pain and pleasure; in short, by the fearful resolve to find in itself alone the one absolute motive of action, under which all other motives from within and from without must be either subordinated or crusht. This is the character which Milton has so philosophically as well as sublimely embodied in the Satan of his *Paradise Lost*. Alas! too often has it been embodied in real life. Too often has it given a dark and savage grandeur to the historic page. And wherever it has appeared, under whatever circumstances of time and country, the same ingredients have gone to its composition; and it has been identified by the same attributes. Hope, in which there is no cheerfulness, stedfastness within and immovable resolve, with outward restlessness and whirling activity, violence with guile, temerity with cunning, and, as the result of all, interminableness of object with perfect indifference of means,—these are the qualities that have constituted the commanding genius; these are the marks that have characterized the masters of mischief, the liberticides, and mighty hunters of mankind, from Nimrod to Buonaparte. And from inattention to the possibility of such a character, as well as from ignorance of its elements, even men of honest intentions too frequently become fascinated. Nay, whole nations have been so far duped by this want of insight and reflexion, as to regard with palliative admiration, instead of wonder and abhorrence, the Molochs of human nature, who are indebted for the larger portion of their meteoric success to their total want of principle, and who surpass the generality of their fellow-creatures in one act of courage only, that of daring to say with their whole heart, *Evil, be thou my good.* All system so far is power; and a systematic criminal, self-consistent and entire in wickedness, who entrenches villany within villany, and barricadoes crime by crime, has removed a world of obstacles by the mere decision that he will have no obstacles, but those of

force and brute matter." There is a like passage, containing several of the same illustrations, and even the same words, in the sixteenth essay in the first volume of *The Friend*, where the great philosopher further says, that "the abandonment of all principle of right enables the soul to choose and act upon a principle of wrong, and to subordinate to this one principle all the various vices of human nature. For it is a mournful truth, that, as devastation is incomparably an easier work than production, so may all its means and instruments be more easily arranged into a scheme and system; even as in a siege every building and garden, which the faithful governor must destroy, as impeding the defensive means of the garrison, or furnishing means of offense to the besieger, occasions a wound in feelings which Virtue herself has fostered: and virtue, because it is virtue, loses perforce part of her energy in the reluctance with which she proceeds to a business so repugnant to her wishes, as a choice of evils." Yet this very reluctance would be stigmatized as a weakness, and the want of it would be considered as a higher pitch of heroism, by the Titanolaters.

In fact the whole theory is utterly fallacious. It is only in the supreme divine idea, that truth and power, justice and energy, right and might, coincide. When the idea enters into the thick and troubled atmosphere of humanity, it is always refracted, and splits; and one ray of it will attach itself to one object, another to another: nor does the exceeding brilliancy of any one ray in a particular object on which it falls, give us reason to expect a like brightness in the rest. No man knows better than Mr Carlyle how injustice, selfishness, weakness, and folly, are perpetually becoming lords of the ascendant, often for long ages: so far is Nature from having any power to increase and multiply and perpetuate the good committed to her keeping, and to reject the evil. She does not do so even with regard to the vegetable and lower animal world, much less, yea, very much less, with regard to man. For there is a broad distinction here, which is lost sight of by such as reason concerning the higher part of the creation, after analogies drawn from the lower parts. As evil is primarily and essentially moral, so that the evil in the natural world is only

the shadow and reflexion of that in the spiritual, the power of evil in the moral world has ever been incomparably greater and wider and more destructive than in the natural. In fact it is a totally different thing: and unless this difference be kept in view, when we speak of Nature in connexion with moral good and evil, we get entangled in dismal confusion. Of Nature thus understood, and in reference to those who almost deify her, Coleridge once said to a friend of mine, *No! Nature is not God: she is only the devil in a strait waistcoat.* The whole body of opinions, against which I have been contending in this Note, is the offspring of that pantheistic spirit, which has so infected literature during the last hundred years, and which manifests itself, in a variety of its results, among such as would shrink from its naked assertion. In Goethe, who of all men seems to have had the intensest appetite for reality, this pantheistic spirit subordinated itself to the worship of beauty, or rather shaped itself in the mould of beauty, conceived in its broadest sense, as comprising the harmonious adjustment of parts in every order of being. Hence his almost exclusive love of Greek literature and art, which gained such sway over him during a considerable portion of his life; though, as his views widened, it enlarged itself to embrace all the genuine forms in which a national imagination has found utterance. Hence too his repugnance to all vehement characters, that is, to those which are especially termed heroic, such as Coriolanus and Luther, as transgressing the line of beauty; because, when a great moral idea is bursting into life in an uncongenial world, its birth is accompanied with pangs and throes, the difficulty of parturition increasing in proportion as we rise in the scale of being; and because such an idea does not seek to clothe itself harmoniously in a drapery of flesh and blood, like the idea of an artist, but feels bound to proclaim that, in a world where the sensuous is ever stifling the spiritual, the sensuous must be cast away and trampled under foot, to the end that the spiritual may stand out in its full transcendent glory. In other words, he who is fighting for life, and for what is infinitely more precious to him, singlehanded, it may be, against a host, does not think of putting himself in the graceful posture of a fencer. On the other

hand these vehement characters, so antipathetic to Goethe, are those which his great English admirer picks out as his peculiar favorites; and his favour is scantily extended to any others. For in him the love of strength, as it overrides the love of beauty in his style, predominates also in determining his predilections; and though his style may not be altogether a gainer thereby, his favorites are certainly of a nobler cast. Yet this too is a Pagan love, arising out of the impulses and instincts of the natural man, and strangely at variance with the order of the blessed in the Kingdom of Heaven. In sooth what place can the chief part of the heroes, whom we are called upon to worship, find in the kingdom peopled by the poor in spirit, the mourners, the meek, the hungerers and thirsters after righteousness, the merciful, the pure in heart, and the peacemakers? Where would Mahomet stand among these men? or Mirabeau? or Danton? or Napoleon? Yet in this table we have the true corrective and the true directory for hero-worship. At all events it can never be right that we should be called upon to admire,—not to speak of that profane word, to *worship*—men, all whose prominent qualities Christianity condemns, men utterly destitute of the qualities on which Christianity has stampt its seal. Surely, even without admitting that "self-contradiction is the only wrong," consistency in this respect would become, not only those who bow to the divine authority of the Gospel, but those also who acknowledge it to be the most perfect body of moral and spiritual truths ever uttered upon earth. That it is so, few men of intelligence would dispute: and one proof of its being so is, that the moral truths after which the wise of this world strive and pant, and of which if they catch a glimpse they cry εὕρηκα, and bless their genius, and spread out their peacock's tail to the sun, are common household words in the New Testament. Thus, for instance, what Mr Carlyle says, often powerfully and fascinatingly, but often illusively and delusively, about the paramount and sole worth of sincerity and earnestness, finds its truth and its limits in the Christian idea of faith, which attains to its consummation as faith in the incarnate Son of God, and, as such, is *the victory that overcomes the world.*

I have spoken thus much on Mr Carlyle's writings, both on account of the good which they are fitted to effect, and which they do effect, which however would be far greater but for the errours and exaggerations mixt up with the momentous truths contained in them, and also because they are specially suited to act on an important portion of the minds to whom my Sermons were immediately addrest. But the idolatry of power is by no means confined to him; and in other writers it appears unmitigated by the noble moral spirit, which forms Mr Carlyle's great attraction. In no English work that I know of is it more painfully offensive than in one of the most masterly of our age, that History of the War in the Spanish Peninsula, which as a military history is said to be unparalleled. In Coleridge's *Tabletalk* that truly wise man is represented as placing his hand on this blot. "I have been exceedingly impreſt with the pernicious precedent of Napier's History of the Peninsular War. It is a specimen of the true French military school: not a thought for the justice of the war; not a consideration of the damnable and damning iniquity of the French invasion. All is lookt at as a mere game of exquisite skill; and the praise is regularly awarded to the most successful player. How perfectly ridiculous is the prostration of Napier's mind, apparently a powerful one, before the name of Buonaparte. I declare I know no book more likely to undermine the national sense of right and wrong in matters of forein interference than this work of Napier's." Of the justice of this censure there cannot be a more striking proof than the closing sentences of this able history. "War is the condition of this world. From man to the smallest insect all are at strife; and the glory of arms, which cannot be obtained without the exercise of honour, fortitude, courage, obedience, modesty, and temperance, excites the brave man's patriotism, and is a chastening corrective for the rich man's pride. It is yet no security for power. Napoleon, the greatest man of whom history makes mention, Napoleon, the most wonderful commander, the most sagacious politician, the most profound statesman, lost by arms Poland, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and France. Fortune, that name for the unknown combinations

of infinite power, was wanting to him; and without her aid the designs of man are as bubbles on a troubled ocean." These words wind up the history of a war, which, more visibly perhaps than any other, since that of the Greeks against the Persian invaders, exemplifies the moral order and government of the world, and shews how reckless ambition, insolence, and crime, even when they seem to be irresistible, and almost omnipotent, are all the while rushing headlong into destruction, and how justice and conscience and the moral affections, though the rulers of the earth send forth all their armies to grind them to dust, have an inextinguishable principle of life in them, which in time arouses sympathy, and turns upon and destroys the destroyer. There is something quite awful in the judicial blindness which has here come upon a man gifted with such intellectual power. Having *beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven*, he says, *I have investigated the matter minutely, and have found out it was nothing but a falling star; and that is nothing but an ignis fatuus.* In one sense this illustrates the tendency of professional studies to narrow and spell-bind the understanding, unless they are counteracted by a high moral sense, vindicating the freedom of the spirit, and proclaiming that there is something holier and mightier in man and nature, than the counters and tools of the intellect. But it is far more awful that a historian, writing in this nineteenth century of Christianity, should have been utterly unable to discern, what was so manifest to the father of history, that there is a divine retribution, a Nemesis, striding through history, swaying its ebb and flow, commanding its tumultuous waves to rise and fall, and that, as the early Greek dramatists saw so clearly, *ὕβρις, εἰ πολλῶν ὑπερπλησθῇ μάταν,—ἀκρατάταν εἰσαναβᾶσ' ἀπότομον ὥρουσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαν.* Indeed a belief in some retributive justice displaying itself in the affairs of men is so universal, as to seem almost like an instinct of the conscience; and perhaps there is no national literature in which it has not exprest itself in one form or other. An example, admirable in its kind, is the popular story, in Grimm's Collection, of the Fisherman and his Wife, who, having wish after wish granted to them, go on

mounting higher and higher in their demands, until they reach such a pitch of impious audacity, that all their gifts are wrested from them, and they are driven back to their previous miserable and ignominious abode. This story is said to have been a great favorite with the peasantry of Northern Germany, when the French Emperor was at the summit of his power; and they lookt upon it as a prophecy of his fall. So much wiser were they than Colonel Napier, whose powerful and laboriously cultivated intellect, having refused to acknowledge that there is anything above or on a level with the intellect, when it sees all its calculations baffled, its certainties confounded, its logical fabric shattered to pieces, and its almighty Dagon cast headless to the ground, is fain to end in an Epicurean apotheosis of Chance and Luck; and, after gazing intently on the catastrophe of the grandest series of wars in all history, exclaims with the Clown in *All 's Well that ends Well*, "Here is a pur of Fortune's, sir, or of Fortune's cat." Verily Fluellen is right: "Fortune is an excellent moral."

NOTE S b: p. 91, l. 19.

The indispensableness of such a true living idea of righteousness to render the moral law with its precepts practically efficient is well set forth by Baader, one of the profoundest among the philosophers of Germany, in a dissertation on Kant's Practical Reason; and the arguments which he uses to prove the inefficiency of Kant's ethical system, apply equally to that of the Stoics, to which Kant's is closely allied. "The consciousness that I ought to act so or so compells me to acknowledge that I could so act if I would: for without this conviction I should not concede that I ought. But no less clear is the conviction that I do not will so to act, that I will to act otherwise. Now this opposite will, which wills an opposite course of action, I am to deny, so far as I will it, by keeping in and keeping down my will, which must be just as easy as—keeping in my breath, or suicide. This denial of a life, which, though real, is opposed to my inward better nature, and consequently diseased and monstrous, for the sake of a

better, healthy, and no less real life, manifesting itself as such, does not involve any contradiction; inasmuch as the self-denial with regard to the one life obtains its complement in the self-affirmation with regard to the other, in one and the same living subject. On the other hand it seems to me not only contradictory, but like a piece of irony, to require of a living intelligent being, that he should give up that real life, of which alone he knows anything, while he is openly told that he must not entertain the slightest hope of attaining to any kind of information or testimony or knowledge of the reality of another life, the affirmation of which is nevertheless always implied in the denial of the former, and while for the assurance of that affirmation he has nothing whatever, except his own reflexion or his own imagination. More consistently, and in accordance with the nature of man, Religion here takes the very opposite line; and beginning with the affirmation and assurance of another better life, she grounds her demand, that we should deny its antagonist, entirely on this affirmation, giving man a promise at the same time that, as he advances in the evolution of this better life, which exactly keeps pace with the involution of the worse, he will also acquire a clearer conviction of the reality of the former, and even an insight into its economy. And although in respect of this she directs man to the other side of the grave, this is not to be understood as if she bad him turn away to something that is not present, to something merely future, but rather as implying that that inward moral life, which is continually present, will alone abide, when the cloud of our present temporal life, which at present conceals it and prevents its full manifestation, shall have past away. According to this view of that self-denial which moral philosophy as well as religion demand of us, I assert now without fear or limitation, that I consider every act of what is called philosophical self-denial, which pretends that it can always dispense wholly with the affirmation of an opposite life, as affectation and charlatanery, and that man may indeed repress some particular expression of his will in this way, but cannot reform his will, or change its character."—*Philosophische Schriften*, I. 19—21.

Note T: p. 99.

The rule proposed by Luecke, as cited above in p. 584, for determining the bearing of the Comforter's threefold conviction, is chiefly serviceable with regard to the second. For there can be little question of whose sin, or of whose judgement, He was to convince the world; but the meaning of the tenth verse is more ambiguous. As the word *δικαιοσύνη* has diverse senses in the New Testament, it has been interpreted diversely in this passage: hence it has been doubted whose righteousness was to be the object of the Comforter's conviction; and according to the view taken on this point, it has been more or less difficult to trace the connexion between the latter part of the verse and the former. But if we follow Luecke's very reasonable suggestion, it becomes plain that the righteousness of which the Comforter was to convince the world, was the righteousness of Him who was going to the Father, and that His going to the Father was to be a proof of that righteousness. This is Chrysostom's interpretation: only, as is so often the case, he takes it somewhat superficially, looking no further than Christ's own personal righteousness, and paraphrasing *δικαιοσύνη* by *ὅτι ἄληπτον παρεσχόμην βιόν. καὶ τούτου τεκμήριον τὸ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα πορεύεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀεὶ τοῦτο ἐνεκάλουν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἁμαρτωλὸν αὐτὸν ἔλεγον καὶ παράνομόν, φησιν, ὅτι καὶ ταυτὴν ἀναιρήσει τὴν πρόφασιν. εἰ γὰρ τὸ νομίζεσθαι ἐμὲ μὴ εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦτο παράνομον δείκνυσιν, ὅταν δείξῃ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκεῖ με ἀπελθόντα, καὶ οὐ πρὸς ὥραν, ἀλλὰ μένοντα ἐκεῖ (τὸ γὰρ οὐκέτι θεωρεῖτέ με τοῦτο ἔστι δηλοῦντος), τί ἐροῦσι λοιπόν; ὅρα διὰ δυὸ τούτων ἀναιρουμένην τὴν πονηρὰν ὑποψίαν· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ σημεῖα ποιεῖν, ἁμαρτωλοῦ (οὐ γὰρ δύναται ἁμαρτωλὸς σημεῖα ποιεῖν) οὔτε τὸ παρὰ Θεῷ εἶναι διαπαντὸς, ἁμαρτωλοῦ. ὥστε οὐκέτι δύνασθε λέγειν, ὅτι οὗτος ἁμαρτωλός ἐστιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ.* The same explanation is given in nearly the same words by Theophylact.

Augustin on the other hand, in his 143rd Sermon, regards the

δικαιοσύνη, of which the Comforter is to convince the world, as our imputed righteousness, the righteousness which the believer in Christ receives from Him through faith. "Et si non manu tangendo, sed corde creditur ad justitiam, recte de justitia nostra mundus arguitur, qui non vult credere nisi quod videt. Ut autem nos haberemus justitiam fidei, de qua mundus argueretur incredulus, propterea Dominus ait, *De justitia, quia ad Patrem vado, et jam non videbitis Me.* Tanquam diceret: Haec erit justitia vestra, ut credatis in Me Mediatorem, quem resuscitatum ad Patrem isse certissime habebitis, quamvis eum carnaliter non videatis, ut per ipsum reconciliati Deum spiritualiter videre possitis. Unde figuram Ecclesiae gestanti mulieri, cum ei post resurrectionem ad pedes caderet, *Noli Me tangere*, inquit: *nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem.* Quod mystice dictum intelligitur. Noli Me per corporeum contactum carnaliter credere: spiritualiter autem credes, id est, fide spirituali Me tanges, cum ascendero ad Patrem. Quia *beati qui non vident, et credunt.* Et haec est justitia fidei, qua mundus carens, de nobis qui ea non caremus arguitur; quia *justus ex fide vivit.* Sive ergo quia in illo resurgentes, et in illo ad Patrem venientes, invisibiliter et in justificatione perficimur, sive quia non videntes et credentes ex fide vivimus, quoniam justus ex fide vivit, propterea dixit, *De justitia, quia ad Patrem vado, et jam non videbitis Me.*" This explanation supplies that which is wanting in Chrysostom's; but from omitting the primary meaning of the passage, which Chrysostom had seized, it cannot succeed in establishing more than an arbitrary connexion between the two parts of the text, feebly supported by a fanciful mystical exposition of our Lord's words to Mary after the resurrection.

In his 144th Sermon Augustin returns to this passage, and gives an interpretation substantially the same, but rather more fully workt out. "Primo quaerendum est, si de peccato mundus arguitur, cur et de justitia? Quis enim de justitia recte argui possit? An de peccato quidem suo, de justitia vero Christi, mundus arguitur? Non video quid aliud possit intelligi; quandoquidem, *De peccato*, inquit, *quia non crediderunt in Me; de justitia*

vero, quia ad Patrem vado. Illi non crediderunt; ipse ad Patrem vadit. Illorum ergo peccatum, ipsius autem justitia. Sed cur in eo solo voluit nominare justitiam, quia vadit ad Patrem? Num non justitia est etiam quod huc venit a Patre?—An quia misericordia est quod venit, ideo justitia est quod vadit? ut et in nobis discamus impleri non posse justitiam, si pigri fuerimus praerogare misericordiam, non quae nostra sunt quaerentes, sed et quae aliorum. Quod cum monuisset Apostolus,—deinde statim addidit: *Singuli quique hoc sentite in vobis, quod et in Christo Jesu: qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse aequalis Deo; sed semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, in similitudinem hominum factus; et habitu inventus ut homo humiliavit se, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis.* Haec est misericordia, qua venit a Patre. Quae igitur justitia est, qua vadit ad Patrem? Sequitur, et dicit, *Propter quod et Deus eum exaltavit, et donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur, coelestium, terrestrium, et infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur, quia Dominus Jesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris.* Haec est justitia, qua vadit ad Patrem. Sed si solus vadit ad Patrem, quid nobis prodest? Utquid ab Spiritu Sancto de hac justitia mundus arguitur? Et tamen nisi solus iret ad Patrem, non alio loco diceret, *Nemo ascendit in coelum, nisi qui descendit de coelo, Filius hominis qui est in coelo.*—Quomodo ergo ille solus? An ideo solus, quia Christus unus est cum omnibus membris suis, tanquam caput cum corpore suo? Quae autem corpus ejus, nisi Ecclesia?—Cum ergo nos ceciderimus, et propter nos ipse descenderit, quid est, *Nemo ascendit, nisi qui descendit,* nisi quia nemo ascendit, nisi unum cum eo factus, et tanquam membrum compactus in ejus corpore qui descendit?—Et ideo nos non debemus ab illa justitia separatos putare, quam Dominus ipse commemorat, dicens, *De justitia, quia ad Patrem vado.* Cum Christo enim et nos resurreximus, et nos cum capite nostro Christo sumus, interim fide et spe: complebitur autem spes nostra in ultima resurrectione mortuorum. Cum autem complebitur spes nostra, tunc complebitur etiam justificatio nostra.—Arguitur ergo mundus *de peccato,* in eis qui non

credunt in Christum; et *de justitia,* in eis qui resurgunt in membris Christi. Unde dictum est, *Ut nos simus justitia Dei in ipso.* Si enim non in ipso, nullo modo justitia. Si autem in ipso, totus nobiscum vadit ad Patrem, et haec implebitur in nobis perfecta justitia."

To this fine exposition the main objection is still, that, from the want of the primary link, its connexion with the text is not sufficiently palpable. Hence Augustin himself is perplext to make out where that connexion lies; and in his 95th Tractate on St John he modifies his explanation, referring δικαιοσύνη primarily to the Apostles, as the representatives of the faithful. "Hic primo videndum est, si recte quisque arguitur de peccato, quomodo recte arguatur et de justitia. Numquid enim, si arguendus est peccator propterea quia peccator est, arguendum putabit quisquam et justum propterea quia justus est? Absit.—Quo pacto igitur mundus arguendus est de justitia, nisi de justitia credentium? Arguitúr itaque de peccato, quia in Christum non credit; et arguitur de justitia eorum qui credunt. Ipsa quippe fidelium comparatio, infidelium est vituperatio.—Quapropter mundus de peccato quidem suo, de justitia vero arguitur aliena, sicut arguuntur de lumine tenebrae: *omnia enim quae arguuntur,* ait Apostolus, *a lumine manifestantur.* Quantum enim malum sit eorum qui non credunt, non solum per seipsum, verum etiam ex bono potest eorum apparere qui credunt. Et quoniam ista vox infidelium esse consuevit, *Quomodo credimus quod non videmus,* ideo credentium justitiam sic oportuit definiri, *Quia ad Patrem vado, et jam non videbitis Me. Beati enim qui non vident, et credunt.* Nam et qui viderunt Christum, non in eo laudata est fides eorum, quia credebant quod videbant, id est Filium hominis, sed quia credebant quod non videbant, id est Filium Dei. Cum vero et ipsa forma servi subtracta eorum esset aspectibus, tum vero ex omni parte impletum est, *Justus ex fide vivit.*—Erit itaque, inquit, vestra justitia, qua mundus arguetur, *quia vado ad Patrem, et jam non videbitis Me:* quoniam in eum quem non videbitis creditis in Me; et quando Me videbitis quod tunc ero, non videbitis Me quod sum vobiscum modo; non videbitis humilem, sed excelsum: non videbitis mortalem,

sed sempiternum:—et de hac fide vestra, id est, justitia vestra, arguet Spiritus Sanctus incredulum mundum."

Tauler's interpretation is still more unsatisfactory as such. "Next the Holy Ghost will reprove our righteousness. Alas, merciful God, what a poor miserable thing our righteousness is in the eyes of God! For St Augustin says, Woe and woe to all righteousness, unless Almighty God judge it according to His compassion! for He has said by the prophet Isaiah, *All your righteousnesses are as filthy rags.*—Many a man is so heartily well pleased with his own ways, that he will neither open his heart to God nor to man, and takes special care not to let God into his soul. If our Lord comes to him with His admonitions, directly or indirectly, he follows his own course, and heeds them not. Such men are utterly untoward, both to God Almighty and to all His creatures: but wherever the Holy Ghost comes, He reproves men's ways and lives. Wherever He is in truth, man confesses his faults plainly, and learns to have calmness, humbleness, and all things that belong to eternal life." By this interpretation the distinction between the Comforter's first and second work is almost lost; nor does it appear how the latter part of the verse is connected with the former.

By Luther, as might be expected, our text is regarded as expressing that doctrine, which he was especially appointed to set forth for the later ages of the Church, as St Paul had been for the earlier, our justification through Christ and in Christ, as the central truth of Christianity. "These words too (he says) are a strange and wondrous speech, and unintelligible in the ears of the world. Righteousness, in the world, and according to all reason, means such a rule and way of life as one lives conformably to laws and commandments, whether ordained by Moses or the Emperor, by masters or parents; and they are called righteous, who obey such commandments. This right and righteousness are not rejected here or done away: for they too are ordained by God; and He wills that they should be observed in the world,—for without them the government of the world cannot stand, — so that wrong and crimes may

be punisht, and again that what is right and well done may be protected, honoured, and rewarded. But how is such righteousness connected with the words which Christ here says, that *I go to the Father, and ye see Me no more?* Who ever heard that this can be called righteousness? How does this help to make people honest and obedient? Were there not honest people before, especially among the Jews, and also among the heathens, who governed praiseworthily and well, defended and upheld right, punisht evil, and so forth, before Christ came or was known? And what does He more than this, since He went up into heaven? He still lets lords and princes govern as they themselves know and see fit, and the people be obedient to them. But these words shew fully that Christ here is not speaking of outward, worldly righteousness, such as prevails and is necessary in this life, and such as Moses or the lawyers and philosophers teach in their books, and men can do of their own ability. For, as in the foregoing verse He does not speak of such sins as the world calls sins and punishes, but mounts above all these, nay, above that which is good and well done in the eyes of the world, and sums up all in this one thing, the not believing in Him; so here too He speaks of a very different righteousness (a righteousness that is to hold ground before God), from that which the world recognizes; and He raises it far and high above all life that can be lived upon earth, and fastens it solely to Himself. So that both the sin which condemns the world, with everything in it, consists solely in being without and against Christ through unbelief; and righteousness before God is to stand solely in and upon Christ, that is, upon these words, that *I go to the Father, and ye see Me no more.*

"For it has been sufficiently shewn above, how all men lie under sin and condemnation, with all their doings, even what may be good and praiseworthy before the world, nay, done according to the ten commandments. If this be true, where is righteousness, or how shall one attain to it? Thus: Christ here says, *This is righteousness, that I go to the Father, and ye see Me no more.* Here must thou seek and find it; not in thyself, not upon earth,

among men, be they who or what they may. For Christians are to know of no other righteousness, whereby they shall stand and be declared righteous before God, receiving the forgiveness of their sins and everlasting life, except this going of Christ to the Father: which is nothing else, than that He took our sins upon His neck, and allowed Himself for their sake to be put to death upon the cross, to be buried, and to go down into hell, but did not remain under sin, nor in death and hell, but past through them by His resurrection and ascension, and now reigns mightily over all creatures at the right hand of the Father. Now He did not go thus to the Father for His own sake; for this would not have availed us; nor could this have been our righteousness. But as He came for our sakes from heaven, and became our flesh and blood, so for our sakes He went up again, after He had completed the victory over sin, death, and hell, and entered into that government whereby He delivers us from all these, and gives us forgiveness of sins, power and victory over the devil and death, and rules in such manner that His kingdom or rule is called, and is, righteousness: that is, sin and evil must pass away therein from before God, and men become righteous before God and well pleasing to Him.

"This righteousness however is very secret and hidden, not only from the world and the natural understanding, but also from the saints. For it is not a thought, word, or work in ourselves, as the sophists have dreamt concerning grace, that it is a thing infused into our hearts; but it is without and above us, namely, the going of Christ to the Father, that is, His suffering and resurrection and ascension. And this moreover is placed beyond our senses and our eyes, so that we cannot see and feel it, but can only lay hold on it through faith in the word which is preacht of Him, that He Himself is our righteousness, as St Paul says of Him, that *He by God is made to us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption*, that we may not glory in ourselves, but only in this our Lord, before God. Verily this is a wonderful righteousness, that we are to be termed righteous, or to have a righteousness, which yet is no work, no thought, in short nothing in us, but entirely out of us in Christ, and which yet becomes truly

ours through His grace and gift, as wholly our own as if it were acquired and earned by ourselves. This language man's understanding cannot make out, that this is to be called righteousness, when I neither do nor suffer anything, nay, have no thought or sensation or feeling, and there is nothing in me on account of which I become pleasing to God, but, passing out of myself and of all men's thoughts, works, and powers, I hold fast to Christ, as He sits above at the right hand of God, without my even seeing Him. But faith is to receive this, and to build thereupon, and to comfort itself therewith in time of temptation, when the devil and a man's own conscience argue with him thus: *Hark you! what sort of a Christian are you? Where is your righteousness? Do you not see and feel that you are a sinner? How then will you abide before God?* In answer whereto he is to take his stand upon these words, and say, *I know very well that I, alas, have sinned, and that there is no righteousness in me which can hold before God. I must not, nor will I seek it or know of it in myself; for therewith I should never be able to come into the presence of God. But here I am told that Christ says, my righteousness is this, that He is gone to the Father, and ascended into Heaven. There it is placed, where the devil must needs let it remain: for he will not make Christ a sinner, or reprove or find fault with His righteousness. If I am a sinner, and my life cannot stand before God, and I find no righteousness in me, yet I have another treasure, which is my righteousness, and through which I may boast and be bold, that is, this ascension of Christ to the Father, which He has given and granted to me. What is wanting therein? or what flaw can you find therein? And though we see and feel nothing of it, yet He Himself thus describes and represents this righteousness, that I am not to feel it, but to lay hold of it by faith in this word of Christ, that ye see Me no more. What need should I have of faith, if I could see this before me, or perceive and feel it in myself.*

"Therefore learn this saying well, that by means of it you may draw a plain distinction between the righteousness which is called Christ's, and everything else that men call righteousness. For

here you are told that the righteousness of which Christ speaks, is not our work or deed, but His going to the Father or ascension. Now it is quite clear and palpable that the two are far and wide asunder. Our work is not Christ; nor is His ascension our deed and work. For what have I, or what has any man done toward His going to the Father, that is, His suffering and dying and rising again and sitting at the right hand of God? This righteousness lies not in my obedience and good works, even those done according to the ten commandments, much less in my own self-appointed worship and human service, monkery, pilgrimages, private devotions, and so forth. So that, although a man understand not these words, what is meant by going to the Father, yet he must hear and understand thus much, that it is not and cannot be our work or deed, but is given to Christ alone, and is attacht to His person. Hence you see how shamefully we have hitherto gone astray and been deceived under Popery, so that we knew not, nor were taught anything about such righteousness, which lies in Christ and His going to the Father; but the folks were turned away from Christ plump upon themselves; and our hope and trust were placed on our own works: nay, Christ was made out to be a terrible Judge, whom we were to appease with our works, and with the intercessions of the Virgin and the Saints; and we, with our penance or satisfaction, were to put off our sins, and to earn righteousness. In such blindness and misery were we all plunged, that we knew nothing of the comfort we were to find in Christ, but, just like the heathens, sought every thing in ourselves, and said, *May God grant me life, that I may do penance for my sins.* These are the words of Turks, Jews, and Papists; for here is nothing of Christ and His ascension; but everything is referred to ourselves, and taught concerning our own amendment.

"True it is indeed, we are to mend and to live otherwise, to do good and refrain from evil; but this mending and living will not attain to and do that, which Christ's going to the Father is to do, namely, that we are to become righteous before God and blessed thereby. Far too weak and too puny to effect this are the lives and works of all the Saints, and the powers of all mankind. For

all this is nothing more than what is earthly and perishable, must cease with us, and be left here below. And although our deeds and works, when done according to God's commandments by those who have faith, are well pleasing to God, and He will reward them both temporally and eternally, yet this will not avail to bring us to God, and to give us such righteousness as shall save us from sin and death. Here there is no other stay, except only this ascension of Christ, who is our chief good and inheritance, our hope here, and our everlasting righteousness."

In this explanation the primary meaning of our Lord's words is past over, as is very frequently the case in Luther's expositions of Scripture, which are mostly doctrinal and practical, rather than critical and philological. Indeed the chief part of them were originally delivered in the form of sermons or homilies or lectures; in which we naturally proceed at once, in ordinary cases, from the primary immediate sense of the text to that which applies to our own and to all time. Besides, though Luther's strong sense and his familiarity with the Bible often enabled him to discern the truth, by a kind of divination, even in difficult critical questions, he had neither the habits of mind, nor the acquirements, nor even the leisure, for such investigations. He had more important work, of far greater urgency: and of this work one main branch was the doctrinal and practical exposition of Scripture, in order to bring out its eternal, fundamental verities, and to deliver them from the glosses by which they had been so lamentably obscured and perverted. In effecting this he may seem at times to draw passages to his purpose, which in themselves are remote or even alien from it. But at all events, when he does so, he is not exercising a capricious ingenuity, devising arbitrary solutions, and picking out among a number of probabilities: he is merely setting forth that one view which he sees, and which he needs must see from his position, looking out under the sway of the living truth whereby he is possest, subordinating all things to it, even as a great poet does by the power of his imagination, and making all things bear witness to it. This truth too, even when it is not explicitly enunciated in the particular passage under consideration, is a

part of that central, pervading truth, to which every part of Scripture bears witness.

Calvin's explanation coincides with Luther's; but, inasmuch as it bears the form of keeping closer to the text, the defect in it is more observable. He begins by speaking of the order in which the conviction wrought by the Comforter proceeds from one step to another. 'Tenenda est graduum series quam ponit Christus. Mundum nunc dicit arguendum de justitia: neque enim justitiam esurient ac sitient homines, imo cum fastidio respuent quicquid de ea dicetur, nisi tacti fuerint sensu peccati. Praesertim de fidelibus sic habendum est, non posse eos in Evangelio proficere, nisi primum humiliati fuerint, quod fieri non potest nisi peccatis agnitis. Proprium quidem est Legis munus conscientias vocare ad Dei judicium et terrore vulnerare; sed rite Evangelium praedicari nequit, quin a peccato in justitiam et a morte in vitam deducat. Proinde necesse est ut a Lege mutuetur primum istud membrum, de quo locutus est Christus. Caeterum justitiam hic intellige, quae nobis per Christi gratiam communicatur. Eam Christus statuit in suo ad Patrem ascensu, nec immerito. Quemadmodum enim teste Paulo, *Resurrexit propter justificationem nostram*, ita nunc ad dexteram Patris sedet, ut quicquid illi datum est potestatis exerceat, et sic impleat omnia. Denique e gloria coelesti justitiae suae odore mundum perfundit. Spiritus autem per Evangelium pronuntiat hunc unum esse modum quo justi censeamur. Ideo a convictione peccati secundus hic gradus est, ut convincat Spiritus mundum, quaenam vera sit justitia. Nempe quod Christus suo in coelum ascensu vitae regnum constituit, et nunc sedet ad Patris dexteram, ut veram justitiam stabiliat."

On the other hand Beza, who regards the whole promise as bearing chiefly on the period immediately following our Lord's ascension, inclines to take δικαιοσύνη in our verse as Christ's personal righteousness. "Deinde, inquit, arguet mundum de justitia; non ipsius mundi certè, qui se totum esse in peccatis, velit nolit, agnoscet, sed de ipsius Christi justitia. *Quia*, inquit, *ad Patrem vado, nec amplius videbitis Me:* id est, cum mundus

praesens in Ecclesia spectabit Spiritum per Me in vos effusum, fateri cogetur Me verè justum fuisse, qui ex hoc mundo discedens, non fuerim damnatus a Deo pro blasphemo et impio, sed approbatus et receptus a Patre, cujus cum Me Filium dicerem, illi idcirco Me ut blasphemum et impium damnarint. Hoc, inquam, fateri mundus cogetur, et causam Meam Deo placere, cum vos, qui doctrinam Meam asseretis, tot virtutibus plane coelestibus ornatos conspicient: quod et ille Centurio statim post Christi mortem agnovit, et qui revertebantur plangentes, cum paulo ante jussissent illum tolli ac crucifigi." At the same time he proposes two other explanations, understanding ἐλέγχειν in the sense of *reproving;* "coargui mundum justitiae, quod verae justitiae sit prorsus inscius,—quoniam eum repudiat,—qui sua virtute nunc regnans nos justificat;" and again, "de justitia, quam videlicet sibi in Christo oblatam contemserint, nunquam mundo postea offerendam, cum discesserit Christus ex mundo nunquam nisi ad judicium rediturus."

The twofold purpose of the Comforter's conviction of righteousness is well set forth by Cartwright. "Sicut Spiritus in vobis loquens mundi fastum deprimet, et ejus nequitiam coarguet; sic et Meam justitiam, quam vos traduci et obscurari inique fertis, vindicabit, et inde astruet, quod Ego ad Patrem iturus sum. Quod et diligenter ab Apostolis inculcatum passim est, Christum esse justum et sanctum, idque hoc ipso argumento, quod resuscitatus a Deo ad dextram ejus sedit. Sicut enim ministerium Enochi sua assumptione in coelum obsignatum est (Heb. xi. 5. collato cum Judae epistola, v. 14); sicut etiam Eliae ministerium ejus raptu in coelum abunde comprobatum est (2 Reg. ii.); sic Christi justitia atque innocentia. Hunc autem Christi ascensum tanto magis testatum esse opportuit, quod ex ejus justitia ascensu suo plene convicta nostra omnis justitia pendeat. Nam nisi ille resuscitatus Deo gratus fuisset, eoque apud dexteram ejus sederet, nos nullo modo Deo accepti esse possemus. Si enim qui personam nostram sustinet, et peccata nostra omnia in se transtulit, in morte remansit, aut resuscitatus coelo tamen excluditur, quem locum in coelis reperiemus? Sic dicitur (Rom. iv. vers. ult.) Eum *resurrexisse propter justitiam nostram.* Atque haec ratio est cur Christum

oportuit resurgere tertio die, et non diu hic in terris versari. Quo etiam fit, ut qui illum hic in terris haerentem somniant, tantum ejus justitiae detrahant, quantum ejus in terris commorationis commento illum a Patris dextra detrudunt: nec justitiae Christi tantum, sed et eodem momento nostrae detrahunt, qui justitiam ab illo petimus et commodato accipimus."

In Lightfoot's *Horae Hebraicae* this verse is discust at considerable length, and is interpreted in like manner as referring to Christ's twofold righteousness. "De justitia Christi hoc intelligendum nemo non prompte consenserit. At de quanam justitia hic agitur? de justitia ejus personali et inhaerente, an de justitia ejus communicata et justificante? De utraque. Quod ascendit ad Patrem satis arguit justum Eum esse.—Quod effudit Spiritum arguit meritum justitiae suae: aliter non potuerat Spiritum tali modo donasse. Et de justitia ejus justificante hic agi praecipue, facile hoc persuadere potest, quod de ea tot et tanta celebrantur in Scriptura.—In Lege revelatur justitia Dei damnans, in Evangelio justitia justificans. Et hoc est magnum Evangelii mysterium, quod peccatores justificantur, non solum per gratiam et misericordiam divinam, sed et per justitiam divinam, per justitiam scilicet Christi, qui est *Jehovah*, et qui est *Justitia nostra*. Et Spiritus veritatis cum advenit, redarguit—mundum in duobus hisce magnis fidei articulis, in quibus toto coelo erratur a Judaeis; nempe de vera et salvifica fide, fide scilicet in Christo, et de vero modo et formali causa justificationis, per justitiam scilicet Christi. At quomodo formatur argumentum? *Ego eo ad Patrem*; ergo evincetur mundus de justitia Mea justificante.—Videtur Salvator hoc innuere; perfecto opere, pro quo peragendo misit me Pater in mundum, jam ad eum redeo. Jam vero opus Christi peragendum pro Patre erat varium, manifestatio Patris, praedicatio Evangelii, debellatio hostium Dei, peccati, mortis, Diaboli; praecipuum vero, et a quo pendebant omnia reliqua, erat, ut persolveret obedientiam vel justitiam obedientialem Deo.—Et haec justitia est magnum et nobile thema et subjectum doctrinae Evangelicae, *Rom.* i. 17: et de ea necessario et primario erudiendus erat mundus, et in gloriam justificantis, et in manifestationem verae doctrinae Justificationis.

Jam ergo plane argui potuit de hac justitia, ex hoc, quod Christus redierit ad Patrem, quod facere non potuisset nisi perfecto opere ad quod praestandum fuerat missus. Non sine ratione additur, *Et vos Me non videtis amplius:* id est, Quamvis vos Mihi amicissimi, conjunctissimi, tamen praesentia Mea non fruemini amplius: unde argui potest quod merito Meo fruimini; praesertim vero cum vos videat mundus donis Spiritus mei ita locupletatos" The explanation of these last words is a sample of the unhappy excogitations to which divines have been driven through the determination to make every word in Scripture support a favorite hypothesis.

Donne, in the Sermons already quoted, in which he treats of this promise of the Comforter, takes δικαιοσύνη to mean *our righteousness*, and then proceeds to speak of the manner in which the conviction of this our righteousness is produced by the Holy Spirit. "Now the reproof of the world, the convincing of the world, the bringing of the world to the knowledge, that, as they are all under sin by the sin of another, so there is a righteousness of another that must prevail for all their pardons,—is thus wrought. The whole world consisting of Jews and Gentiles, when the Holy Ghost had done enough for the convincing of both these, enough for the overthrowing of all arguments which could either be brought by the Jew for the righteousness of the Law, or by the Gentile for the righteousness of works,—all which is abundantly done by the Holy Ghost in the Epistles of St Paul and other Scriptures,—when the Holy Ghost had possest the Church of God of these all-sufficient Scriptures, then the promise of Christ was performed; and then, though all the world were not presently converted, yet it was presently convinced by the Holy Ghost, because the Holy Ghost had provided in those Scriptures, of which He is the Author, that nothing could be said in the world's behalf for any other righteousness, than by way of pardon in the blood of Christ." It is a pity that Donne was not content to abide by what he had already said in the same Sermon, in the passage cited above (p. 560), where he shewed that our Lord's promise with regard to the conviction of the world was not meant to be accomplisht immediately, but was to receive an ever-widening fulfilment in generation

after generation. This is one of the temptations to which ingenious men are exposed, not to lay firm hold on the truth, even when they have got hold of it, but to let it slip, while they are chasing some new phantom which starts up before their mind. Donne, from the peculiar character of his intellect, from his acuteness, his rich fancy, and that wit which is the combination of the other two qualities, would have been especially apt to run into this errour of sophists and rhetoricians,—nor would his respect for the Fathers have been of much use to preserve him from it,—had it not been for his earnest devotion, and his deep conviction of sin, which give a life and reality to his sermons, such as no ingenuity can attain to. Still there are many passages in his writings, where it is plain that he forgot to pull in his leaders; and they gallop away with him at times over hill and dale, over ploughed land and waste.

Lampe, adopting the view that δικαιοσύνη is our righteousness, enforces and illustrates it from his rich stores of scriptural learning. "De *justitia* loquens intelligit eam quae peccato directe est opposita, quaeque judicii fundamentum est, justitiam nempe peccatoris coram Deo,—quae est *ex Jehova*, Jes. liv. 17, *in Jehova*, Jes. xlv. 23, et ipse *Jehova*, Jerem. xxiii. 6. *Convictio de justitia* comprehendit ut quis jus Dei in condemnando peccatore—agnoscens, nullam sibi viam coram judicio Dei subsistendi relictam esse sentiat, adeoque propriam justitiam prorsus abneget (Ps. cxliii. 2, Jes. lxiv. 10); utque simul de veritate et sufficientia lytri a Christo persoluti plenissime persuadeatur (Jerem. iii. 23), ita ut desiderium seu *sitis justitiae* inde gignatur. Haec convictio—est necessaria; quia justitia haec unicum reconciliationis cum Deo medium est:—quare ignorantia ejus Israelem perdidit, Rom. x. 3.—Neque tamen sine ope Spiritus haec justitia cognosci poterat. Admirabilis ille justitiam divinam placandi modus est mysterium lumini naturae impervium. Phil. iv. 7.—Nullibi nisi in Evangelio revelatur: Rom. i. 17. Et hoc nondum sufficit. Ita enim per fastum natura insitum homo ad propriam justitiam erigendam pronus est, ut nisi efficacia Spiritus humilietur, ad abnegandam omnem in carne fiduciam adigi nequeat.

"Primum argumentum est, *quia* Jesus *vadebat ad Patrem suum.*—Veritatis ea indigitatae demonstratio ad conscientiam in mundo opus est Spiritus Sancti. Indubitato enim pertinet ad summa fidei mysteria: 1 Tim. iii. 16.—Demonstrata vero haec veritas argumentum erat firmissimum adductae justitiae. Nam vadens ad Patrem per passiones *cor suum appignorabat,* quod a nulla creatura exspectari poterat (Jerem. xxx. 21); adeoque probabat se Eum esse qui ultro veniebat (Ps. xl.), qui *potestatem habebat animam ponendi* (Joh. x. 18). Vadens ad Patrem per mortem, quando *spiritum suum in manus ejus commendabat,* declarabat se esse Pontificem illum immaculatum (Hebr. vii.), qui omnes suos adversarios provocabat (Jes. l.); unde jam in articulo mortis jus habebat latroni Paradisum addicendi, et statim post hunc abitum *in Spiritu justificabatur:* 1 Tim. iii. 16. Praecipue vero justitia haec demonstrabatur, quando per adscensum in coelum ad Patrem pergebat. Nam per hunc aditum thronum regni occupabat, quod *in justitia fundatum* erat (Ps. lxxxix. 14; xcvii. 2), quod merces laboris ejus erat (Jes. liii. 10, 11), quodque consequenter occupare non potuisset, nisi omnia consummavisset quae a Sponsore et summo Sacerdote nostro exspectabantur. A Patre igitur admissus declarabatur ut *Servus in quo sibi complacebat:* Jes. xlii. 1. Porro cum abitu ejus ad Patrem effusio Spiritus Santi juncta erat, quae ipsa quoque plenariam justitiam acquisitam esse demonstrabat. Post eam enim *sanctum sanctorum ungi* demum poterat: Dan. ix. 24.—

"Aliud argumentum additur, quia discipuli Jesum *non amplius videbant.*—Haec veritas itidem per Spiritum docenda erat. Ita enim discipuli juxta cum omnibus Judaeis exspectatione regni terreni a Messia erigendi—fascinati erant, ut praejudicio hoc nisi per Spiritus illuminationem liberari nequirent. Triplici autem modo haec verba cum praecedentibus nexa esse concipi queunt. Primo possunt argumenti immediate praecedentis propiorem dare elucidationem.—Et tum declaratur—opus ita consummatum, ut redire amplius in terram non haberet opus. Secundo verba haec ut consectarium ex antecedentibus queunt considerari.—Erat enim non exiguum in eo contra causam Christi praejudicium, quod a discipulis non amplius conspiceretur.—Ut vero objectionem hanc Dominus

eluderet, docet, veram rationem, cur oculis eorum se subduceret, non esse aliam quam *iter ad Patrem* et occupationem throni supra omnia regna mundana evecti. Quod si quis ellipsin—respuat, ille verba nostra tanquam novum argumentum considerare poterit,—justitiam aeternam esse adductam. Argumentationi huic facem praefert Apostolus, Heb. viii. 4. *Si esset in terra*, sive, quod eodem recidit, *si in terra mansisset, non esset Sacerdos.* Cum enim sacerdos sanctuarium debeat habere in quo offerat, neque sanctuarium terrestre Christo conveniret, necessarium erat ut coeleste haberet, et relicta terra intraret.—Hoc vero argumentum eo magis notatu dignum erat, quia ita discipuli praemuniri poterant contra Pseudoprophetas dicentes, *Hic et illic Christus est;* cum genuini Christi asseclae nullam visibilem ejus praesentiam in terris exspectent, ne in ipso quidem regno ultimorum temporum glorioso, et *beati sint qui non vident, et tamen credunt.*"

By the Arminian divines, Chrysostom's historical view is followed. The explanation given by Grotius has already been quoted in p. 546. Wetstein's is to the same effect. "Reum, hoc est, Christum, innocentem justumque fuisse demonstrabit, quod coelo receptus est, ut ibi ad dextram patris sederet, et aeternum regnaret." In Hammond's Paraphrase the meaning of this unfathomable declaration is happily reduced to a minimum: "He shall vindicate and justify My mission and innocence by My ascension to heaven, taking Me away out of the reach of human malice, and rewarding My patience with His consolations;" as though our blessed and eternal Lord had been a good man, who, having met with cruel usage in this life, was to be remunerated for his sufferings in the next. Even Socinus has not lowered these words more than this by his singular explanation in his *Explicationes Locorum sacrae Scripturae: "De justitia*, quia justum est, vel fuit, Christum auferri e conspectu hominum, et nunquam ab eis conspici, quem ita indigne tractarunt."

Bossuet, in his 20th *Méditation sur l'Evangile*, explains δικαιοσύνη with reference to the righteousness of faith. "Pour entendre cette seconde conviction du Saint-Esprit, il faut savoir que la justice chrétienne vient de la foi; selon cette parole du prophète

répétée trois fois par saint Paul, *Le juste vit de la foi.* Mais la véritable épreuve de la foi, c'est de croire ce qu'on ne voit pas. Tant que Jésus-Christ a été sur la terre, sa présence a soutenu la foi de ses disciples : aussitôt qu'il fût arrêté, leur foi tomba ; et ceux qui auparavant croyoient en lui comme au rédempteur d'Israël, commencèrent à dire froidement, *Nous espérions qu'il devoit racheter Israël ;* comme s'ils disoient, mais maintenant après son supplice nous avons perdu cette esperance. Voilà donc la foi des apôtres morte avec Jésus-Christ. Mais quand le Saint-Esprit l'eut ressuscitée, en sorte qu'ils furent plus constamment et plus parfaitement attachés à la personne et à la doctrine de leur maître, qu'ils ne l'étoient pendant sa vie, on vit en eux une véritable foi, et dans cette foi la véritable justice ; qui étant l'ouvrage du Saint-Esprit, il s'ensuit qu'il donna au monde une parfaite conviction de la justice." This shews a very low, superficial conception of the meaning and power of faith, and of its connexion with Christian righteousness ; as though this righteousness were granted to a mere act of the understanding, exercised somewhat arbitrarily ; and as though the worth of faith depended, not on its own πληροφορία, but on the remoteness and invisibleness of its object. Such however is the prevalent notion of faith in the Church of Rome ; nor could one expect anything profounder from the eloquent French rhetorician.

The primary meaning of our text is clearly set forth by Tittmann. "Dominus post mortem videbatur causa sua cecidisse, talisque esse, qualem clamabant Judaei, homo rebellis, impostor, rex Judaeorum opinatus. Sed postquam redierat e morte in vitam coelosque conscenderat, tum demum intellectum est eum esse justum, sanctum, innocentem, immo vero, quem se erat professus, Filium Dei, missum Servatorem humani generis. Quodsi non fuisset, Deus eum nec revocasset e morte, nec in coelum recepisset, nec Sanctum Spiritum misisset. Atque haec est hoc loco δικαιοσύνη, nempe sanctitas et innocentia Christi. Haec manifesta reddebatur, cum Apostoli, illuminati a Sancto Spiritu, praedicarunt inter omnes gentes, ac primum inter Judaeos, Jesum, quem contemserant, conviciis lacessiverant—cruci affixerant,—hunc eundem rediisse e

morte in vitam, ad Patrem profectum esse, ornatumque gloria et majestate divina. Igitur sensus hic est: efficiet, nimirum per Apostolos, ut mundus, in primis Judaicus, intelligat, qualis ego et quantus sim. Atque id discipuli et ipsi tum demum plane et perspicue cognoscebant, cum Dominus non amplius versaretur inter eos, homo tenuis, visibili corpore, et tamen sentirent ipsum vivum ac potentem, nihilque non praestantem eorum quae esset pollicitus; id quod Dominus innuere voluit verbis his, *καὶ οὐκ ἔτι θεωρεῖτέ με.*"

Among the recent commentators on St John, Luecke, in his elaborate work, examines the various explanations of this passage. "Δικαιοσύνη in this verse is interpreted to be *δικαιοσύνη τοῦ Θεοῦ*, in St Paul's sense, by Cyril, Augustin, Erasmus, Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, and most of the Protestant exegetical writers of the 16th and 17th centuries; as also by Lampe, Michaelis, Storr. So is it by De Wette, only with this modification, that he does not refer it to the mode of obtaining justification, as set forth by St Paul, but to the victorious power of God's justice manifesting itself to the world. If however, according to the above-stated hermeneutical canon, *δικαιοσύνη* in our verse must be understood of the personal righteousness of Christ, it is impossible to explain this passage by St Paul's doctrine of the relation between the sin of the world and the atoning righteousness of God. According to this relation, the explanatory ground which follows *ὅτι*, ought to be, that Jesus gave His life for the salvation of the world, or devoted Himself for the world (xvii. 19): this however is not contained in the words, *ὅτι ὑπάγω κ. τ. λ.* I pass over the explanation of *δικαιοσύνη* given by Grotius, as referring to the distributive justice of God, and that of the Socinians, who interpret it of objective justice, in Kvinoel's words, "de eo quod jus et fas est, quod fieri debet, dum ad Patrem abeo." By the above-mentioned canon every interpretation is inadmissible, which does not proceed on the assumption that *δικαιοσύνη* is the personal righteousness of Christ. If we take this as establisht, the 10th verse, viewed in connexion with the whole ἔλεγχος, must be understood as follows: while the Holy Ghost convinces the world that it is sin not to believe in

Jesus, He also proves to the world, that that which it persecutes is righteousness, in other words, that Christ, whom it hates, although crucified, is no malefactor, as it supposes, but the Just One. Thus the ἔλεγχος advances, from the sin of the world, which does not believe, because it does not recognize the righteousness of Christ, to the proof of Christ's righteousness. But this is proved by Christ's going to the Father, into glory."

Tholuck agrees with Luecke: and so does Olshausen, but, as usual, looks more closely into the spiritual meaning of the passage. "As the Spirit reveals the negative side (sin), so in the second place does He also reveal the positive side, righteousness.—Nothing is more natural than that to the insight into sin should be added an insight into that condition where sin is removed, that is, righteousness.—If Christ's going to the Father were mentioned alone, this might be regarded as a testimony of His perfect righteousness; but then the words, *οὐκέτι θεωρεῖτέ με*, have no meaning. We must therefore take *ὑπάγειν* as expressing His removal from sight, and must combine this His bodily absence with His invisible, all-pervading efficacy. Then we get the following sense, which is perfectly suited to the context: the Spirit convinces, as of sin, so of righteousness; for He makes manifest how the Saviour, though unseen in the body, works invisibly, and perfects our inward life. —Here the view taken by the Reformers, Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, and subsequently maintained by Lampe and Storr, that *δικαιοσύνη* in this place refers to our justification before God, requires consideration. The advocates of this interpretation take the supplementary clause in the following manner: *the Spirit also works the conviction of the justification necessary for sinful man; for after My atoning death I go to the Father, and will work invisibly for you.* But if this supposition were tenable, the clause must necessarily have spoken expressly of the death of Christ, which is only remotely alluded to in the words *ὑπάγω πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα*, in so far as it was to precede His ascension. Nor can any meaning be extracted from the words *καὶ οὐκ ἔτι θεωρεῖτέ με*, unless they are referred to the invisible dispensations of grace; but these belong to the work of sanctification, not of justification, and

therefore do not suit this interpretation. Moreover, not only does *δικαιοσύνη* never mean justification in the language of St John, but not even in that of St Paul. The very profound and true idea involved in the Lutheran doctrine of justification is exprest by *λογίζεσθαι εἰς δικαιοσύνην*, never by *δικαιοσύνη* alone."

NOTE U: p. 125.

Every scholar will remember the account which Thucydides gives of the demoralization produced at Athens by the plague. It is such a revelation of the dark places of human nature, and so plainly shews how inefficient the intensest anticipation of suffering is to produce a conviction of judgement, that I will insert it here. *Πρῶτόν τε ἦρξε καὶ ἐς τἆλλα τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ πλέον ἀνομίας τὸ νόσημα. ῥᾷον γὰρ ἐτόλμα τις, ἃ πρότερον ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν, ἀγχίστροφον τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁρῶντες τῶν τ' εὐδαιμόνων καὶ αἰφνιδίως θνησκόντων, καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον κεκτημένων εὐθὺς δὲ τἀκείνων ἐχόντων. ὥστε ταχείας τὰς ἐπαυρέσεις καὶ πρὸς τὸ τερπνὸν ἠξίουν ποιεῖσθαι, ἐφήμερα τά τε σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὁμοίως ἡγούμενοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν προσταλαιπωρεῖν τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν, ἄδηλον νομίζων εἰ πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν διαφθαρήσεται. ὅτι δὲ ἥδη τε ἡδὺ καὶ παναχόθεν τὸ ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον, τοῦτο καὶ καλὸν καὶ χρήσιμον κατέστη. θεῶν δὲ φόβος ἢ ἀνθρώπων νόμος οὐδεὶς ἀπεῖργε, τὸ μὲν κρίνοντες ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ σέβειν καὶ μή, ἐκ τοῦ πάντας ὁρᾶν ἐν ἰσῷ ἀπολλυμένους, τῶν δὲ ἁμαρτημάτων οὐδεὶς ἐλπίζων μέχρι τοῦ δίκην γενέσθαι βιοὺς ἂν τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀντιδοῦναι, πολὺ δὲ μείζω τὴν ἤδη κατεψηφισμένην σφῶν ἐπικρεμασθῆναι, ἣν πρὶν ἐμπεσεῖν, εἰκὸς εἶναι τοῦ βίου τι ἀπολαῦσαι.* II. § 53.

Arnold, who was fond of giving a reality to his religious teaching, by shewing the bearing of its principles, and exemplifying their operation, in social and political life, remarks, in his first Sermon, how the same facts were observed on other like occasions. "Those who have read the story of the Great Plague of London in 1666, or that of Florence in 1348, or of any other seasons of great pestilence which have visited countries possessing a knowledge

of the Gospel, may remember the striking effect produced upon men's minds by those sweeping calamities. It seemed as if all were awake from a dream, had turned away from acting an unreal part, and were at once suddenly sobered and made in earnest. There was a separation broadly and strongly markt between the good and the wicked, like that which will take place in another world. Those who knew what would become of them after death, but had been playing away their lives in the usual follies of mankind, all began now to crowd the churches, to pray with most hearty sincerity, and to look upon sin in its true light, as their worst and most deadly enemy. The unbelievers on the contrary, those who had hardened their hearts effectually by a course of godless living, they too threw aside the covering which they had merely worn for the sake of the world's opinion, and began to serve their master, the Devil, without disguise. Thus the churches were thronged in one place, whilst every sort of abominable wickedness, open blasphemy, lewdness, rioting, robbery, and murder, were practist without restraint in another. In short, the servants of God and of Satan took their part openly; and few, if any, held a middle course between them." Even at Athens some persons were roused to a higher pitch of magnanimity: *οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι*, Thucydides says, *αἰσχύνῃ ἠφείδουν σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἐσιόντες παρὰ τοὺς φίλους*.

The ordinary occurrence of crimes at executions is noticed by Donne in his 37th Sermon, when he is urging that the fear of the Almighty Judge, if we kept it always before us, would keep men from sin. "We have seen purses cut at the sessions, and at executions; but the cutpurse did not see the judge look upon him: we see men sin over those sins today, for which judgement was inflicted but yesterday; but surely they do not see then that the judge sees them." It is sad to think that, in the face of this observation, legislators should have continued for centuries acting under the notion that punishment is almost the only preventive of crime.

Note V: p. 130.

With regard to the meaning of the Comforter's third conviction, the great body of divines are in the main tolerably well agreed. Chrysostom indeed seems to narrow the sense, by resting the evidence of the judgement past upon the prince of this world almost entirely upon the fact of the Resurrection. *Πάλιν ἐνταῦθα τὸν περὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀνακινεῖ λόγον, ὅτι κατεπάλαισε τὸν ἀντίδικον. οὐκ ἂν δὲ ἁμαρτωλὸς ὢν κατεπάλαισεν· ὅπερ οὐδὲ δίκαιός τις ἀνθρώπων ποιῆσαι ἴσχυσεν. ὅτι γὰρ κατακέκριται δι' ἐμὲ, εἴσονται οἱ καταπατοῦντες αὐτὸν ὕστερον, καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασίν μου σαφῶς εἰδότες, ὅπερ κατακρίνοντος αὐτόν ἐστιν· οὐ γὰρ ἴσχυσέ με κατασχεῖν. ἔπει οὖν ἔλεγον, ὅτι δαιμόνιον ἔχω, καὶ ὅτι πλάνος εἰμι, καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ ταῦτα δειχθήσεται ἔωλα ὄντα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸν εἶλον, εἴγε ἁμαρτίᾳ ὑπεύθυνος ἦμην· νυνὶ δὲ κατακέκριται καὶ ἐκβέβληται.* But Theophylact, while in the main he copies Chrysostom, gives a wider proof of this great victory, in the presence of the Spirit. *Ἐκ τούτου δὲ πάλιν δίκαιον καὶ ἀναμάρτητον ἀποδείξει με τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐκ τοῦ τὸν κοσμοκράτορα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κατακριθῆναι καὶ καταπαλαισθῆναι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔλεγον, ὅτι δαιμόνιον ἔχει, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ Βεελζεβοὺλ θαύματα ποιεῖ, καὶ πλάνος ἐστι, ταῦτα πάντα, φησὶ, δειχθήσονται μάταια, κατακρίτου φανέντος τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ πᾶσι δειχθέντος ὅτι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νενίκηται, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ἠδυνήθην, εἰ μὴ ἰσχυρότερος αὐτοῦ ἦμην, καὶ πάσης ἁμαρτίας ἀλλότριος. πῶς δὲ ἐδείχθη τοῦτο; τῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος παρουσίᾳ πάντες οἱ πιστεύοντες εἰς Χριστὸν καταπάτημα καὶ ὕβριν ἐποίουντο τὸν κυσμοκράτορα. οὐκοῦν εδείκνυτο ἐκ τούτων καὶ ὅτι ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ κατακέκριται πολλῷ πρότερον.—καὶ ἄλλως δὲ, ἐλέγχει τὸν ἀπιστήσαντα κόσμον τὸ Πνεῦμα περὶ δικαιοσύνης, τουτέστιν, ὅτι ἐστέρηται δικαιοσύνης ὁ μὴ πιστεύων εἰς τὸν δίκαιον Ἰησοῦν, τὸν διὰ δικαιοσύνην ἀναληφθέντα εἰς οὐρανούς. ἐλέγχει καὶ κατακρίνει καὶ ὡς ῥᾴθυμον, ὅτι καταθρανσθέντος τοῦ Σατανᾶ οὐδὲ οὕτως αὐτοῦ ἠθέλησε περιγενέσθαι.*

Augustin, in his 95th Tractate on St John, refers the judgement to that at the end of the world. "Arguet etiam *de judicio*,

quia princeps hujus mundi judicatus est. Quis est iste, nisi de quo ait alio loco, *Ecce venit princeps mundi, et in me nihil inveniet?* id est, nihil juris sui, nihil quod ad eum pertineat, nullum scilicet omnino peccatum. Per hoc enim est diabolus princeps mundi. Non enim coeli et terrae, et omnium quae in eis sunt, est diabolus princeps, qua significatione intelligitur *mundus,* ubi dictum est, *Et mundus per Eum factus est:* sed mundi est diabolus princeps, de quo mundo ibi continuo subjungit atque ait, *et mundus Eum non cognovit;* hoc est, homines infideles, quibus toto orbe terrarum mundus est plenus: inter quos gemit fidelis mundus, quem de mundo elegit, per quem factus est mundus; de quo Ipse dicit, *non venit Filius hominis ut judicet mundum, sed ut salvetur mundus per Ipsum.* Mundus eo judicante damnatur; mundus eo subveniente salvatur; quoniam sicut arbor foliis et pomis, sicut area paleis et frumentis, ita infidelibus et fidelibus plenus est mundus. Princeps ergo mundi hujus, hoc est, princeps tenebrarum harum, id est, infidelium,—de quibus eruitur mundus, quibus dicitur, *Fuistis aliquando tenebrae, nunc autem lux in Domino,*—princeps mundi hujus de quo alibi dicit, *Nunc princeps mundi hujus missus est foras,* utique judicatus est; quoniam judicio ignis aeterni irrevocabiliter destinatus est. Et de hoc itaque judicio, quo princeps judicatus est mundi, arguitur a Spiritu Sancto mundus; quoniam cum suo principe judicatur, quem superbus atque impius imitatur. *Si enim Deus,* sicut dicit Apostolus Petrus, *peccantibus angelis non pepercit, sed carceribus caliginis inferi retrudens tradidit in judicio puniendos servari;* quomodo non a Spiritu Sancto de hoc judicio mundus arguitur, quando in Spiritu Sancto haec loquitur Apostolus?"

In his 143rd Sermon, on the other hand, Augustin applies our Lord's promise more appropriately to the casting out of Satan through the power of Christ from the hearts of believers. "Nec inde se mundus excuset, quod a diabolo impeditur, ne credat in Christum. Credentibus enim princeps mundi mittitur foras, ut jam non operetur in cordibus hominum, quos Christus per fidem coeperit possidere; sicut operatur in filiis diffidentiae, quos ad tentandos et tribulandos justos plerumque concitat. Quia

enim missus est foras, qui intrinsecus dominabatur, extrinsecus praeliatur. Etsi ergo per ejus persecutiones Dominus *dirigit mites in judicio;* tamen jam ipse hoc ipso quo foras missus est, judicatus est. Et de hoc judicio mundus arguitur: quia frustra de diabolo queritur, qui non vult credere in Christum, quem judicatum, id est, foras missum, et propter nostram exercitationem forinsecus oppugnare permissum, non solum viri, sed etiam mulieres et pueri et puellae martyres vicerunt. Sed in quo vicerunt, nisi in illo in quem crediderunt, et quem non videntes dilexerunt, et quo dominante in cordibus suis pessimo dominatore caruerunt? Et hoc totum per gratiam, hoc est, per donum Spiritus Sancti. Recte itaque idem Spiritus arguit mundum, et *de peccato* quia non credit in Christum; et *de justitia*, quia qui voluerunt crediderunt, quamvis in quem crediderunt non viderunt, et per ejus resurrectionem se quoque in resurrectione perfici speraverunt; et *de judicio*, quia ipsi si vellent credere, a nullo impedirentur, *quoniam princeps hujus mundi jam judicatus est.*"

In the 144th Sermon, which, as has already been observed, belongs to a different, probably an earlier, period of his life, and which is derived from a different collection, and has merely been placed next to the preceding one by the editors in consequence of the similarity of the subject, Augustin's explanation coincides with that given in the Tractate on St John. "Propter hoc et *de judicio* mundus arguitur, *quia princeps hujus mundi jam judicatus est;* id est, diabolus, princeps iniquorum, qui corde non habitant nisi in hoc mundo, quem diligunt, et ideo mundus vocantur; sicut nostra conversatio in coelis est, si resurrexerimus cum Christo. Ergo quemadmodum cum nobis, id est, cum corpore suo, unus est Christus, sic cum omnibus impiis, quibus caput est, cum quodam corpore suo, unus est diabolus. Quapropter sicut nos non separamur a justitia, de qua Dominus dixit, *Quia ad Patrem vado;* sic impii non separantur ab illo judicio, de quo dixit, *Quia princeps hujus mundi jam judicatus est.*"

Tauler strangely misunderstands the meaning of the judgement, which is to be the subject of the Comforter's ἔλεγχος, but writes beautifully, as he always does. "The Holy Ghost reproves man

for his judgement. What are these judgements? It means that every man passes judgement on his neighbour, civil or spiritual, and that they have no eyes for their own faults and sin, although Christ has said, *With what measure thou metest, with the same it shall be measured to thee again.* Ye shall judge nobody, that ye be not judged. Unhappily all men, bishops, prelates, priests and monks, provincials and abbots, gentle and simple, will try and judge one another; and therewith ye build great thick walls between God and yourselves. Beware thereof as ye love Almighty God and everlasting happiness; and prove and judge yourselves. This is useful to you, if ye desire to be blessed, and to stand, and if ye would be unjudged by Almighty God and by all His chosen saints. A man should judge nothing that is not a plain mortal sin. He should much sooner and rather bite his tongue that it bleed, than judge a man in little or in great things. One should leave this to the eternal judgement of God; for from man's judgement upon his neighbour there grows a complacency in one's self, an evil arrogance, and a contempt for one's neighbour. This fruit is therefore truly a deed of the Devil, whereby many a heart is defiled; and then the Holy Ghost is not truly in man. But where the Holy Ghost is truly with His presence, He judges by that same man where it is necessary; and then that man waits for the hour and occasion when it is fitting to punish. This must not be done so as, before one heals one wound, to inflict three or four violently. One should not even punish a man with hard words, but friendly and kindly. One should not crush a man, nor lower him in any other man's heart, be he civil or spiritual; but it should come out of a pure love, friendship, and gentleness. Herewith a man abides within himself, in humility and poverty of spirit; and this he then bears within him wherever he goes and whatever he does, whether amid a congregation or alone. And herewith he profits no one else but himself, in a true simplicity, and lets all such things lie as do not concern him, and are not committed to him."

Luther, as usual, exemplifies the conviction of judgement by a reference to his own times, and finds it a source of inexhaustible

comfort and strength. "Christ does not speak here of a worldly judgement, as the world judges in its own matters, which relate to body and goods, lands and persons; but this is a spiritual judgement, which pertains to the government of souls and consciences. It follows plainly from what went before. For where righteousness comes, there judgement must be held, since righteousness has two works, help and punishment. By help the innocent are saved and maintained; by punishment the wicked and wrong-doers are hindered and checkt. Therefore, as the world is rebuked for that righteousness which holds good before God, for that it has not this righteousness, and will not accept it, but sets up another righteousness of its own; in like manner is it to be rebuked for judgement, because it takes upon itself to punish and condemn in matters which it does not understand, and in which it has no right or authority to punish. For here it lifts itself up, when such things are preacht and taught through the reproof of the Holy Spirit, as, that all men are under sin, and that without Christ there is no counsel or help against sin, and no righteousness before God except in Christ. This the world cannot and will not brook or hear, but begins to condemn this sermon, and to persecute all who cleave to it and confess it, and claims a right and authority for such judgement or condemnation and punishment, as though exercising it in God's name, and all the while bears the name of the Christian Church. For here the world chooses to be Master Clever, and Satan to be God Himself; and they presume to declare and decide what is right or wrong, punishable or acceptable, in divine things. For it sets to and condemns the sermon of the Apostles and of the Gospel, and all who abide thereby, to the bottomless pit; and this it does by its highest regular power, right, and authority, which are given to it by God to punish the wicked. This it uses against God and His Christians, to destroy the preaching of the Gospel therewith. Thus the two judgements run counter to each other, in that the Holy Ghost by His sermon judges and rebukes the world; but the world sets itself in opposition, will not hear nor bear this, claims judgement for itself, says, this is not God's but the devil's sermon and doctrine, so that

it has not only a fair plea not to accept them, but is also bound to condemn them, to prevent, and to root them out, through its judicial power, that is, for the sake of God and of righteousness.

" Well then, we must let these two judgements, that of God, and that of the world, and of its prince, the devil, run and clash against each other; and we must await and expect, and for God's and His word's sake must endure, that they should condemn us, persecute us, and, when they can, slay and murder us in the service of their God. But in so doing we have the comfort, wherewith the Lord Christ has beforehand provided and armed us, (as indeed we greatly need; else would it be too hard for us to bear this judgement and condemnation;) in that He promises, not only that the Holy Ghost, by our means, shall rebuke the world on account of sin and righteousness, and also of judgement, but moreover shall uphold those who are His therein, and shall give effect to their judgement and rebuke against the opposite judgement and condemnation, so that in the end His judgement shall stand.

" This is what He means, when He says that the prince of this world is judged. Here, in the first place, we are told and assured, that this judgement and condemnation of the world is not the judgement and sentence of God, or of Christ's Church, as the world gives out and would have us believe, but is the devil's judgement, and is already condemned by God; and we too are to count it groundless and condemned, and not to care for it, nor to follow or obey this judgement of the world, but may cheerfully let ourselves be condemned, and set this judgement or condemnation thereagainst, that Christ pronounces the world with its prince to be condemned.

" This I say, because nowadays certain scatterbrains and popish dunces, now that they are forced to confess that our doctrine is right and scriptural, yet splutter against it, and cry that, because it has not been confirmed by councils, and because the government has not adopted, or rejects it, that doctrine is nothing worth; for that one must obey the government, and he who opposes it is seditious; and so forth. Nay, they would so arrange matters, that the

government and men shall be set as judges over God's word; and we are to be free and blameless, so that we need not accept or confess it, if the government does not choose. Scripture however says, not the world, the prince, or emperor, but the Holy Ghost is to be judge by the word. But the world must let itself be rebuked and judged, and must give heed to this judgement. And if the world opposes it, and would itself judge God's word, and condemn and command us to hold with it, we are to know that this judgement is condemned, and is the devil's, and that we are to resist it, as being condemned by God, and to say, *dear prince, emperor, and world, I am indeed under thy power with my body and goods; and as to what thou shalt ordain concerning my body and goods, I must and will readily obey: but if thou stretchest out further into God's government, where thou mayest not, nor canst be judge, but must let thyself be judged, along with me and all creatures, by His word, there I must and will not follow thee, but do the contrary, that I may obey Him, and abide by His word. For if I were to obey thee, I should condemn myself, along with thee, by God's word; because Christ here concludes and says, What the prince of this world judges concerning God's word is already condemned.*

"In the next place, He also gives us the comfort that the Holy Ghost with his judgement shall prevail and make way against the world's judgement and condemnation, in order that we may not be dismayed at the power of the world and the devil, and their angry threats and terrours. For Christ here speaks very grandly and boldly: not only, He says, shall all emperors, kings, princes, or others, who rage against God's word, be condemned along with their judgement; but the prince of this world himself, who has more might and strength in his little finger than all the world together. And the Gospel shall not only be judge over flesh and blood, nay, not only over some of Satan's angels or devils, but over the prince himself, who has the whole world mightily in his hands, and is the all-wisest, mightiest, and thereto the all-fiercest enemy of God and His Christians, so that everything which is great, mighty, and wicked among men is nothing in comparison

with him. Moreover, by His word not only is the world's highest understanding, wisdom, and power condemned, but also the wisdom and power which the prince of this world himself has and wields. Nay, He says, there is no need of any further judgement or knowledge, he is already condemned. So that the judgement of the Christians, who have God's word, and judge accordingly, shall stand and gain ground against him, until at last he is utterly overthrown. For this judgement against him is already won and confirmed: nay, he has long since been cast out, and is imprisoned and held in chains and bonds unto condemnation; nor is anything wanting, except that this judgement and condemnation be made manifest and finally accomplisht before all the world, so that, being cast down for ever to hell with all his members, he shall no more be able to assail God's word and Christendom. Therefore it behoves us not to dread or care for their judgement and condemnation, because we hear that it shall not harm us, but is already powerless, being condemned by God's contrary judgement, so that they shall not work or effect anything against us, however fiercely they rage against us with their condemnation, persecution, and murder, but must finally and for ever remain under condemnation, which is past against them both by God, and by us who judge after and by God's word. And Christendom shall maintain the supreme judgement, and shall abide, as it has done hitherto, in defiance of the devil and the world."

Calvin takes κρίσις to mean, not the judgement upon evil, but the establishment of a right order; although the declaration that judgement has past on the prince of this world, as he himself observes, favours the ordinary interpretation. "Qui judicii nomen pro damnatione accipiunt, ratione non carent, quia mox subjicit Christus mundi principem esse judicatum. Mihi tamen videtur diversus sensus magis congruere, nempe quod accensa Evangelii luce patefaciat Spiritus, Christi victoria, qua Satanae imperium dejecit, statum mundi rite et ordine fuisse compositum; acsi diceret, veram esse istam instaurationem qua reformantur omnia, cum ipse Christus subacto et triumphato Satana solus regnum obtinet. Judicium ergo rebus confusis et dissipatis opponitur.—Sensus est,

Satanam, quamdiu imperio potitur, miscere omnia et turbare, ut foeda sit ac deformis operum Dei confusio; sed ubi tyrannide sua exuitur per Christum, tunc mundo reparato ordinem bene temperatum lucere. Ita mundum Spiritus de judicio convincit, hoc est, quod Christus, devicto iniquitatis principe, quae prius collapsa erant et divulsa in ordinem restituit." Doubtless the condemnation of evil implies the confirmation of that which is good; but since the second clause declares that judgement has been executed on the Prince of this world, it is better to understand the same word in the same sense in the first clause.

Beza renders κρίσις in the subjective sense of *judgement*, so as that the world is to be convinced of having judged erroneously. "Postremo arguetur mundus *de judicio*, id est, huc adigetur ut Me, quem veluti fabri filium contemserit,—vere Dei Filium agnoscat, qui solutis mortis doloribus tunc ero dextra Dei exaltatus. *Quia*, inquit, *princeps hujus mundi judicatus est:* id est, quia re ipsa intelligent et cognoscent Me, diabolo superato, imperium in mundo exercere, cum viderint omnes sese frustra vobis opponere, quoniam vos armabo virtute illa coelesti, qua destruatis omnem celsitudinem quae extollitur adversus cogitationem Dei, et captivam ducatis omnem cogitationem ad obediendum mihi." Among the many objections to this interpretation, *judgement* in the first clause is taken in a different sense from that of the verb *judging* in the second. Besides it would be a sorry anticlimax, after the conviction of sin and of righteousness, to add what is implied in both the former, and much less important than either of them: and too much stress is laid on the miraculous works of the Apostles, as evincing that the Prince of this world had been judged; while the great act by which that judgement is accomplisht is left out of sight. The first of these objections applies also to Beza's second interpretation: "coargui denique judicii, quod eum ignoret atque etiam oppugnet, cui tradita est omnis in coelo et terra potestas; quoniam videlicet eum repudiat qui tollit peccatum, qui sua virtute nunc regnans nos justificat, qui denique diabolum vicit." In Beza's third interpretation,—"De judicio denique, quod incredulis esse paratum, et in ipsorum principe Satana jam aliquatenus

exsertum cogentur ex Apostolica doctrina et ejus efficacia cognoscere," —κρίσις is taken in the right sense; but the rest is vague and unsatisfactory.

Cartwright has better seized the meaning and force of the Comforter's third conviction. "Denique mundum coarguet de judicio et potestate illi in terris et coelo tradita, ut qui omnium despicatissimus habebatur, is gloriosissimus princeps comprobetur. In quo etiam Apostoli in Actis diligenter elaborarunt.. Hujus rei firmissimum argumentum ab effectis affert, quod mundi princeps judicatur, fugatur, et profligatur, mortis, peccati imperium illi in fideles ademptum, omniaque obstacula, quae nostram salutem remorari possint, summota; ut ab inimicis nostris liberati ei serviamus in sanctitate et justitia omnibus diebus vitae nostrae. Quod primum singularem consolationem habet; omnes, vel potentissimos Ecclesiae hostes fundendos et sternendos esse. Deinde admonitionem, ut nos exploremus an justitia Christi induti simus; nam si hoc sit, sequatur etiam nos in Christi potestatem a tyrannide peccati assertos pietati et justitiae studere, et strenue operam dare."

Lightfoot, as usual, is sensible and intelligent, in addition to his great learning. "Judicatum fuisse Diabolum, bene notum, cum Salvator eum devicerit per obedientiam mortis suae: Heb. ii. 14. Atque indicium primum istius judicii et victoriae erat, cum Christus a mortuis resurgeret: proximum, cum Gentiles e carcere Satanae liberaret, per Evangelium, eumque ipsum carceri manciparet, ut Apocal. xx. 1, 2, qui locus in haec verba optime commentatur. Utrumque arguit plane, Christum judicaturum totum mundum, nempe omnes in ipsum non credentes, cum jam judicaverit Principem mundi. Atque hic in mentem revocaveris sententiam Judaeorum de Judicio sub Messia: ipsum non omnino judicaturum Israelem, sed Gentiles solum; imo Israelitas potius judicaturos Gentiles, quam ipsos esse judicandos. At qui judicavit Principem hujus mundi, auctorem infidelitatis, judicabit etiam omnes infideles."

Hammond, on the other hand, is as meagre as ever. "Thirdly, He shall urge and work revenge upon Satan and his instruments,

who crucified Me, and retaliate destruction back upon them." It is really surprising how so good a man should have had such a dim apprehension of Christian truth, as he perpetually evinces in his Paraphrase and Notes. From the fear of getting out of depth he wades about kneedeep in the sand.

Donne follows Calvin in understanding κρίσις as primarily meaning order, but takes no account of the light thrown on the object of the Comforter's conviction by the declaration upon whom it had actually been exercised. Thus neglecting the clue which might have kept him right, he wanders through a maze of his own luxuriant fancies. "After those two convictions of the world,—that they are all under sin, and so in a state of condemnation; and secondly that there is no righteousness, no justification to be had to the Jew by the law, nor to the Gentile by nature, but that there is righteousness and justification enough for all the world, Jew and Gentile, in Christ; in the third place the Holy Ghost is to reprove, that is still, to convince the world, to acquaint the world with this mystery, that there is a means settled to convey this righteousness of Christ upon the world, and then an account to be taken of them who do not lay hold upon this means; for both these are intended in this word *judgement*. He shall reprove them, prove to them this double signification of judgement; first, that there is a judgement of order, of rectitude, of government, to which purpose He hath establisht the Church: and then a judgement of account, and of sentence and beatification upon them who did, and malediction upon them who did not apply themselves to the first judgement, that is, to those orderly ways and means of embracing Christ's righteousness, which were offered them in the Church. God hath ordered all things in measure and number and weight: *Let all things be done decently and in order; for God is the God of order*.—And this order is this judgement; the court, the tribunal, the judgement-seat, in which all men's consciences and actions must be regulated and ordered, the Church.—

"The order and judgement we speak of is an order, a judgement-seat establisht, by which every man, howsoever oppresst with the burthen of sin, may, in the application of the promises of the

Gospel by the ordinance of preaching, and in the seals thereof in the participation of the sacraments, be assured that he hath received his absolution, his remission, his pardon, and is restored to the innocency of his baptism, nay, to the integrity which Adam had before the Fall, nay, to the righteousness of Christ Jesus Himself.—And this power of remission of sins is that order and that judgement which Christ Himself calls by the name of the most orderly frame in this or the next world, a kingdom.—The Holy Ghost reproves thee, convinces thee, of judgement, that is, offers thee the knowledge that such a Church there is, a Jordan to wash thine original leprosy in baptism, a city upon a mountain to enlighten thee in the works of darkness, a continual application of all that Christ Jesus said and did and suffered to thee.—And make that benefit of this reproof, this conviction of the Holy Ghost, that He convinces thee *de judicio*, assures thee of an orderly Church establisht for thy relief, and that the application of thyself to this judgement, the Church, shall enable thee to stand upright in that other judgement, the last judgement; which is also enwrapt in the signification of this word of our text.—

"As God began all with judgement; for He made all things in measure, number, and weight;—as He proceeded with judgement, in erecting a judicial seat for our direction and correction, the Church; so He shall end all with judgement, the final and general judgement at the resurrection.—But was this work left for the Holy Ghost? Did not the natural man, that knew no Holy Ghost, know this? Truly, all their fabulous divinity, all their mythology, their Minos and their Rhadamanthus, tasted of such a notion as a judgement. And yet the first planters of the Christian religion found it hardest to fix this root of all other articles, *that Christ should come again to judgement.*—But to say the truth, and all the truth, howsoever the Gentiles had some glimmering of a judgement, that is, an account to be made of our actions after this life, yet of this judgement which we speak of now, which is a general judgement of all together, and that judgement to be executed by Christ, and to be accompanied with a resurrection of the body,—of this the Gentiles had no intimation: this was left wholly for

the Holy Ghost to manifest. And of this, all the world hath received a full convincing from Him; because He hath delivered to the world those Scriptures which do so abundantly, so irrefragably establish it."

His conclusion is grand. After speaking of the terrours of the Last Judgement, he adds, "Who can think of this, and not be tumbled into desperation? But who can think of it twice, maturely, and by the Holy Ghost, and not find comfort in it, when the same light that shews me the judgement, shews me the Judge too? Knowing therefore the terrours of the Lord, we persuade men, but knowing the comforts too we importune men, to this consideration, that, as God precedes with judgement in this world, to give the issue with the temptation, and competent strength with the affliction, as the wise man expresses it, that God punishes His enemies with deliberation and requesting (as our former translation had it), and then with how great circumspection will He judge His children; so He gives us a holy hope, that, as He hath accepted us in this first judgement, the Church, and made us partakers of the word and sacraments there, so He will bring us with comfort to that place, which no tongue but the tongue of St Paul, and that moved by the Holy Ghost, could describe, and which he does describe so gloriously and so pathetically: *You are come to Mount Sion, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the firstborn who are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to Jesus the Mediator of the New Covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling that speaks better things than that of Abel.*"

Bossuet's *Meditation* on our verse is rhetorical, vague, and empty, and has that air of unreality, not to say untruth, which so often characterizes French eloquence. Indeed the denunciation of the world is just what one might expect from a declaimer living in the midst of the Court of Louis the Fourteenth. "Jésus-Christ a dit ci-dessus: *C'est maintenant que le monde va être jugé: c'est maintenant que le Prince de ce siècle va être chassé.* Comment est ce que Jésus-Christ juge le monde dans le temps de sa passion?

C'est en se laissant juger, et en faisant voir par l'inique jugement du monde sur Jésus-Christ, que tous ses jugemens sont nuls. Le Saint-Esprit qui est descendu, confirme ce jugement contre le monde. Qu'a opéré le jugement du monde sur Jésus-Christ? rien autre chose qu'une démonstration de son iniquité. La doctrine de Jésus-Christ qu'on croyoit anéantie par sa croix, se relève plus que jamais : le ciel se déclare pour elle ; et au défaut des Juifs les Gentils la vont recevoir, et composer le nouveau peuple. C'est l'ouvrage du Saint-Esprit, qui descendu en forme de langue, montre l'efficace de la prédication apostolique. Toutes les nations l'entendent : de toutes les langues il ne s'en fait qu'une, pour montrer que l'Evangile va tout réunir. Le prince de ce monde est jugé : tous les peuples vont consentir à sa condamnation. Jugeons le monde : condamnons le monde. L'autorité qu'il se donne de nous tyranniser par ses maximes et ses coutumes, a donné lieu à condamner en la personne de Jésus-Christ la vérité même. O monde! je te déteste : le Saint-Esprit te convainc de fausseté. N'adhérons au monde par aucun endroit ; sa cause est mauvaise en tout.—C'est donc par là que le monde est jugé. La vie que le Saint-Esprit inspire aux fidèles, condamne toutes ses maximes. Il n'y a plus d'avarice, où chacun apporte ses biens aux pieds des apôtres : il n'y a plus de divisions, ni de jalousie, où il n'y a qu'un cœur et qu'une ame : il n'y a plus de plaisirs sensuels, où l'on a de la joie d'être flagellés par l'amour de Jésus-Christ : il n'y a plus d'orgueil, où tout est soumis au conducteurs de l'Eglise, qu'on rend maîtres de tous ses desirs, et plus encore de soi-même que de ses richesses. Commençons donc cette vie chrétienne et apostolique, et laissons-nous convaincre par le Saint-Esprit." The rule for the extinction of pride in the last sentence but one is curious. Bossuet seems to have forgotten that the Apostles themselves were liable to that vice, and how anxiously their Divine Master warns them against it, how the example which He set before them for the guidance of their lives was that of the Son of man, *who came not to be ministered to, but to minister*. This is one of the primary fallacies in the Romish view of the Church, proceeding upon a kind of assumption that they who enter the ministry, do thereby acquire a sort of immunity

from the ordinary sinfulness of mankind. That such an assumption is utterly baseless, has been too plainly proved by the miserable experience of eighteen centuries: for though there are certain sins to which the clergy are in some measure less exposed, and consequently less prone, their peculiar condition has given birth to new forms of sin especially belonging to it; among which are new shades and modifications of pride: and even if this assumption were not thus groundless, the system built upon it would be most injurious, no less to the Clergy, to whom this submission is to be paid, than to the Laity, whose Christian life under it ceases to be *a reasonable service*, and is never allowed to emancipate itself from the swathing bands of rules and ordinances. Moreover, though the advocates of such a system are apt to boast of the manner in which it recognizes and inculcates the great Christian duties of submission and self-sacrifice, yet in fact this recognition is merely partial, stopping short at the outward act, the act of submission to a visible superior, the act of giving up outward possessions: and these acts, when they are performed according to prescribed modes, in deference to authority, are far from implying the spiritual realities, which alone can give them true worth, and which strengthen and elevate the character of the agent, while formal acts enfeeble and dwarf it.

Lampe, as he is wont, is clear and full, though he has too much of that logical formalism which marks the Calvinistic school of theology. "De judicio addit, quod et alias apud Prophetas frequentissime solet justitiae Christi et regni ejus jungi: Ps. lxxxix. 14. xcvii. 2., etc. — Judicium hoc est pars Regni Christi, et inchoatur in hac vita, quando electis non solum sententia absolutoria per justitiam Christi ad conscientiarum tranquillationem applicatur, sed et lex fidei et sanctimoniae, quae κυρίως *judicia Domini* appellari solet, praescribitur, quam ubi neglexerint, castigantur, ubi vero impleverint, favore Domini laeti fruuntur; quando ab altera parte hostes justitiae et regni Christi immissis poenis coercentur atque exscinduntur. Consummatur autem in futura vita, ubi omnes coram tribunali Christi sistendi.—Convincuntur ergo de hoc judicio, quibus demonstratur

Christum post consummatam obedientiam vere regnum occupasse, adeoque quicunque in mundo servari vult, eum oportere ad Christum respicere ac confugere, eique se subjicere, Ps. ii. 12. — Triplex in Satanam judicium commemorat Scriptura, primum in Paradiso, alterum in passione et morte Christi, tertium in consummatione saeculi. Hic ad secundum respicitur, in eo consistens, quod cum justitia aeterna per obedientiam Christi adducta, coram tribunali Dei non tantum Satanae praetensum jus in Christum et electos fuerit plene abjudicatum, sed etiam sententia ejus condemnatoria confirmata. Judicium hoc a Patre postulat Filius: Zach. iii. 2.— Sic *Diabolus potestatem mortis habens* est abolitus: Hebr. ii. 14. Haec sunt vincula quibus constrictus est, non tantum ne noceat amplius electis, sed etiam ut ipse in poenam adservetur: Matth. xii. 29. Jud. 6. — Hoc judicium licet instaret, in praeterito tamen de eo quasi jam peracto Salvator loquitur, tum quia ante fores erat, tum quia ad tempus effusionis Spiritus Sancti respicitur, qui convincens mundum hoc judicium tanquam jam administratum erat publicaturus."

By some of the German rationalists, who were offended, both by the mention of the spirit of evil in this passage, and by the condemnation of the world implied in his being called its Prince, explanations to evade these objections were devised. Wetstein having already said in his note, "Judicem injustum judicabit: Pilatus conscientia criminis admissi torquebitur, atque ab officio removebitur: Diabolus vero, a quo omne peccatum ortum est, regno exuetur, tenebris ignorantiae et idololatriae per lucem Evangelii ubique terrarum dispulsis;" it was suggested by some that the Prince of this world in our passage must be Pilate, and that what Wetstein had instanced as an example of the judgement to be executed by the conviction of the Comforter, was in fact its consummation. Bolten for Pilate substituted the Sanhedrim, "whose cause the Spirit of God was to prove to be bad in the sight of the Jews, by means of the Apostles whom He inspired and enabled to work miracles." But even J. E. E. Schmidt, in his *Bibliothek für Kritik und Exegese des neuen Testaments* (II. 327), objected that "Jesus does not speak here merely of His controversy with the Jews, but

generally of His controversy with all the opposers of His purpose. To the Founder of the kingdom of light the natural antagonist is the Prince of the kingdom of darkness, the kingdom then subsisting in the world.—Jesus may indeed have referred at the same time to His controversy with the Sanhedrim; for this opposition to His purpose might also be regarded as a work of the devil; because it resisted the establishment of the kingdom of light, and promoted the continuance of the kingdom of darkness." Yet Tittmann, both here and in XII. 31, interprets τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου to mean "omnes eos quicunque tum inter Gentiles, maxime autem inter Judaeos, vim haberent potestatemque qua impedirent propagationem Evangelii, nominatim principes Judaeorum, Pharisaeos, legis peritos, sacerdotes.—Sed hic ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου damnabatur, κέκριται, quatenus ejus vis ac potestas frangebatur aut imminuebatur, adeoque odia ejus, facta et consilia vana reddebantur atque irrita. Idque factum est per Spiritum Sanctum, ministerio Apostolorum, dum docerent Jesum esse Messiam unicum et verissimum, finem habere oeconomiam Mosaicam, non opus esse amplius ritibus a lege praeceptis, unam viam tenendae salutis esse fidem in Christum. Atque ita, quamvis resisteret princeps mundi, tamen evangelium Jesu Christi tradebatur ubique, Hierosolymis, in Palaestina, in toto orbe terrarum, ejusque regnum propagabatur; vicissim vero vis ac potestas improbitatis Judaicae frangebatur, in primis destructo templo et eversa republica Judaica." This interpretation falls short of the true meaning of the passage, inasmuch as it looks at little but the outward conflict which the Gospel had to wage, without taking sufficient account of the spiritual conflict against the power of evil, or of the dominion exercised by that power in the world. Rosenmüller is better here: "Diabolus intelligitur, qui Deo quasi excluso regnavit atque exercuit tyrannidem suam inter gentiles et Judaeos, captivos eos ducens in omne peccatum et perditionem.—Illius vis atque potestas labefactata dicitur, quotiescunque per propagatam doctrinam aut susceptam disciplinam Christi homines e potestate ejus, sive erroris aut impietatis servitute, erepti sunt. — Ubi Judaei a Judaismo, Pagani ab idololatria abducti sunt, tum fassi sunt Satanam condemnatum ejusque vim esse fractam."

Here, as elsewhere, the views of the more recent German commentators, at least of the better part of them, come much nearer the truth. Luecke says, "In the first two convictions to be wrought by the Comforter, Jesus implies that the world may and is destined to acquire an insight into His righteousness, and into the erroneousness of its own unbelief. Meanwhile the world, so long as it does not believe, is swayed by the power of the devil. This leads to the third ἔλεγχος, with which the Spirit's office of convincing closes. Every moral process closes with the κρίσις. The primary foundation and root of the world's resistance is the ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. As long as he has power over the world, it resists the Gospel. But his power lasts so long as he is not known in his state of condemnation. The world in its darkness cannot recognize this. Dwelling in the midst of shadowy unrealities, it is deceived by evil under the guise of good and right. Hence the delusion, the errour of the world, spoken of in v. 2, its servility, its frantic hatred of the Gospel. But in proportion as the true light, the Spirit, gains way in the world, good and evil are separated; the latter loses its speciousness, and therewith its power over the world: comp. III. 18—21. The prince of the world appears in his nakedness, and consequently in his condemnation, and in his impotence: XII. 31. Thus the world, so far as it receives this conviction, is set free by the ἔλεγχος of the Spirit from its delusion and its hatred of the truth; but so far as it resists the first and second ἔλεγχος, it is judged, that is, condemned, along with its prince. One may term this triple ἔλεγχος of the Spirit, which is continually going on in the world, the summary of the universal History of the Kingdom of God and Christ."

Tholuck's explanation in his Notes here, and on XII. 31, is to the same effect. "The meaning of our Lord's words is, When the divine principle of the Spirit that will spread among My disciples shall produce these extraordinary effects in mankind, people will be forced to confess that the power of the evil spirit, which opposes Me in the ungodly feelings of men, is broken. As by the incarnation and coming of the Saviour an inward judgement was commenced in the hearts of men (see c. III. 18), of which the last

judgement is only the outward manifestation; in like manner an inward judgement upon the evil spirit was then commenced, which is to end in the outward manifestation of his casting out at the last judgement: Rev. xx. 14. 1 Cor. xv. 26. The ordinary signification of the verb κρίνειν is very appropriate in this place. When God judges evil objectively, His judgement must be a sentence of condemnation: but that which God casts out objectively, must have its power overthrown subjectively, that is, in the world.—In that Christ appeared in the world, in that He fulfilled the most perfect obedience by His closing sufferings and death (Hebr. v. 8), in that He rose glorified from the dead, He broke down the power of evil; the Kingdom of God advanced mightily; and God's condemnation of evil was carried into effect. Christ sees Satan fall like lightning from heaven. For if the power of the kingdom of evil was overthrown by that great act of redemption, the power of Satan, the ruler over that kingdom, was also overthrown thereby."

I will close this Note with Olshausen's on xii. 31. "The destruction of evil is the necessary consequence of the triumph of good, which alone can render it possible. The casting out of Satan (and of his angels with him) from heaven (Luke x. 18. Rev. xii. 7), necessarily implied the previous exaltation of Christ and of His saints with Him from earth to heaven. The judgement, as being the expulsion of evil from the great communion of the life of the universe, is not to be conceived as merely concentrated at the end of the world, but is continually going on through the whole of history, manifesting itself more plainly at certain moments, when good comes forward efficiently in fuller power. When the disciples, through the powers of a higher world, drove out evil spirits that had been holding sons of Abraham in bondage, our Lord therein saw the fall of Satan from his throne (Luke x. 18); and when the Gentiles came pressing into the kingdom of God, He declared that Satan was wholly cast out. The partition-wall of the Law, which sin had rendered necessary between the Jews and the Gentiles, was removed by the power of truth: instead of separation, came the union of all: Eph. ii. 14."

Note V a: p. 133, l. 20.

There is a terrific truth in Coleridge's words, in a note on Taylor's *Doctrine of Repentance* (*Remains*, III. 302). "Probably from the holiness of his own life, Taylor has but just fluttered about a bad habit, not fully described it. He has omitted, or rather described contradictorily the case of those with whom the objections to sin are all strengthened, the dismal consequences more glaring and always present to them as an avenging fury, the sin loathed, detested, hated, and yet, spite of all this, nay, the more for all this, perpetrated. Both lust and intemperance would furnish too many instances of these most miserable victims." And in the next note he returns to the same remark: "But the most important question is as to those vicious habits, in which there is no love to sin, but only a dread and recoiling from intolerable pain, as in the case of the miserable drunkard. I trust that these epileptic agonies are rather the punishments than the augmenters of his guilt." The same truth is finely exprest in the fourteenth Essay in *the Friend*. "This is indeed the dread punishment attacht by nature to habitual vice, that its impulses wax as its motives wane. No object, not even the light of a solitary taper in the far distance, tempts the benighted mind from before; but its own restlessness dogs it from behind, as with the iron goad of destiny."

Note V b.: p. 136, l. 12.

Augustin, in his 52nd Tractate upon St John, speaking on this passage, says: "Possidebat diabolus genus humanum, et reos suppliciorum tenebat chirographo peccatorum; dominabatur in cordibus infidelium; ad creaturam colendam, deserto Creatore, deceptos captivosque pertrahebat. Per Christi autem fidem, quae morte ejus et resurrectione firmata est, per ejus sanguinem, qui in remissionem fusus est peccatorum, millia credentium a dominatu liberantur diaboli, Christi corpori copulantur, et sub tanto capite uno ejus Spiritu fidelia membra vegetantur. Hoc vocabat judicium, hanc discretionem, hanc a suis redemptis Diaboli expulsionem.—

Praedicebat ergo Dominus quod sciebat, post passionem et glorificationem suam per universum mundum multos populos credituros, in quorum cordibus diabolus intus erat ; cui quando ex fide renuntiant, ejicitur foras. Sed dicit aliquis, Numquid de cordibus Patriarcharum et Prophetarum, veterumque justorum non ejectus est foras ? Ejectus est plane. Quomodo ergo dictum est, *Nunc ejicietur foras ?* Quomodo putamus, nisi quia tunc quod in hominibus paucissimis factum est, nunc in multis magnisque populis jam mox futurum esse praedictum est ?—Quid ergo, ait quispiam, quia diabolus de credentium cordibus ejicietur foras, jam fidelium neminem tentat ? Imo vero tentare non cessat. Sed aliud est intrinsecus regnare, aliud forinsecus oppugnare : nam et munitissimam civitatem aliquando hostis oppugnat, nec expugnat. Et si aliqua tela ejus missa perveniunt, admonet Apostolus unde non laedant : commemorat loricam et scutum fidei. Et si aliquando vulnerat, adest qui sanat. Quia sicut pugnantibus dictum est, *Haec scribo vobis, ut non peccetis ;* ita qui vulnerantur quod sequitur audiunt, *Et si quis peccaverit, Advocatum habemus apud Patrem, Jesum Christum Justum : ipse est Propitiatio peccatorum nostrorum.* Quid enim oramus, cum dicimus, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra,* nisi ut vulnera nostra sanentur ? Et quid aliud petimus cum dicimus, *Ne nos inferas in tentationem,* nisi ut ille qui insidiatur vel certat extrinsecus, nulla irrumpat ex parte, nulla nos fraude, nulla nos possit virtute superare ? Quantaslibet tamen adversum nos erigat machinas, quando non tenet locum cordis ubi fides habitat, ejectus est foras. Sed *nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, in vanum vigilabit qui custodit.* Nolite ergo de vobis ipsis praesumere, si non vultis foras ejectum diabolum intro iterum revocare. Absit autem ut diabolum mundi principem ita dictum existimemus, ut eum coelo et terrae dominari posse credamus. Sed mundus appellatur in malis hominibus, qui toto orbe terrarum diffusi sunt ; sicut appellatur domus in his a quibus habitatur, secundum quod dicimus, *Bona domus est,* vel, *Mala domus est,* non quando reprehendimus sive laudamus aedificium parietum atque tectorum, sed quando mores vel bonorum hominum vel malorum. Sic ergo

dictum est, *Princeps hujus mundi;* id est, princeps malorum omnium qui habitant in mundo. Appellatur etiam mundus in bonis, qui similiter toto terrarum orbe diffusi sunt. Inde dicit Apostolus, *Deus erat in Christo, mundum reconcilians sibi.* Hi sunt ex quorum cordibus princeps hujus mundi ejicitur foras."

V c.: p. 147, l. 10.

I will insert an extract here from Nitzsches *System of Christian Doctrine*, § § 139, 140. "The perfected Mediator of the New Testament first imparts His gift of eternal redemption to the souls of men through the Holy Spirit, who takes everything from Him: John xvi. 13, 14. For the gaining of the redemption (εὕρεσις λυτρώσεως, Hebr. ix. 12) is one act; the bestowal of it upon individual men is a different one. The procuring of salvation (τὰ χαρισθέντα ἡμῖν, 1 Cor. ii. 12) is different from its appropriation (μέτοχοι, Hebr. iii. 1. vi. 4.) The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ is distinct from the grace of the Holy Spirit. By the former the whole world is reconciled, κατὰ δύναμιν, 1 John ii. 1. 2.; by the latter an ever increasing number of individuals is reconciled, κατ' ἐνέργειαν, to God: 2 Cor. v. 20: δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, καταλλάγητε τῷ Θεῷ.

"As the foundation of our salvation in the person of the Redeemer does not act magically, but, inasmuch as its chief instruments are doctrine and testimony, in a manner consentaneous to the original constitution of human nature, which involves freedom; in like manner, for the appropriation of salvation, it is primarily requisite that man's free receptivity should be excited or called forth. This instrumentality of the word, the Church, and the sacraments, in the operations of grace does not exclude the necessity for an immediate working of God upon the heart; and the initiatory act of regeneration by the Spirit, when it has actually taken place, does not prevent the perpetual continuance of similar acts, down to a term which is never to be lookt for in the present condition of mankind.

"The Scholastic Theology of the middle ages could not give a

correct view of the doctrine of the appropriation of salvation; because it thought more of the ecclesiastical course of the Christian's life, as it was to develope itself through the instrumentality of the sacraments, than of the order of salvation. Meanwhile it fixt its attention chiefly on preparatory and justifying grace, and then again on baptism and penance after baptism. The last distinction loses its significance in Protestantism; because every reconversion of a man after a fresh fall is essentially similar to the first. The dogmatic theology of the Reformation attended at first solely to the point of justification by faith, and developt this according to circumstances, or rather developt the idea of faith still further, along with those which are essentially connected with it, the Holy Spirit, repentance, works, love. Subsequently it took up the distinction of *gratia praeparans* and *convertens*, and also *sanctificans, conservans, glorificans*, or at least of *regeneratio, renovatio*, and so on. The Mysticism of the middle ages cared less about our individual appropriation of salvation, than about the extinction of our insulated life, or the stages of union with God; and Protestants have erroneously regarded this *unio mystica* as a peculiar final state, which it cannot be, since the true mystical union with God is already contained in regeneration and sanctification. A like errour is it, when, through a misconception of the expressions in the Epistle to the Hebrews, a special τελείωσις is deemed to constitute the end. The school of Ernesti criticized the usual order with little better success than the division of Christ's office; for the main distinction of *justificatio* and *sanctificatio, vocatio* and *regeneratio*, lies plainly in the language of Scripture. Two series, an objective and a subjective one (ἀκοή, πίστις), as De Wette proposed, cannot be carried through, and do not help in the solution of the problem. The right division was introduced by Schleiermacher; though the way had been prepared for it by the older one of *gratia praecurrens, operans, cooperans, etc.* The division must assuredly be psychological, not however so as to be grounded, according to Hollaz and Ammon, on the relations of the feelings, the understanding, and the will, in which case nothing further is left for sanctification, but so that the state of

the soul, or our spiritual life, is to be considered with reference to its mediation, principle, and development. This triple distinction of *calling*, *justification*, and *sanctification*, may also be viewed with reference to Christ's triple office, as Prophet, Priest, and King."

These historical remarks may be serviceable to those who desire to understand the development of theological opinions, and who have risen above the vulgar errour of supposing that all the wise men in all ages must have thought exactly as they themselves think on every subject, and that, so far as they did not, they were wrong.

Note V d: p. 158, l. 23.

The connexion between the three parts in the Comforter's threefold conviction is thus set forth by Lampe. "Neque negligendus est ordo, quo hi articuli sunt locati. Ille enim non tantum cum oeconomia salutis, sed etiam cum methodo Spiritus examussim convenit. Cum oeconomia salutis: nam in demonstratione *peccati* sanctitas Patris, *justitiae* omnisufficientia Filii, *judicii* robur Spiritus Sancti manifestatur. Cum methodo Spiritus Sancti: primo enim peccatorem convincit de peccato suo, ut salutis cupidum faciat: ne vero in eo desperet, mysterium justitiae aperit, atque ita spe salutis implet: et ne spe hac ad securitatem carnis abutatur, totam judicii in hac justitia fundati rationem aperit."

Neander, in his *Life of Jesus* (p. 661), states the purposes of the Comforter's conviction as follows: "Under the conflicts which await the disciples, Jesus promises them the help of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit by their means shall effect whatever is requisite for the spreading of the Kingdom of God. All that is needful for this work He comprises in these words: the Holy Ghost shall bring the world to a consciousness of its sin, and teach it to recognize the ground of its unbelief therein. (Our Lord's words rather mean that the world shall recognize its unbelief to be the ground of its sin.) Next, He shall bring the world to a conviction that Christ had not died as a sinner, but had ascended as the Holy One to His Father in heaven, and by His death, and His consequent exaltation to heaven, had most completely manifested His holiness. They

who have attained to the consciousness of their sin, shall recognize Him as the Holy One, whose holiness is the ground of the sanctification of all others. Thus He brings them gradually to the conviction that judgement has been past upon Satan, who till then had reigned in the world, that evil has been deprived of its power, and therefore that those who have entered into communion with Christ, need not fear it any longer. Everything is thus concentrated in these three steps, the conviction of sin, the conviction of the holiness of Christ, our Redeemer from sin, and the conviction of the impotence of evil, which had resisted the establishment of His Kingdom. Herein lies the whole substance of Christianity, the conviction of sin, of Christ as the Holy One, the Redeemer from sin, and of the Kingdom of God, which, triumphing over evil, shall subdue everything in mankind!"

NOTE V e: p. 165, l. 13.

Episcopius, in his *Institutiones Theologicae* (lib. iii. sect. iii. p. 144), in an argument on the possibility of the existence of witches in Christian countries, contends that this is not inconsistent with the declaration that the prince of this world had been judged. "Esto, inquies: existere dicantur inter et apud homines ac nationes profanas, superstitiosas, et a vero Dei cultu alienas, Chinenses, Guineenses, Javanos, aliasque. At inter Christianos ut credantur esse posse, vix sinit credere ipse Servator, qui de Satana sive principe mundi ait, Joan. xvi. quod jam tum, cum ipse adhuc in terris viveret, condemnatus erat: vers. 11. Atqui, inquam ego, ista oratione Christus non vult significare, Satanam sic jam tum fuisse condemnatum, ut in mundo amplius aut non esset, aut saltem efficere nihil posset in ea mundi parte ubi religio Christi obtentura esset. Contrarium enim manifestum est ex locis supra allegatis, ubi Spiritus Pythonicus dicitur obsedisse adhuc nonnullos istis in locis, ubi Apostoli religionem Jesu Christi plantaverant, a quibus etiam ejectus fuisse legitur. Sed ad summum id tantum voluit Christus, daemonem jam tum exauctoratum fuisse, et imperio Christi ita subditum, ut in eos qui religionem ejus vera fide amplexuri erant

non modo jus nullum habiturus esset, sed etiam ad jussum aut ad preces eorum ejiciendus esset, et veluti fulmen ex coelo cadit (ut dicitur Luc. x. 18), ita repente, dictum, factum, ex corporibus obsessorum exiturus esset ut injustus et damnatus possessor. Ex quo consequitur, Satanam quidem vim nullam exercere posse in iis qui veri Christiani sunt, et Jesum Dominum suum ex animo agnoscunt et colunt; et, quod majus est, credentes in Jesum vi ac potestate ista donari a Christo, ut daemonia per nomen ejus ejicere possint: Marc. xvi. 17. Sed vero ex eo non consequitur, in terris istis ubi Christiani sunt ac vivunt, Satanam sive daemonem nihil efficere posse; ac proinde eos, qui vel Christiani esse nolunt, vel ore tenus Christi religionem profitentur, caetera profani et nequam, opera Satanae uti non posse ad mirabilia quaedam patrandum. Contrarium enim non obscure indicant ista loca, in quibus Satan saeculi hujus Deus, id est, eorum qui saeculum et mundum hunc amant dominus esse, vimque eos excaecandi habere dicitur, 2, Cor. iv. 4, princeps, cui potestas aeris est, et spiritus non vi tantum sed ἐνεργείᾳ praeditus, atque utens in filiis ἀπειθείας, Ephes. ii. 2, et κοσμοκράτωρ τοῦ σκότους αἰῶνος τούτου, καὶ πνεῦμα τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, Ephes. vi. 12, id est, quia spiritus est in sublimi aere degens; cui deinde ignita tela tribuuntur, vers. 16, qui et dicitur obambulare instar leonis rugientis quaerens quem devoret, 1 Pet. v. 8, fractum scilicet adversis, et sic religioni Christianae renuntiantem, vitaeque mollioris et dissolutioris delitiis se dedentem, sive non resistentem animo infracto adversitatibus, quae religionis Christianae professionem comitari solent: quo ipso sane significatur daemonem sive Satanam sic non dici a Christo damnatum, ut ex Christianorum terris plane sit relegatus aut ejectus, sed sic dumtaxat, ut, quamquam in iis est, tamen in Christianos nihil possit, si modo ii sese ultro ei non dedant aut conatibus ejus non cedant; alioquin veteri jure atque imperio suo utens, tam in ipsos, quam in caeteros alios omnes mundanos profanosque terrae hujus filios, tanquam dominus et deus eorum, licet divinae Jesu Christi potestatis fraeno coercitus, utpote sine cujus permissione ne in porcos quidem dominandi jus habet, damnatus ad ejus jussibus ac nutibus parendum."

NOTE W: p. 172.

St Paul himself was *slanderously reported* to be a preacher of antinomian doctrines: and a like accusation has been brought age after age against all such preachers as have been most earnest in proclaiming those highths and depths of Christian truth, which it was St Paul's special mission to write on the hearts and consciences of mankind. For these are the very doctrines which still, as ever, are a stumblingblock to the Jew, and foolishness to the Greek,—a stumblingblock to the man of action, and foolishness to the man of speculation. The whole tribe of the children of this world,—they who are accustomed to act, and who like to see the results of their action, who think moreover that this is man's business upon earth, and that by this everything is to be effected,—and they on the other hand whose main concern is to heap up a pile, greater or less, of knowledge, who dote upon knowledge, and regard it as man's highest province, without the conviction of any intimate relation between knowledge and action, —the mere moralist, the dreamer and talker about human virtue, he who looks upon man as a machine to be set and kept a going by continual impulses from without, he who has no worthier notion of heaven than as an incentive and reward of abstinence from vice, and who values religion as a makeweight to turn the scale in the otherwise wavering balance of good and evil,—all these persons, as their minds are forclosed against the reception, and even against the intelligent apprehension of spiritual religion, and as they have no conception of faith except as an act of the understanding, are startled and shockt when they are told that faith is the ground of our justification. If they can slip in *works*, and so modify the proposition as to make it assert that we are to be justified *by faith and works*, they are content: for then faith dwindles into an evanescent quantity, and works come forward as the Babel by which man is to mount to heaven. But when works are any way excluded, when a person is strenuous in preaching with St Paul, that *man is not justified by the works of the law, but by faith in*

Jesus Christ, when this doctrine is inculcated with the earnest reiteration which is requisite, not only on account of its primary vital importance, but also of its repugnance to human pride and self-sufficiency, he is sure to be charged with making void the law, by those who have lowered the key of religion, in order to bring it into accord with the voice of their own hearts and of the world: and it will scarcely be possible to convince them that the doctrine of justification by faith, when rightly taught, does not make void, but establishes the law: Rom. III. 31.

Hence it is not to be wondered at that Luther, as he was sent to reproclaim St Paul's doctrine, which had been distorted for century after century by manifold sophistications, and which practically was almost forgotten and set aside, and often grossly outraged, by the teaching of the fallen Church, should in like manner have been assailed by similar reproaches. The oblivion that doctrine had fallen into, the mass of corruptions whereby it was overlaid and hidden, imprest him with the necessity of setting it forth continually in its naked power: and though he also followed his great master and prototype in continually enforcing every moral duty, not indeed as the ground of justification, but as its fruit and proof, yet, as this did not save St Paul from such *slanderous reports*, neither did it avail to save Luther. The charge has been renewed of late years in England from several quarters, and, since it has become a fashion to decry the Reformation and its authors, has found acceptance with many, who catch it up with a parrot-like volubility in repeating ugly words; though few have any notion what arguments can be adduced to support it. Therefore, as Luther's character is so intimately connected with that of the Reformation,—a fact attested by the very virulence with which the enemies of the Reformation have always set themselves to revile him,—it will not be waste labour, if we examine the evidence on which some recent Englsih writers have thought themselves authorized in imputing antinomianism to Luther.

This will not be difficult in regard to the first writer whom I shall cite, seeing that he does not bring forward one tittle of direct proof, not a single definite expression of Luther's, as a warrant for

his censure. Hence it might be past by without notice, unless his reputation for learning, accuracy, and fairness gave weight to his testimony, so that many readers, as I have known to be the case with some, are likely to suppose that there must needs be good ground for charging Luther with antinomianism, since this is almost the only thing Mr Hallam is able to find in him. Three times, in his *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, he takes occasion to speak of Luther (Part I. chap. IV. § 59, chap. VI. §§ 4, 26); and in all the three passages this imputation is urged in one form or other; while there is little else in any of them, except the old complaint that Luther was violent and coarse and dogmatical, with an admission however that "his soul was penetrated with a fervent piety, and his integrity as well as purity of life are unquestioned." Surely, the reader will think, there must be the strongest evidence of Luther's demoralizing doctrines, since they are so prominently offensive to such an impartial critic, that they prevent his recognizing anything else in a writer, in whom, one should have thought, from what he is said to have done, there must have been some remarkable qualities. But when we look for this evidence we are baffled. Mr Hallam merely refers us to the first volume of Luther's works "*passim*," and says in another note, "I am unwilling to give these pages too theological a cast by proving this statement, as I have the means of doing, by extracts from Luther's own early writings.—Whoever has read the writings of Luther up to the year 1520 inclusive, must find it impossible to contradict my assertion." Here at all events the reader, if, having been accustomed to hear Luther's name held up to veneration and love, he has been shockt at learning that he whom he had been taught to revere as the great preacher of righteousness, of the true righteousness, the offspring of faith, was in fact a preacher of unrighteousness, is enabled to breathe more freely. He remembers that the publication of the Theses against Indulgences took place on the eve of All Saints in 1517; that the burning of the Pope's Bull, which was his decisive act of separation from the Papal Church, was on the 10th of December 1520; he looks into the first volume of Luther's Latin works, with which alone does Mr Hallam

even seem to have any acquaintance; he finds that it contains nothing prior to the year 1518, except three collections of scholastic Theses, including those against Tetzel; and knowing how unsafe it is to frame conclusions concerning a man's doctrines from propositions of this kind, which are ever wont to take a startling and paradoxical shape, as well from the naked brevity with which they must be asserted, as from the polemical purpose for which they are promulgated, he further calls to mind that Luther went on writing and preaching with a copiousness almost unparalleled till four days before his death, on the 18th of February 1546. Hence he comforts himself with the reflexion, that, whatever extravagances there may have been in Luther's earlier writings, when he first caught sight of the truth, through the power of which he delivered the Church from the stifling superincumbent darkness, the mists which had gathered round that truth at its first rising above his horizon, soon cleared away, and he no longer ran into the same excesses; which thus would merely betoken that, in the violence of the struggle to deliver his own mind, and that of the Church, from the crushing bondage of the Romish errours, he sometimes overstrained himself, and overstept the mark in the opposite direction. It is true, the chapter in which this note occurs, treats expressly of the period from 1500 to 1520: but one can hardly suppose that this is the only, or the chief reason why the limitation with regard to Luther's writings is introduced; and though the charge of antinomianism is renewed in both the passages in the sixth chapter, several expressions imply that Mr Hallam supposes Luther's later writings to be less erroneous and mischievous than the earlier. Doubtless it is strange that a historian of literature should determine his estimate of one, whom his position and influence, if nothing else, mark out among the foremost of mankind, by the writings of his first three years, which in such case must have been very immature and crude, and which at any rate were merely so many steps in the gradual emancipatio of his mind, as he burst one chain of errour after another; while the riper works of twenty-five years of unwearied devoted labour are scarcely noticed; although his writings, taken as a whole, are the first great

utterance of the most momentous crisis the human mind has had to go through since the first reception of Christianity, a crisis by which the whole region of thought from that time forward has been more and more modified, both in the way of detriment and of expansion. Such a proceeding is much as if one were to pronounce judgement on Shakspeare from his *Pericles* and *Titus Andronicus*. But an explanation of this, and of much more, seems to be afforded by the first sentences in Mr Hallam's remarks on Luther. "It would not be just, probably, to give Bossuet credit in every part of that powerful delineation of Luther's theological tenets, with which he begins the History of the Variations of Protestant Churches. Nothing, perhaps, in polemical eloquence is so splendid as this chapter. The eagle of Meaux is there truly seen, lordly of form, fierce of eye, terrible in his beak and claws. But he is too determined a partisan to be trusted by those who seek the truth without regard to persons and denominations. His quotations from Luther are short, and in French: I have failed in several attempts to verify the references." Mr Hallam, who here and elsewhere expresses such fervent admiration for Bossuet's eloquence, says of Luther's Latin works, disclaiming all knowledge of those in his own language, "their intemperance, their coarseness, their inelegance, their scurrility, their wild paradoxes, that menace the foundations of religious morality, are not compensated, so far at least as my slight acquaintance with them extends, by much strength or acuteness, and still less by any impressive eloquence." To me, I own, in the face of this mild verdict, Luther, if we take the two masses of his writings, which display different characters of style, according to the persons and objects they are designed for, in the highest qualities of eloquence, in the faculty of presenting grand truths, moral and spiritual ideas, clearly, vividly, in words which elevate and enlighten men's minds, and stir their hearts, and controll their wills, seems to be incomparably superior to Bossuet, almost as superior as Shakspeare to Racine, or as Ullswater to the Serpentine. In fact, when turning from one to the other, I have felt at times as if I were passing out of a gorgeous crowded drawingroom, with its artificial lights and dizzying sounds,

to run up a hill at sunrise. The wide and lasting effect which Luther's writings produced on his own nation, and on the world, is the best witness of their power. But I should not have toucht on this point, unless it were plain that Mr Hallam's judgement on Luther had been greatly swayed by the *Histoire des Variations*. It is somewhat strange to begin one's account of a man with saying that "*it would not be just, probably, to give credit in every part*" to what a determined, able, and not very scrupulous enemy says of him, writing with the express purpose of detecting all possible evil in him and his cause. I know not what could well be less just than this supererogatory candour. In no court of law would such an invective be attended to, except so far as it was borne out by the evidence adduced. Mr Hallam says he had failed in several attempts to verify the references: if he had succeeded, he would probably have found that the passages cited are mostly misrepresented: how far the misrepresentation is wilful, I do not take upon myself to pronounce. Bossuet's mind was so uncongenial to Luther's, so artificial, so narrow, sharing in the national incapacity for seeing anything except through a French eyeglass,—his conception of faith, as I have had occasion to remark in previous notes, was so meagre, so alien from Luther's,—and the shackles imposed upon him by his Church so disqualified him for judging fairly of its great enemy,—that we need not be surprised at any amount of misunderstanding in him, when he came forward as an advocate in such a cause. Still, however fiercely "the eagle of Meaux" may have desired to use his beak and claws, he might as well have peckt and clawed at Mount Ararat, as at him whom God was pleased to endow with a mountain of strength, when He ordained that he should rise for the support of the Church out of the Flood of darkness and corruption.

Here, as the assertion I have made concerning Bossuet's misrepresentations, should not be made unsupported by proofs, I will cite two or three examples, shewing how the quotations from Luther, which in his pages seem very reprehensible, become perfectly innocent when viewed along with the context in their original home; and the examples shall not be culled out from the six books

devoted to the attack on Luther, but shall be takenfrom the first sections of that attack: thus they will better illustrate the manner in which it is carried on. And first, Bossuet begins by bringing in the idle fiction, that Luther, in assailing the Indulgences, was influenced by the jealousy between the Augustinians and Dominicans. "Qui ne sait la publication des Indulgences de Léon X., et la jalousie des Augustins contre les Jacobins qu'on leur avoit préférés en cette occasion? Qui ne sait que Luther, docteur Augustin, choisi pour maintenir l'honneur de son ordre, attaqua premièrement les abus que plusieurs faisoient des Indulgences." (§. VI.) When a writer can retail such a flimsy falsehood, which the slightest knowledge of the facts shews to be utterly groundless, he betrays such a warp in his mind, such a proneness to believe evil, and such an ineptitude to discern truth, that he at once ceases to be a trustworthy witness; and one is bound to sift all his statements, and to examine their grounds. Bossuet proceeds: "Mais il étoit trop ardent pour se renfermer dans ces bornes: des abus il passa bientôt à la chose même. Il avançoit par degrés, et encore qu'il allât toujours diminuant les Indulgences, et les réduisant presque à rien par la manière de les expliquer, dans le fond il faisoit semblant d'être d'accord avec ses adversaires, puisque, lorsqu'il mit ses propositions par écrit, il y en eut une couchée en ces termes: *si quelqu'un nie la vérité des Indulgences du Pape, qu'il soit anathême.*" Here it is insinuated, both that there was an inconsistency in Luther's views on Indulgences, and that the proposition concerning the Papal authority is at variance with the rest, and is introduced as a feint, to make believe that he agreed with his adversaries. But when we look at the Theses, all is clear and at one. The real efficacy of Indulgences is stated distinctly in Prop. 5: *Papa non vult nec potest ullas poenas remittere, praeter eas quas arbitrio vel suo vel Canonum imposuit;* and in Prop. 61: *Clarum est quod ad remissionem poenarum et casuum sola sufficit potestas Papae.* This papal authority Luther at that time had not a thought of questioning, as is plain from a number of passages in his earlier writings: and it is asserted in many of the Theses, though several of them seem to us like irony, as we look back at them with

a knowledge of all that followed. But there is no reason for doubting, on the contrary his whole conduct at that period proves, that he was thoroughly sincere, when he asserted, in that painful damnatory form which was so prevalent in his age (Prop. 71), *Contra veniarum apostolicarum veritatem qui loquitur, sit ille anathema et maledictus.* Yet in the very next proposition, as well as in the one just before, he asserts the necessity of preserving the Indulgences from abuse: *Qui vero contra libidinem ac licentiam verborum concionatoris veniarum curam agit, sit ille benedictus.* And again in the 76th Proposition he tries to obviate the possibility of a mistake as to their efficacy: *Dicimus contra, quod veniae papales nec minimum venialium peccatorum tollere possint, quoad culpam.* The whole is summed up briefly in the Letter which he sent with the Theses to the Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mayence: *Cum indulgentiae prorsus nihil boni conferant animabus ad salutem aut sanctitatem, sed tantummodo poenam externam, olim canonice imponi solitam, auferant.*

Again, Luther, in his Sermon *De Poenitentia*, when contending against the doctrinal and practical perversions which prevailed with regard to confession and absolution, and made the efficacy of absolution depend on the full enumeration and express acknowledgement of every sin, urges the evil of thus continually raking about in the mire of our past lives,—the utter impossibility of drawing up anything like a complete enumeration of our sins,—the low conception of purity implied in the very notion that such an enumeration can be complete,—the snare for troubled consciences involved in thus making our confidence depend on our own acts, the inward act of contrition, and the outward act of confession,—and the absolute necessity of resting our hope and trust, not on anything in ourselves, or on any acts of our own, but on God's free mercy and grace, manifested in Jesus Christ, and to be apprehended by faith. It is quite marvellous with what clearness he was enabled to discern these truths from the very first: for this Sermon was publisht in the beginning of 1518, while many Romish errours were still hanging about him. As the denial or the ignorance of these truths lies at the bottom of half the Romish corruptions, it is not surprising

that Bossuet should prove himself scarcely capable of apprehending, much more of appreciating them. Accordingly his extracts from this Sermon are grossly misrepresented. For instance, Luther says, " Vide ne ullo modo te confidas absolvi propter tuam contritionem: sic enim super te et tua opera confides, id est, pessime praesumes. Sed propter verbum Christi, qui dixit Petro, *Quodcunque solveris super terram solutum erit et in coelis.* Hic, inquam, confide, si sacerdotis obtinueris solutionem, et crede fortiter te absolutum, et absolutus vere eris, quia illa non mentitur, quicquid sit de tua contritione." That is, trust in God's word, which is sure and perfect, and cannot deceive, however imperfect and fallible your own contrition may be. Bossuet, on the other hand, falsifies these words thus: " C'est pourquoi ce nouveau docteur disoit au pécheur, *Croyez fermement que vous êtes absous, et dés-là vous l'êtes, quoiqu'il puisse être de votre contrition;* comme s'il eût dit, Vous n'avez pas besoin de vous mettre en peine si vous êtes penitent ou non." (§ 9.) Yet Luther had written admirably about penitence in the preceding two pages; and his first Thesis, publisht just before, is, *Dominus et Magister noster Jesus Christus, dicendo, Poenitentiam agite, etc. omnem vitam fidelium poenitentiam esse voluit.*

Just after the last extract from his Sermon, Luther continues: " Ideo multo magis tibi hic videndum quomodo nihil huic fidei desit quam caeteris omnibus. Imo esto, per impossibile, quod confessus non sit contritus, aut sacerdos non serio, sed joco absolvat, si tamen credat sese absolutum, verissime est absolutus: tanta res est fides, et tam potens verbum Christi. Damnabuntur itaque qui nolunt confidere sese absolutos, donec certi sint se satis contritos, et super arenam, non super petram, volunt domum conscientiae suae aedificare." Bossuet does not dispute any of the propositions here asserted, but consoles himself with distorting them. " Tout consiste, disoit-il toujours, *à croire sans hésiter que vous êtes absous:* d'où il concluoit, *qu'il n'importoit pas que le prêtre vous baptizât, ou vous donnât l'absolution sérieusement, ou en se moquant.*" Luther says, that if the sacraments, administered with the right matter and from of words, are received with faith, they are efficacious; and putting an extreme case, which he supports by examples out of

ecclesiastical history, he adds that, even if they are administered in jest, still they are efficacious, if received with faith: and this has ever been the doctrine of the Church, which has shrunk from the supposition that the efficacy of the sacraments is to depend on the state of mind of the person who administers them. Yet Bossuet has the audacity to transform this into an assertion, "*qu'il n'importoit pas que le prêtre vous baptizât, ou vous donnât l'absolution, sérieusement ou en se moquant.*"

Once more, Bossuet in the 18th section, returning to the same Sermon, says "Bien loin de s'efforcer, comme nous, à inspirer aux pécheurs la crainte des jugemens de Dieu, pour les exciter à la pénitence, Luther en étoit venu à cet excès de dire, *que la contrition par laquelle on repasse ses ans écoulés dans l'amertume de son coeur, en pesant la grièveté de ses péchés, leur difformité, leur multitude, la béatitude perdue, et la damnation méritée, ne faisoit que rendre les hommes plus hypocrites;* comme si c'étoit une hypocrisie au pécheur, de commencer à se réveiller de son assoupissement." The words which are here put into Luther's mouth, seem strangely absurd; and one is at a loss to guess what they can mean: but when we turn to his real words, we find a great truth nobly exprest, a truth, which, as well as the others asserted in the same Sermon, is deplorably lost sight of in these days, and through the oblivion of which many are slipping or rolling back blindfold into the quagmires and quicksands of Rome. "Contritio—duplici via paratur. Primo per discussionem, collectionem, detestationem peccatorum, qua quis, ut dicunt, recogitat annos suos in amaritudine animae suae, ponderando peccatorum gravitatem, damnum, foeditatem, multitudinem, deinde amissionem aeternae beatitudinis, ac aeternae damnationis acquisitionem, et alia quae possunt tristitiam et dolorem excitare spe satisfaciendi per opera bona. Haec autem contritio facit hypocritam—(here Bossuet craftily breaks off the sentence in the middle, after having exaggerated *facit hypocritam* into *ne faisoit que rendre les hommes plus hypocrites*) — imo magis peccatorem, quia solum timore praecepti et dolore damni id facit. Et tales omnes—si libere deberent, remoto praecepto et minis poenarum, confiteri, certe dicerent sibi non displicere eam

vitam praeteritam, quam sic coguntur displicere confiteri: imo quo magis timore poenae et dolore damni sic conteruntur, eo magis peccant, et afficiuntur suis peccatis, quae coguntur, non autem volunt odisse." Verily,—for on the strength of these examples we may make Mr Hallam's observation absolute,—"it would not be just to give Bossuet credit in every part of his delineation of Luther's tenets." But his perversions are not all wilful falsifications. The superficial theology and morality of Rome could never understand that deep consciousness of sin, as cleaving to our very best works, which drove Luther to seek comfort in the righteousness of another. The Mystics felt this; but in the common theology of Rome both sin and holiness lie in outward acts.

To return however to Mr Hallam: his unfavorable opinion of Luther is probably owing, one cannot say in what measure, to Bossuet's misrepresentations. Else it would be difficult to understand how an intelligent man, unblinded by prejudice, and having the least knowledge of the principles and history of theology, or who had ever thoughtfully read over the Epistles to the Galatians and to the Romans, should have written in such a tone about the great leader of the Reformation. Perhaps too it may be attributable to Bossuet, that Mr Hallam, in the second passage in which he speaks of Luther (chap. vi. § 4), does not introduce him with reference to anything that he effected personally and immediately, but merely when speaking of the evils of the Reformation, especially of the fanaticism consequent on the rejection of the errours of the ancient system; to which fanaticism, he says, "in its worst shape, the antinomian extravagances of Luther yielded too great encouragement." Here we seem to have got something like a definite fact: for that which produces an effect must have a real existence; and we learn that, not only did Luther indulge in antinomian extravagances, but these antinomian extravagances "encouraged fanaticism," and that too "in its worst shape." Still one may recollect that the burning of Rome and numberless other crimes were ascribed to the early Christians, and that Socrates was put to death for corrupting the morals of the young, and undermining the worship of the gods. The influx of any new momentous

truth into the mind of a people, more especially when that truth is opposed to a mass of dominant falsehood, may easily excite commotions, nay, convulsions. When it mixes with irregular passions in the minds of its recipients, fanaticism is a natural result. But in such cases it becomes a complicated question, to determine how far the guilt of such fanaticism is chargeable upon those who originally promulgated the truth. They may have been perfectly blameless: they may have been rash in proclaiming the truth needlessly to those who were not fitted to receive it: they may themselves have shared more or less in the delusion, and taken part in the excesses. Mr Hallam's next words infer that Luther's conduct can hardly have corresponded to this last supposition; and they incline one to presume that it would be described more correctly by the first. "Luther," he says, "was the first to repress the pretenses of the Anabaptists;" and he adds in a note that, Melanchthon "was a little staggered by the first Anabaptists," and said, "*Esse in eis spiritus quosdam multis argumentis apparet, sed de quibus judicare praeter Martinum nemo facile possit.*" This expression of Melanchthon's is itself a strong presumption in favour of Luther's clearsightedness; and that testimony is confirmed by the promptness with which he acted. It is true, a candid man will be brought to perceive and acknowledge the erroneousness of his opinions, when he finds their mischief exemplified in practice: this however must needs be a work of time: our first impulse is to rejoice when we see our convictions carried out into action. But Luther, while his soul was possest with the paramount importance of his favorite doctrine, discerned its truth so distinctly, that he saw how it combined and harmonized with all other moral and spiritual truths, not trenching on or weakening any one of them, but on the contrary compacting and strengthening them all. Therefore when Carlstadt and others were pushing that doctrine into mischievous extravagances, he came forward immediately with all the might of his spirit to repress their excesses. Mr Hallam's quotation from Melanchthon shews that he is referring to the disturbances which took place at Wittenberg during Luther's confinement in the Wartburg. A masterly

account of these disturbances, of the causes which bred them, and of Luther's conduct on occasion of them, has lately been given by one of the first among living historians, Ranke, in his *History of Germany in the Age of the Reformation*; a book which, it may be hoped, will induce Mr Hallam to revise what he has said about Luther, and to give a portrait somewhat less unlike the original in a future edition. This History, written with a thorough knowledge of the facts, a clear insight into the principles and characters which shaped and controlled the events, and with a German love of truth, is of especial value in these days, when so many are prating ignorantly and with such blind animosity against the Reformers and their work. If a person fancies that Mr Hallam's charge against Luther, of having yielded encouragement to the disturbances at Wittenberg by his antinomian excesses, has so much as a pinpoint to stand on, I would entreat him to read the first chapter in the third Book of Ranke's History. He will there see how impossible it was in such a state of things that disturbances should not occur that men's minds should not run into excesses, that, when such a complication of inveterate prejudices were to be shaken, many should not be rashly desirous of overthrowing the institutions connected with them. He will see how, when Luther, having been excommunicated by the Pope, and put under the ban of the Empire, was conveyed to the Wartburg, the more vehement of his followers, Carlstadt and others, as might be expected under such circumstances, pusht his doctrines to extremes, and tried to precipitate the abolition of much that he would have retained as indifferent, until in course of time it fell, through the extinction of the errours which had given birth to it. And he will further see how the restoration of peace and order was owing to the exemplary wisdom, moderation, and heroic magnanimity of Luther; which were exerted during his whole life, no less for the preservation of what was good and wholesome, than for its purification from the corruptions wherewith it had been tainted. It is a grand picture: during Luther's absence confusion spreads in Wittenberg; the elements of disorder within attract other elements of disorder from without; Carlstadt and his associates are joined by fanatical

pretenders to prophetic visions, who come to them from Zwickau; no one knows what to do: Melanchthon, the Magistrates, the Elector and his ministers are at a loss what opinion to form, what measures to take; they can hardly make up their minds whether the movement is for evil or for good. But the tidings come to the ear of the poor monk in the Wartburg, who was lying there under the twofold ban of the Pope and the Empire. And what did the wild Antinomian do now? I will take the account of his conduct from Ranke.

"The movement which had begun could not lead to anything except open insurrection, to a revolution in the state for the sake of forming a new Christian republic: and then violence would have provoked violence; and good and evil would have been destroyed together. How much depended once more upon Luther! These movements proceeded from the groundwork of his opinions, or attacht themselves thereto. If he approved of them, who was to set bounds to them? but if he opposed them, the question was, how would he be able to do so, or even to maintain his own cause? During all this time he was in the Wartburg.—His chief occupation there was translating the New Testament. He conceived the design of giving the German nation a more correct Bible than the Latin Church had in the Vulgate. While he was strengthening his spirit more and more by this task, and only wisht to be at Wittenberg for the sake of completing so important a work with the help of his friends, he heard of the agitation and disturbances there. He was not a moment in doubt about their character. He says, Never in his life had anything pained him more deeply; that whatever other things had been done to grieve him, were nothing in comparison. With him it weighed not what was said of the inspiration of the prophets from Zwickau, of their converse with God. He too knew the mysterious depths of the spiritual world: far different was his experience therein; he was penetrated with too lofty a conception of the Divine nature to let himself be persuaded that God would appear to a creature, entrance him, and speak with him. 'Would'st thou know,' he writes to Melanchthon, 'the time and place and manner of Divine converse? hear: *As a*

lion He breaketh all my bones (Isa. xxxv. 13); and, *I am cut off from before Thine eyes* (Psa. xxxviii. 22): *My soul is full of troubles, and my life draweth nigh to the grave* (Psa. lxxxviii. 3). Therefore does God speak through men, because we could not bear it if He Himself spake to us.' He wishes his Prince joy of the cross that God had imposed on him, and says that not only must Annas and Caiaphas rage against the Gospel, but Judas also must be among the Apostles. He tells him that he himself is going thither. The Elector begged him not to do this yet, for that at present it would be of no good: he ought rather to prepare his answer for the next Diet, at which his cause, it might be hoped, would obtain a fair hearing. But Luther was no longer to be restrained by representations of this sort. Never had he been more firmly convinced that he had received the Gospel from heaven, that his faith would protect him: the occurrences at Wittenberg seemed to him a scandal which fell on him and on the Gospel. Thus he set off without caring for the Pope's or the Emperor's ban, while he entreated his Prince not to be anxious about him. He was in the most heroic mood.—On Friday, the 7th of March, he reacht Wittenberg:—on the Sunday he began to preach. He had to try whether people would attend to him, whether he still had any influence, whether he could succeed in calming the commotion. Narrow and inconspicuous as was the stage he returned to, his enterprise was of moment in the history of the world. It was to be seen whether the doctrine which had shaped itself in his own mind, without any act of his will, by an inward necessity, and which contained such germs for the future development of mankind, would be able to overcome those destructive elements, which were no less active in men's spirits, which had everywhere undermined and were shaking the ground of public life, and had here found their first vent. The question was, whether it would be possible to reform, without destroying, to prepare a way for the new development of the human mind, without annihilating the results of all previous ones. Luther lookt at the matter as a pastor and preacher. He did not reject the changes which had been made, in and for themselves, nor the doctrine

from which they had sprung. He took care not to wound the authors of the innovations personally, not to speak ill of them: he merely pronounced that they had proceeded too hastily, and had thereby occasioned offense to the weak, and not kept the commandment of love. He allowed that there are customs which ought to be thoroughly abolisht; for instance, private masses; though even in regard to them all violence, all offense was to be avoided: but as to most of the others it was a matter of indifference to a Christian, whether they were observed or no. It was of no essential importance, whether people received the Lord's Supper in one kind or both, whether they preferred private or general confession, whether they stayed in their convents or quitted them, whether they had pictures in the churches, observed the fasts, or not. To make laws concerning such things, to excite tumults, to give offense to weaker brethren, was more injurious than profitable, and militated against the command of love. The danger of the tumultuary innovations lay in this, that they were declared to be necessary, to be imperatively demanded by pure Christianity; much in the same way as on the papal side every ecclesiastical ordinance had been asserted to be an inviolable emanation from the supreme idea, with which the whole of civil life had been brought into the closest connexion. It was an incalculable gain, to shew that religion recognizes a free region which she does not require to rule over immediately, where she does not need to insist on regulating every particular. Luther did this with the mildness and indulgence of a father and tutor, with the superiority of a further seeing, more deeply grounded spirit. These sermons are among the most important he ever preacht: they are at the same time orations, like those of Savonarola, not however meant to excite, to carry men along, but to restrain them on a destructive path, to calm and quell passions. How could the congregation withstand this wellknown voice, this convincing eloquence of conviction, by which they had first been led into the new regions of thought? The objections which in other cases are urged against such conduct, that a man is influenced by fear, by personal considerations, had no place here. Never had Luther

appeared more heroic. He bad defiance to the excommunication of the Pope, to the ban of the Emperor, in returning to his flock: his Prince had told him that he could not protect him; he had expressly disclaimed such protection: he plunged into the greatest personal danger, and that too, not, as others have done, to take the lead in a commotion, but to oppose it, not to overthrow, but to preserve. At his voice the uproar was husht, the tumult subsided: quiet was restored: some of the most violently excited spokesmen were convinced, and joined him. The more moderate opinions contended for by Luther, and the civil power which had been delivered from a threatening danger, advanced a step nearer to each other.—Once more did the Zwickau prophets meet Luther. He warned them not to let themselves be blinded by the delusions of Satan. They answered that, in proof of their divine mission, they would tell him what he was thinking of at that moment. When he gave them leave, they said to him, that he was feeling a leaning toward them in his heart. Luther cried out, *God rebuke thee, Satan!* He afterward confest that this was actually the case: but their hitting the truth he held to be a sign of Satanic, not of divine powers. He dismist them with a kind of challenge to their Spirit to meet his God. If we look apart from the rudeness of his expressions, there is a deep, sublime truth in this conflict between two opposite spirits, a destructive and a protecting one.—Hereupon things became quieter at Wittenberg. The mass was reestablisht as far as possible:—nothing was omitted but the words which refer immediately to the idea of a sacrifice. In other respects a full freedom subsisted, an indefiniteness with regard to forms. Luther remained in his convent, and wore his Augustinian gown; but he did not object if others went out into the world. The Lord's Supper was administered both in one and in both kinds. It made no difference whether a person was content with the general absolution, or felt a desire for a particular one. Many questions were started concerning the limits between that which is to be rejected unconditionally, and that which may still be allowed: the maxim of Luther and Melanchthon was, not to condemn anything, which had

not an indisputable text of the Bible, what they called a thoroughly clear and explicit Scripture, against it. This is not to be regarded as indifference: on the contrary Religion drew back into her own immediate region, and devoted herself to those deep matters which especially belong to her. Hereby it became possible for them to develope and diffuse their doctrine, without engaging in a direct contest with the existing state of things, and without awakening those destructive powers, the first stirrings of which had just been so dangerous, by hasty innovations. Nay, the development of doctrine itself could not proceed without reference to these opponents on the other side. Luther saw already that it was hazardous to be continually preaching only of the power of faith: he already urged that faith must manifest itself in good conduct, brotherly love, temperance, and order."

This last sentence must not be interpreted as an admission that there had been any antinomian tendency in Luther's previous preaching. It merely means that, in the sermons to the people, the neglected and almost forgotten doctrine of Justification by Faith had been urged too exclusively, even, it may be, by Luther himself, and more so by others; as was almost unavoidable, since this was the doctrine on which the whole conflict turned, and there had been a succession of struggles more or less immediately connected with it during the four preceding years. Besides, as this truth had been left out of sight, so that the unlearned had scarcely heard of it, there was a greater necessity for enforcing it strenuously and continually, both for its own sake, and in order to get rid of the numerous practical abuses which had grown up through its oblivion. But there is such an aversion to Luther in Mr Hallam's mind, that, whenever he finds reasons to convince him that Luther on any occasion acted with wisdom and moderation, he infers that his conduct previously must have been unwise and intemperate. The relinquishment of cherisht errours may in others deserve commendation: in Luther the act by which he is supposed to have relinquisht such errours serves in lieu of all other evidence of their existence. He is the first to repress the Anabaptists in 1522: it is plain he must have been their chief

encourager before. He allows Melanchthon in 1527 to express the doctrine of Justification in such a manner that it shall not seem to countenance immorality: is it not quite clear that he must have promoted licentiousness previously? Of course the argument is not stated in this bare form; but other argument or evidence is not to be found. Immediately after saying that Luther was the first to repress the pretenses of the Anabaptists, Mr Hallam adds: "And when he saw the danger of general licentiousness, which he had unwarily promoted, he listened to the wiser counsels of Melanchthon, and permitted his early doctrine upon Justification to be so far modified, or mitigated in expression, that it ceast to give apparent countenance to immorality; though his differences with the Church of Rome, as to the very question from which he had started, thus became of less practical importance, and less tangible to ordinary minds than before." This last remark is sorely perplexing. Mr Hallam is speaking here of certain Instructions for the Visitation of the Saxon Churches, drawn up by Melanchthon, with Luther's approbation, in 1527; which year, he says, is "the era of what may be called the palinodia of early Lutheranism." Now the Confession of Augsburg was in like manner drawn up by Melanchthon, with Luther's full sanction, in 1530: the Schmalcald Articles were drawn up by Luther himself at the end of 1536. These are the deliberate confessional expositions of the Lutheran doctrine of Justification. Among Luther's private expositions of that doctrine, the most celebrated, and perhaps the richest, is in his later edition of the Commentary on the Galatians, publisht in 1535. But there is scarcely a writing of any sort, scarcely a sermon down to his death, in which this doctrine is not distinctly enunciated. Yet, if the year 1527 was "the era of the palinodia of early Lutheranism," one must suppose that the recantation or modification of doctrine which took place at that time, whatever it may have been, was permanent: for if it was confined to a single paper, it can hardly be said to constitute an era. Can Mr Hallam mean, that the exposition of the doctrine of Justification in those confessional books, and in all Luther's writings subsequent

to 1527, is at variance with what he calls "early Lutheranism?" or that it is in any respect put in the background? What does he say then to the Schmalcald Articles? where St Paul's words (Rom. iii. 28), *Statuimus justificari hominem per fidem absque operibus legis,* are quoted, and it is added, in words which can only have come from one pen, "De hoc articulo cedere, aut aliquid contra illum largiri aut permittere nemo piorum potest, etiamsi coelum et terra ac omnia corruant.—Et in hoc articulo sita sunt et consistunt omnia, quae contra Papam, diabolum, et universum mundum, in vita nostra docemus, testamur, et agimus." Does this belong to the later, mitigated, lukewarm fashion of Lutheranism? Or had Luther forgotten himself, and let the old man lift up his voice again? Or had he relapst into his former excesses? Again, what will Mr Hallam say to the hundreds of passages to the same effect in the second Commentary on the Galatians, in every page of which this doctrine is inculcated, as might be anticipated from the declaration in the Preface: "In corde meo iste unus regnat Articulus, Fides Christi: ex quo, per quem, et in quem, omnes meae diu noctuque fluunt et refluunt theologicae cogitationes." One person at all events was not aware of Luther's having made a recantation; and he was one who might have been expected to know something about it. Or again, can Mr Hallam mean that the differences between the doctrine of Justification so set forth in those confessional books and private writings, and that of the Church of Rome, are of little "practical importance," and not very "tangible to ordinary minds?" If by "ordinary minds" he means minds totally ignorant of theology, it is notorious that ignorance confounds all distinctions, and might even say, until it ceast to be ignorance, and acquired some degree of intelligence, that the differences between the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems of the universe are of little practical importance, and not very tangible to ordinary minds. Else, were it not that theoretical differences are always softened by the blunting and reconciling powers of active life, there would certainly seem to be differences of great practical, as well as speculative importance between the Tridentine doctrine of Justification and that

of the Lutheran Confessions, differences indeed which involve all the great practical as well as speculative controversies between the two Churches. Besides, it should be carefully remembered that Luther's proclamation of the true doctrine of Justification was not in opposition to the Tridentine explanation, into which certain elements of truth were infused, derived from Luther's preaching, but to its total neglect, and to the continual gross violation of it implied in the whole practical system of the Church. Unless this be borne in mind, it is impossible to do justice to Luther. Men of letters, who amuse themselves now and then in the course of their studies with skimming over the surface of theology, if they chance to light on the Romish doctrine of Justification as determined by the Council of Trent, and compare it with what they suppose to be the doctrine of the Reformed Churches, deem it an incontrovertible proof of the narrow bigotry and virulence fostered by theology, that people should have squabbled and made a hubbub about such petty distinctions, while the nobler and more interesting discussions concerning questionable points of grammar and philology and chronology and topography have always been carried on with such edifying mildness from the days of Aristarchus down to those of Bentley and Hermann. On the other hand, many young divines, whose imagination can take in and exult in the grand conception of an outward unity of the Church, while they have not that deep consciousness of sin, which cannot find comfort in anything except the righteousness to be received by faith, are apt to blame Luther and the other Reformers for having broken that unity, on account of what they may perhaps regard as little more than discrepancies of terminology. They cannot understand the intense earnestness with which St Paul wrote to the Galatians, *Behold, I Paul say to you, that, if ye be circumcised, Christ will profit you nothing;* and therefore they cannot appreciate Luther's equally intense earnestness in the selfsame cause. And they throw the blame of the schism upon Luther, whereas they ought to throw it upon the usurping tyrannical Church, which, instead of receiving the truth he was commissioned to teach, and falling down contritely, like Nineveh at the preaching of Jonah, excommunicated

and expelled him, and thereby cast out the truth from her pale; shewing indeed thereby that she was wise in her generation: for had this truth been once received livingly into her creed, it must have shivered the whole fabric of falsehood which had been piled up around it to atoms; wherefore they substituted a mock-sun for it at Trent. Hence it is of moment to insist on the practical importance of these differences, however they may seem to be scarcely "tangible to ordinary minds."

Here it strikes one as remarkable that Mr Hallam, though the differences between the definitive Lutheran and the Tridentine doctrine of Justification seem to him so unimportant and intangible, does yet perceive a wide and momentous difference between what he calls early and later Lutheranism, a difference which other men have hardly found out, but which to his mind is so wide, that, while the former "promoted licentiousness," the latter "ceast to give apparent countenance to immorality,"—so wide that, taking up an expression applied by Erasmus to Luther in this same year, and probably with reference to the Instructions, he calls them "the palinodia of early Lutheranism." That Erasmus, in a letter written at the time, and apparently with little knowledge of the facts, should have used such an expression, is not surprising. His view of Luther's life and doctrine could not be other than narrow and partial: and being unable to dive with him into the depths of spiritual truth, he naturally assumed that to deny the meritoriousness of good works implied the disregard, if not the rejection of them altogether. Thus, when he found Luther all at once insisting on their necessity, he might easily say, in the words quoted by Seckendorf, *Indies mitescit febris Lutherana, adeo ut ipse Lutherus de singulis propemodum scribat palinodiam.* But a historian in our days, when we have the whole of Luther's life spread out before us, and the great body of his writings exhibiting every shade of his opinions and every impulse of his feelings, ought to know that he retained his conviction with regard to the doctrine of Justification by Faith unshaken till the end of his life. In all his writings, from the moment when he first caught a lively perception of this primary truth, down to his last year, it is

the animating principle of his whole teaching. Yet throughout he was no less anxious to inculcate every moral duty, than at the time when he approved of Melancthon's Instructions. Therefore, if in so doing he sang a palinodia, he must have gone on singing palinodes and antipalinodes and palinantipalinodes all his life, day by day, and hour by hour. But the fact is, the two strains are the strophe and the antistrophe of the same grand spiritual hymn; and he does not give us the one without the other. In writing to the unlearned, he sets forth one phase of the great body of spiritual truth, that phase which was most needful and useful for them, as we see, above all, in his admirable Catechisms. In writing for the learned, as in the Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, he mainly sets forth another phase, that which was most urgently required to correct and enlighten the doctrinal system of the Church. But though one side of the moon was illumined at one period of her revolution, and the other side at another, she was the same moon all the while, and ever and anon shone out in full-orbed splendour and beauty. Such has ever been the case with great minds. While lesser men see one side of the truth, or a particle of one side, their ampler view comprehends both sides, and discovers the bearings of each upon the other, their mutual limitation and interpenetration, and how each, when urged exclusively, swells out into a falsehood. For this expansive view however they have to pay a penalty, in that they are sure to be charged with inconsistency, as has been seen, for instance, in the great political philosophers of the last and the preceding generation, Coleridge and Burke.

Still, were it not for Mr Hallam's strong prejudice against Luther, he could hardly have failed in this case to recognize that there is no palinodia, no recantation, overt or covert, of any doctrine previously profest; since the grounds of the apparent discrepancy are so clearly explained by Seckendorf, who expressly says (ii. p. 108), "Magis mirum est Erasmum in ea opinione fuisse, ac si Lutherus palinodiam caneret, cum tamen ne unicus quidem articulus in thesi sua mutatus in visitatione illa demonstrari possit, neque ad dogmata ipsa pertineat quod alia methodo alioque

stylo ad instruendos pastores plebanos, alia in refutandis adversariis Lutherus uteretur." He had stated in an earlier part of the same chapter, that the Instructions were so drawn up by Melanchthon, " ut non tam Pontificios, sed, qui jam Evangelici vocabantur, pastores reformaret. Erant enim qui non nisi fidem et solatia de remissione peccatorum proponentes, alteram doctrinae partem de sanctificatione, sive de bonis operibus, fere negligerent, aut phrasibus Lutheri, quibus ille fastum adversariorum, sive Pharisaicam de meritis operum, externorum maxime et ritualium, opinionem exagitabat, ad rudem populum intempestive uterentur, et pietatis studium imprudenter enervarent. Hoc vero incommodo doctrinae Lutheranae veritas infirmari non potuit, non magis ac Paulinae, cui idem contigit, cum gratiae abundantiam praedicanti Apostolo quaestionem proponerent, *Permanebimusne in peccato, ut gratia abundet?* — Ideo, cum maxima plebis pars socordia vel fraude sacerdotum ante exortam Lutheri doctrinam in ignorantia religionis detenta, et saltem ad rituum servilem observationem adacta esset, modum praescripsit, ut emendationem a praedicanda lege et terrendis conscientiis inciperent. Qui enim tam rudes essent, quales quidem erant in plebe plerique, ut peccata etiam enormia nec agnoscerent nec omitterent, externis illis et usitatis huc usque expiationibus confessionum et satisfactionum ecclesiasticarum fidere soliti, illi nunc praedicata remissione peccatorum in securitatem profanam labebantur. Necessarium igitur erat ut ante omnia paedagogia Legis ad Christum et ad fidem in eum ducerentur, talem quidem quam emendatio vitae individue comitari debet. Lutherus vero in scriptis suis cum doctis disputaverat, qui legis et disciplinae gnari in partem peccabant oppositam, et neglecto unico salutis medio quod in fide salvifica quaerendum est, Pharisaismum in externa specie et disciplina introduxerant. Cum his autem nihil negotii erat Visitatoribus, sed, ut dixi, cum plebe jam utcunque imbuta Evangelii dogmate, et cum pastoribus, ex quibus multi imperiti erant, et unum vitium vitantes in contrarium currebant. Idem in altero De Decalogo, et tertio De Precibus capite intendebatur, ne restituta praedicatione Evangelii de gratuita remissione peccatorum per Christum, et sublatis praeceptorum ecclesiasticorum

durissimis vinculis, verae virtutis et pietatis dissolutio sequeretur. Offendebant etiam adversarios formulae illae, quod *opera nihil mererentur*. Licet enim verissimae et orthodoxae essent, subtiliores tamen erant quam ut rudiores ex populo eas recte capere et applicare possent: ideo rudibus illis studium potius bonorum operum per argumenta nota et absque examinatione meritorum injungi debere monebant: raro enim tales in eam veniunt opinionem ut operibus suis multum mereri possint. Premebatur deinde doctrina Lutheri magna illa motus rustici invidia: itaque operose in hoc libello de subditorum obsequio erga magistratum agitur, quod alio tempore et statu rerum superfluum fuisset. Aliam criminationem sustinebat res Lutherana a fanaticorum quorundam furore et erroribus, qui Judaismum legesque ejus forenses restitutum ibant. Alii immunitatem a tributis et decimis intendebant. Alii supplicia facinorosorum, imprimis furum, improbabant. His opponuntur multa.—Non latebat Lutherum, sed praeviderat et praedixerat, qualia judicia de isthac formula et intra et extra Saxoniam sint secutura; neque deerant quae in stylo Melanchthonis emendare posset: tulit tamen pleraque, et sua monita aliorum judicio submisit."

Here I will again introduce an extract from Ranke's admirable History. We have already learnt from him that, on occasion of the disturbances at Wittenberg five years before, Luther acted in the very same spirit which dictated the Instructions to the Saxon Churches. We here find him distinctly repelling the imputation of Luther's having recanted or compromised any of his doctrines, when he allowed these Instructions to be issued. At the same time he gives such a beautiful picture of the great Reformer's practical, Socratic wisdom and moderation, as is the best of all answers to the charge of Antinomianism. " In these Instructions the opposition to the Papacy, vigorously as the contest was elsewhere maintained against it, falls much into the background. The authors of them deemed that this did not belong to sermons addrest to the people; they exhorted the preachers not to revile the pope and bishops, none of whom could hear them: they fixt their attention wholly on the wants of the multitude, on the propagation of Evangelical doctrine among the common people.

Herein they proceeded with the greatest indulgence toward everything establisht. They did not deem it necessary positively to forbid the Latin masses: they even thought they might allow the administration of the Eucharist under one kind, whenever any one from conscientious scruples was unwilling to relinquish the customary practice. Although they rejected the obligatoriness of auricular confession, inasmuch as it was not grounded in Scripture, they declared it to be wholesome that every one should confess the sins wherewith he felt himself burthened, with regard to which he needed counsel. They did not even abolish all the festivals of the Saints, but merely required that they should not be invoked, even for their intercession. The idea which we have already often recognized, that only the unconditional religious importance, the indispensableness to salvation ascribed to the institutions which had grown up in the previous centuries, was to be rejected, while the spiritual groundwork and territory of the Latin Church was not otherwise abandoned, manifests itself here again very distinctly. They merely sought to cast off the burthen of the innumerable traditions, and of the usurpations of the hierarchy, and to regain the pure contents of the Scriptures, of Divine Revelation. Whatever could subsist along with this was retained. They took care that the minds of the common folks should not be perplext with the difficult controverted doctrines, especially those concerning good works and free will. Not that they receded in the least from the convictions they had once attained to, from the fundamental doctrine of Justification by Faith, from the struggle against the errour of seeking salvation in the observance of human institutions, such as fasts, and the seven hours. On the contrary these propositions were restated with the utmost precision; but at the same time they required repentance, penitence, and contrition, the forsaking of sin, a holy life. For thus much lay unquestionably in man's power, to flee from evil and choose good. The impotence of the will consisted only in this, that it could not purify the heart, or bring forth any divine graces: these must be sought from God alone. The aim they set before them was to lead men to inward religion, faith and love and an innocent walk,

honesty and good order. So far from departing in any respect from genuine Christianity, their highest endeavour was to penetrate souls more and more deeply with its principles. It is in this that Luther seeks his chief glory, in applying the principles of the Gospel to common life. More especially did he deem himself bound to instruct the various classes of society,—magistrates and those under authority, fathers and other members of families,—concerning their duties from a religious point of view. He displays an incomparable talent for popular teaching. He directs the parsons how they are to preach so as to edify the common people,—the schoolmasters how they are to instruct the young in their several stages, to combine secular knowledge with religion, to avoid all exaggeration,—the masters of families how they are to train their households in the fear of God. He draws up a series of texts to guide all in right living, the clergy and the laity, men and women, parents and children, servants and maids, young and old. He gives them a form for blessing and grace at table, for morning and evening prayer. He is the patriarch of the severe and devout domestic discipline and manners of the families in Northern Germany. How many numberless millions of times has his hearty, *Das walt Gott,** reminded the citizen and the peasant, living on in his dull work-day drudgery, of his relation to the Eternal! The Catechism which he publisht in the year 1529, of which he says, that, old Doctor as he was, he himself prayed it, is equally childly and

* At the end of Luther's short Catechism are instructions, "How the father of a family shall teach his household to bless themselves morning and evening. In the morning, when you get out of bed, you shall bless yourself with the holy cross, and say, *Das walt Gott Vater, Sohn, heiliger Geist, Amen.* Then, kneeling or standing, the Belief and Lord's Prayer; and if you will you may say this little prayer: *I thank Thee, my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ, Thy dear Son, that Thou hast kept me this night from all harm and danger; and I pray Thee, that Thou wilt also keep me this day from sin and all evil, that all my doings and life may please Thee. For I commit myself, my body and soul, and all, into Thy hands: Thy holy angel be with me, that the Wicked One may get no power over me: Amen.* And then go to your work merrily, and sing a hymn, the Ten Commandments, or what your heart prompts you to." He also gives a similar form for the evening, when again the same words are to be repeated, *Das walt Gott Vater, Sohn, heiliger Geist: Amen.* In the Latin Catechism the form is, *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.*

profound, clear and unfathomable, simple and sublime. Happy he who has fed his soul therewith, who cleaves firmly thereto! He possesses an imperishable comfort for every moment, the essence of truth which satisfies the wisest of the wise, in words so simple that a child can understand them."

Verily Luther is a strange sort of Antinomian. Yea, he belongs to that great Antinomian multitude, which comprises the glorious company of the Apostles, and the goodly fellowship of the Prophets, and the noble army of Martyrs. Day by day he rose up to wield the sword of the Gospel, almost single-handed, against all the force and fraud of a corrupt and lying Church, which had cast its fetters over the mind, and breathed its rottenness into the heart of Christendom. Day by day too he turned from this grand conflict, to refresh himself by relieving the simplest and deepest wants of the poor and ignorant, by teaching them their duty to God and man, by explaining the mysteries of the Gospel to them in the plainest homeliest speech, by telling them what they were to pray for, and by putting words into their mouths to pray with.

But we must examine the remainder of Mr Hallam's allegations, if such they can be called. They are chiefly contained in the note last quoted. He there gives an extract from a letter of Melanchthon's, written in 1537 (Lib. VII. No. 1588, in Bretschneider's edition), "Scis me quaedam minus horride dicere de praedestinatione, de assensu voluntatis, de necessitate obedientiae nostrae, de peccato mortali. De his omnibus scio re ipsa Lutherum sentire eadem: sed ineruditi quaedam ejus φορτικώτερα dicta, cum non videant quo pertineant, nimium amant." On these words Mr Hallam observes, "I am not convinced that this apology for Luther is sufficient." One could wish that he had exprest himself more distinctly. Doubtless it is possible that Melanchthon, notwithstanding his acuteness and clearness of judgement, notwithstanding the singular intimacy which had subsisted for near nineteen years between him and Luther, the deep love which Luther felt for him, and the admiring and confiding affection with which from the beginning of their acquaintance till the very end of his life he treated him,—notwithstanding too that the matters spoken

of must have been the subject of frequent conversation between them year after year, and had just been especially brought forward in their discussions on occasion of the signature of *the Apology for the Confession of Augsburg*, and of the drawing up of *the Schmalcald Articles*,—it is possible that, notwithstanding all these advantages enjoyed by Melanchthon for knowing Luther's mind, which was not apt to conceal its thoughts, he may have been mistaken about the extent of the agreement between Luther's opinions and his own; and Mr Hallam's familiarity with the writings of the two great brother Reformers may have enabled him to frame a correcter judgement on this point, than they themselves could. Still, when such testimony is to be contradicted, one might have expected that some sort of evidence would be adduced, some sort of argument, something more than the insinuation of a doubt. It might have been desirable also to learn, whether, as Melanchthon in this letter is speaking of Luther's opinions in 1537, Mr Hallam supposes the approximation, which according to his notion took place in 1527, had been followed by a separation, and that Luther had recanted his palinodia, and fallen back into his old extravagances. On all these questions however we are left in the dark, and have to grope out a way for ourselves. Now in doing this I have been brought to the conclusion which I anticipated, that Melanchthon had very good warrant for what he said. He was not thinking of making any "apology for Luther." He is writing with reference to attacks that had been made upon him by certain distorters of Luther's doctrine, because he had laid down that good works are requisite to justification, not indeed as a *causa efficiens*, or *propter quam*, but as a *causa sine qua non*. This the Ultra-Lutherans denied: some of them went so far in Antinomianism as to assert generally that good works are hindrances to salvation; and they claimed to have Luther on their side in the main, as rejecting the necessity of good works as a ground of justification. During these disputes Melanchthon wrote to his friend Dietrich: "Nec hostili animo videtur in nos esse Lutherus. Heri etiam admodum amanter de his controversiis mecum collocutus est." And

he adds, in the words quoted by Mr Hallam, that Luther was of the same mind with him, though certain hasty and vehement expressions of Luther's had been made too much of by some who did not understand their bearing: that is, who did not perceive how they were aimed at the factitious, arbitrary good works inculcated as meritorious by the Church of Rome. Now the very year before, in 1536, being anxious to obtain the precisest statement of Luther's views with regard to good works, Melanchthon had held an amicable argument with him on the subject: the report of it he publisht in 1552, on occasion of his controversy with Osiander. Of course in substance it coincides entirely with the uniform doctrine which Luther taught throughout: but as it states that doctrine distinctly and catechetically, and only occupies four octavo pages, it might enable Mr Hallam to do what he says (chap. VI. § 26) he has "found impossible," namely, "to understand and to reconcile Luther's tenets concerning faith and works;" and it may further prove to him that he was talking loosely, when he stated, "I can only perceive, that, if there be any reservation in favour of works, not merely sophistical, of which I am hardly well convinced, it consists in distinctions too subtle for the people to apprehend." One is really confounded at meeting with such an assertion from the pen of a writer bearing a high character in literature. If Mr Hallam had never read five pages of Luther, his speaking thus might be accounted for: but then what becomes of his character as a critic and historian? Surely this sentence implies that he has tried to make out whether there is "any reservation in favour of works" in Luther's writings, that he has examined them carefully with this view, I will not say all, but some fair portion of them. Yet, if he has done so, the only solution for his blindness which I can discover, is in the German proverb about persons who can't see the wood for the trees. In the discussion above referred to, Melanchthon reminds Luther "*Vos ipsi docetis quod justitia operum sit necessaria,* et quidem coram Deo.—Ergo saltem est aliqua partialis causa nostra justitia." To which Luther replies: "*Necessaria est,* sed non necessitate legali, seu coactionis, sed necessitate gratuita, seu consequentiae, seu

immutabilitatis. Sicut sol necessario lucet, si est sol, et tamen lucet non ex lege, sed ex natura seu voluntate, ut sic dicam, immutabili, quia sic creatus est, ut luceat; *sic justus creatura nova facit opera necessitate immutabili, non lege seu coactione.*" Again, "Quia persona justa est, justa est perpetuo, et tam diu justa ex fide, quam diu fides manet.—*Opera igitur fulgent radiis fidei*, et propter fidem placent. — Nulla partialis causa accedit, quia *fides semper est efficax, vel non est fides.* Ideo quicquid opera sunt aut valent, hoc sunt et valent gloria et virtute fidei, quae est sol istorum radiorum inevitabiliter.—Nos dicimus fidem esse — donum Spiritus Sancti. — Donatum autem hoc donum facit personam novam perpetuo, *quae persona tum facit opera nova;* non e contra opera nova faciunt personam novam. — Nulla ergo justitia personalis debetur operibus coram Deo, licet accidentaliter glorificabunt personam praemiis certis. Sed personam non justificant. Omnes enim aequaliter justi sumus in uno Christo, omnes aequaliter dilecti et placentes secundum personam; tamen differt stella a stella per claritatem. Sed Deus non minus diligit stellam Saturni, quam Solem et Lunam." This would seem tolerably good testimony to convince Melanchthon that Luther did indeed concur with him substantially on the indispensableness of good works. And this, as it was the great question agitated at Wittenberg, is likewise the one on which Mr Hallam lays stress; so that happily there is no need to enter into an examination of the other alledged differences between Melanchthon and Luther; an enquiry which would demand a good deal of labour, even after what has recently been done to elucidate it by Galle in his excellent *Essay on the Character of Melanchthon as a Theologian* (*Versuch einer Charakteristik Melanchthons als Theologen, und einer Entwickelung seines Lehrbegriffs*). If further evidence were wanted, we have the best that can be, Luther's own: for he came forward soon after Melanchthon's letter, to maintain the same cause in a disputation against Agricola, in defense of the Decalogue: and Melanchthon sends this disputation to Dietrich, "ut videat eum καὶ περὶ νόμου καὶ περὶ ὑπακοῆς illa diserte dicere, quae ego defendi, et propter quae plagas accepi ab indoctis:" Ed. Bretschn. Vol. iii. p. 427.

It is not indeed to be expected that a writer, having to treat of so vast a theme as the Literature of Europe during two such momentous and copious centuries, should engage in a minute invetigation of every fact he has to speak of. But at least he ought to have a thorough acquaintance with the great outlines of the country, and with its principal features, its chains of hills and vallies, its mountains and rivers, its cities and roads; and then he will be able to understand and arrange every piece of information he may pick up. But if he starts without this previous knowledge, he is sure to be mazed at every turn: instead of being set right by a signpost, he will run his head against it, and, stunned thereby, will misread it: the very tendency of human nature to follow one's nose, as the phrase is, will soon lead him into a bog or a pit. Nor will general maxims in such a case be of profit. Valuable as they may be for ordering and digesting what we learn from observation and experience, they will not supersede these two main sources of knowledge, or enable us to do without them. Though we pump till our arms ache, if there is no water in the well, we can only bring up sand or mud. In lieu of any evidence to support him in rejecting Melanchthon's testimony, Mr Hallam merely says: "Words are of course to be explained, when ambiguous, by the context and scope of the argument. But when single detacht aphorisms, or even complete sentences in a paragraph, bear one obvious sense, I do not see that we can hold the writer absolved from the imputation of that meaning, because he may somewhere else have used a language inconsistent with it." *Somewhere else!* The force of this argument rests on two assumptions. In the first place, he who takes upon him to condemn these aphorisms and paragraphs, should have a full apprehension of their meaning, with reference to the language and opinions of the age, and the circumstances which called them forth. For suppose that Luther attaches one meaning to the words *faith* and *good works*, and that his critic attaches another meaning to them, the critic is not likely to pronounce a right sentence on what Luther may say concerning *faith* and *good works*. Next, it is requisite to Mr Hallam's conclusion that the language

inconsistent with the offensive passages should only be used *somewhere else*. If the general spirit and tone of a writer's doctrine is antinomian, he cannot claim to be acquitted on the plea that he has now and then, *somewhere else*, used language more conformable to ordinary notions of morality. But what if a writer can produce work after work written purposely to inculcate the primary moral duties? What if his writings, when an occasion offers, glow with animated exhortations to live the life of faith, and fulfil the offices of Christian love? Shall we condemn him in this case, even if it can be shewn that now and then, *somewhere else*, in the heat of a polemical argument against a monstrous and tyrannous errour, an errour which was overriding and trampling upon the hearts and consciences of Christendom, was stifling the central principle of the Gospel, and depriving it of its power to renew and to save, he has strained and overstated the opposite truth? I am not conceding that Luther has done so: Mr Hallam has not cited a single instance in proof that he has: but supposing that such instances can be produced, I would maintain that they are to be interpreted according to the general tenour of Luther's teaching, which shews a clearness and fulness of insight into the office and power of faith, and its relation to good works, almost unexampled since the time of St Paul. Moreover I would contend that common justice requires we should make the amplest allowance for occasional over-vehemence or hastiness of expression, when we consider, not merely the peculiarly energetical tone of his mind, but all the circumstances of his condition,—the darkness out of which he had to work his way, with scarcely any help save that of God's word and Spirit,—the might of the errour he had to fight against, its deadening influence, the abominations it had given birth to, the number of enemies he had to encounter, and the almost superhuman rapidity and vigour with which he carried on his singlehanded warfare. From Ranke (B. iii. c. 3) we learn that 20 publications issued in the year 1518 from the press under Luther's name, 50 in 1519, 133 in 1520, in 1521, when he was interrupted by his journey to Worms and by his compulsory concealment, about 40, 130 in 1522, and 183 in 1523.

This enumeration must doubtless include a number of reprints; but with every reduction on that score the energy which thus glorified God *by bringing forth much fruit*, is so astonishing, more especially when we take into account that, among these annual shoals of books, several were of considerable bulk, such as the first *Commentary on the Galatians*, the *Expositions of the first twenty-two Psalms*, the *Postils* for half the Ecclesiastical year, the treatise *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae*, that *On the abuses of the Mass*, the *Address to the Christian Nobless of the German Nation*, the *Defense of all the Articles condemned by the Papal Bull*, and that along with all these works, which would seem enough to exhaust the powers of half a dozen stout men, οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσι, he translated and publisht the New Testament and half the Old during the same five years,—when we remember too that during this whole period his mind was continually expanding, and that many of these writings were epochal acts in the history of the world, utterances of truths which History has signed and sealed and attested with the witness of ten generations,—what can we think of the spirit that would carp and cavil and sneer at a few inconsiderate expressions? When the world's doombell tolls, it must shake the belfry. When the waters burst forth from their frostbound prison, the ice will crack, not without a noise; and they will probably splash over upon the banks.

That I may not subject myself to the retort, that I too have produced no evidence to establish the consistency of Luther's previous teaching and conduct with the Instructions for the Saxon Visitation, let me here observe that the fullest evidence of that consistency is afforded by his conduct on occasion of the disturbances at Wittenberg, as represented most faithfully in the account quoted above from Ranke. In the Sermons preacht at that time, which are beautiful models of paternal mildness and gentleness in reproving errour, as well as of paternal wisdom in correcting it, he says, *It is sad to think that I have so long been preaching to you, and that in almost all my little books I have done nothing but inculcate faith and love; and yet no trace of love is to be seen in you.* This testimony he bears to himself with the same

confidence with which St Paul avouches that he has declared the whole counsel of God; and assuredly it will apply fully to all his homiletical writings. Throughout he preaches faith and love,—not good works as having any value, any merit in themselves,—but faith and love, after the example of St Paul, in their living inseparable unity, and their active energy, perpetually bringing forth good works to the glory of God. If this be antinomianism, Luther is the chief of antinomians, or only second to St Paul. At the same time his reverence for the moral law, as declared in the Ten Commandments, has never been surpast: and as it was his delight to teach the poor and simple, he made a number of attempts to set them forth in such a manner that they might be written on the hearts and minds of the people. Thus in 1520 he publisht *A short Form of the Ten Commandments, the Belief, and the Lord's Prayer*, with brief explanations for the people; which was followed in 1529 by his two admirable Catechisms. The same reverence for the moral law induced him to publish a versified form of the Ten Commandments in a Hymnbook in 1524; and another briefer form in another Hymnbook in 1525, which begins with the following simple verse:

O man, wouldst thou live happily,
And dwell with God eternally,
The Ten Commandments thou must do:
For God our Lord will have it so.

Thus, and in similar ways, during the twenty-eight years of his apostleship, he was continually manifesting his deep devout reverence for the moral law in its simplicity and purity; and one of his chief labours during the whole of that period was to inculcate a like reverence into the minds of the German people, especially of the poor and simple. This humble reverence he expresses with exquisite beauty in the Preface to his larger Catechism, when speaking of those who lookt down on the Catechism, and especially the Commandments, as the rudiments, the milk for babes, which had been superseded by the higher doctrine of the Gospel. "I too am a doctor and preacher, nay, have as much learning and experience perhaps as any of those who feel this

boldness and security: yet I still do, like a child whom one teaches its Catechism, and read and say over word for word every morning, and if I have time, the Ten Commandments, the Belief, the Lord's Prayer, Psalms, &c. And I am forced to read it daily besides, and to study it, and yet cannot get as perfect in it as I should like to be, and must needs remain a child and scholar of the Catechism, ay, and am glad to be so."

Here I will insert the remarks which wind up the explanation of the Ten Commandments in Luther's larger *Catechism*. Thousands of passages to the same effect may be found in his works, evincing that this is the uniform spirit of his teaching. But as the tenour of that teaching has been so grossly misunderstood and misrepresented, this extract may perhaps help some English readers, Mr Hallam among the rest, to understand what Luther's feelings and doctrines about the moral law were, and what he meant when he seems to speak disparagingly of good works. "These are the Ten Commandments, a summary of divine teaching as to what we must do, that our whole life may please God, and the true fountain and channel, from which and along which whatever is truly a good work must spring and flow; so that, beside the Ten Commandments, no work or doing can be good or pleasing to God, however grand and splendid it may seem to the world. Let us see now what our great saints can boast of their spiritual orders, and their grand difficult works which they have devised and piled up, while they let these drop; just as if these were much too mean, or already done with long ago. I trow, one must have all one's hands full enough to keep these, gentleness, patience, and love toward enemies, chastity, kindness, and what such things bring with them. But such works have no mark and show in the eyes of the world; for they are not strange and puft out, tied to particular times, places, modes, and gestures, but common daily housework, such as any man may carry on toward his neighbour: therefore they have no dignity. But those others make one's eyes and ears gape, and help themselves out with great pomp, cost, and noble buildings, and deck themselves so that they glisten and shine all over. People burn

incense; they sing and ring; they light torches and candles, so that one cannot hear or see anything else, except a priest standing in his golden chasuble, or a layman lying all day on his knees in a church: this is counted a precious work, which no one can praise enough. But for a poor girl to wait upon a young child, committed to her, and to tend it carefully, this is thought nothing of. Else what would monks and nuns go and seek in their cloisters. But think: is it not an accursed presumption in these desperate saints, that they take upon themselves to invent a higher and better life and condition than the Ten Commandments teach; giving out, as was just said, that these are a common life for common folks, but that theirs is for the holy and perfect? And they see not, so wretched and blind are they, that no man can mount so high as to keep one of the Ten Commandments as it ought to be kept; but that both the Belief and the Lord's Prayer must come to our aid,—that we may seek and pray for power to do this, and may receive it without intermission. Therefore their boasting comes just to this, as though I boasted and said I had not a penny to pay, but trusted I could pay ten shillings.

"This I say and press, to the end that one may be rid of the sad abuse, which is so deeply rooted and still cleaves to every body, and may accustom oneself in all conditions upon earth to look to this alone, and to busy oneself about this. For long will it be ere any one can fashion a doctrine or condition, which is comparable to the Ten Commandments, because they are so high that no one can reach them by human strength; and he who does reach them is a heavenly, angelic man, far above all the holiness of this world. Only take them up, and try yourself; use all your might and main; you will find so much to do, that you will not seek or care for any other work or holiness.—

"Therefore it is not vainly commanded in the Old Testament, that the Ten Commandments shall be written on all the walls and doorposts, nay, on the garments (Deut. VI. 7. 8): not that they were to let the characters stand there, and to make a show of them, as the Jews did, but that we may have them continually before our eyes and constantly in our thoughts, may follow them

in all our deeds and conduct, and that every one may make it his daily exercise in all cases, business, and dealings, as though they were written in every place on which he looks, yea, wherever he goes or stands. Thus would people find occasion enough, both at home and with their neighbours, to fulfill the Ten Commandments, so that there would be no need of running after such occasions. From this we see again how highly these Ten Commandments are to be exalted and praised above all conditions, ordinances, and works, which any one can teach or follow. For here we may take our stand, and say, Let all the wise men and saints come forward, and try whether they can produce any work, except these Commandments, which God requires with such earnestness, and enjoins under His highest wrath and punishment, adding at the same time such a glorious promise, that He will pour out all good things and blessings upon us. Therefore are we to teach them above all other things, and to hold them dear and precious, as the highest treasure, given to us by God."

It is to be hoped even Mr Hallam will be convinced by this, and by the other evidence already adduced, that more can be urged in disproof of his charge imputing antinomianism to Luther, than that "he *somewhere else* used a language inconsistent with it." If we forget what were the good works, which the teaching of the Church in those days exalted and enjoined, we may often stumble at what he says: but if we carry the distinction here set forth along with us, all is clear and straight. This same distinction will help us in understanding the passages, whatever they may be, in Luther's *Tabletalk*, of which Mr Hallam speaks in the next sentences of the same note. "If the *Colloquia Mensalia* are to be fully relied upon, Luther continued to talk in the same antinomian strain as before, though he grew sometimes more cautious in writing. (*Sometimes more cautious in writing!* It is painful to see another instance of the manner in which people keep themselves from acknowledging and giving up a cherisht prejudice.) See chap. XII. of that work, and compare with the passages quoted by Milner, v. 517, from the second edition (in 1536) of his Commentary on

the Galatians. It would be well to know if these occur in that of 1519." On the *Tabletalk*, and its authority, I may have to say something anon: but here again I must observe that one could have wisht for some more precise reference, than to a chapter which fills above twenty closely printed folio pages; so that there might have been the means of judging what Mr Hallam understands by the antinomianism with which he taxes Luther, and whether it is anything more than the antinomianism which he might find in St Paul. This is the more desirable, inasmuch as Coleridge, than whom no Englishman was ever better qualified to give sentence on such a point, expressly declares that this very twelfth Chapter of Luther's *Tabletalk, On the Law and the Gospel*, "contains the very marrow of divinity:" *Remains*, III. 401. Moreover, in turning over the pages of this chapter I find one section headed, "*Why the preaching of the Law is necessary against the Antinomians*" (p. 207); and my eye lights on such passages as the following: "He that will be wise in the sight of God, let him begin to learn the Ten Commandments and God's word" (p. 206): again, in p. 188, "Seeing that with all diligence we teach the Law, therefore by the very act itself we approve, that (as our adversaries falsely charge and accuse us) we do not reject the Law and the works thereof, but much rather we do confirm and erect the same, and do teach that we ought to do good works; and we also do affirm that the Law is very good and profitable" (p. 188): again, in p. 197, "Anno 1541 certain propositions were brought to Luther as he sat at dinner, importing that the Law might not be preacht in the Church, because we are not justified thereby. At the sight whereof he was much moved to anger, and said, *Such seducers do come already among our people, while we yet live: what will be done when we are gone?* Let us (said he) give Philip Melanchthon the honour due to him: for he teacheth exceeding well and plainly of the right difference, use, and profit of the Law and Gospel; and I teach directly also the same, and have thoroughly handled that point in the Epistle to the Galatians.—He that taketh away the doctrine of the Law, doth rend and tear away *politiam et oeconomiam;* and when the Law is cast out of the

Church, then there in no more acknowledging of sins in the world." Here Luther again joins Melanchthon in maintaining that they agree; though Mr Hallam is loth to take their word even for this. Luther in this very twelfth chapter contends again and again most earnestly against the antinomians: yet Mr Hallam says, referring to this chapter, that "he continued to talk in the same antinomian strain as before, though he grew sometimes more cautious in writing!" Why, even from this very chapter, to which Mr Hallam appeals, as shewing that Luther "continued to talk in an antinomian strain," a score of passages might be cited, evincing such a singularly clear perception of the true relation between the Law and the Gospel, and of the special office of the Law, that one may pronounce it to have been an impossibility for Luther to have talkt "in an antinomian strain;" unless indeed he had talkt so in his sleep, or unless the expressions belonged to a much earlier part of his life. If there are any expressions which sound like antinomianism, we may feel sure, either that they have been misreported, or that we miss their meaning from not knowing the circumstances under which they were spoken. In fact, though Mr Hallam, notwithstanding his researches to ascertain the nature and extent of Luther's antinomianism, does not seem to have heard of it, Luther maintained a continuous struggle against antinomianism for the last twenty years of his life. He had to approve himself the minister of God by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, fighting on the one side against the factitious righteousness and willworship of Rome, on the other side against the unrighteousness of the Anabaptists and other Antinomians. Among his writings is a Tract specially entitled *Against the Antinomians*, publisht in 1539. He had been defending certain theses against them, as has already been stated, the year before. Throughout the second Commentary on the Galatians, he perpetually maintains the righteousness of faith against the antinomian faith without righteousness, no less than against the popish righteousness without faith; and in the Preface he says of his two bodies of opponents, with a characteristic image, *caudis sunt conjunctae istae vulpes, sed capitibus diversae.* Indeed

Mr Hallam seems to admit that the passages quoted by Milner from the second edition, as he terms it, of this Commentary exhibit an unobjectionable phase of doctrine; though here also he cannot refrain from paring down his concession by insinuating a doubt whether these passages occur in the edition of 1519. In a previous note (on chap. IV. § 59) he goes so far as to charge Milner with the "disingenuous trick of suppressing all passages in the early treatises of Luther, which display his antinomian paradoxes in a strong light." This is another instance of a grave accusation made without a tittle of evidence to support it. Against such antinomian criticism what reply can be made? Till Mr Hallam brings forward his proofs of Luther's errours, we may suspend our judgement; but thus much is plain, that, if they merely consist of occasional partial over-statements, and do not colour the main streams of his doctrine, it was no way necessary, and hardly useful, that Milner, in a work like his, should take any notice of them. A far stranger procedure is it that a historian of literature, in speaking of one of the first men in history, should spend three-fourths of the breath which he allows to him, in speaking of the mud which stuck to his shoes, and of the drops of sweat which ran down his cheeks, in consequence of his having to journey a long hard way through the mire. With regard to the Commentaries on the Galatians, the first extract cited by Milner, as "giving a beautiful and concise delineation of the order and method of practical Christianity," is expressly stated by him to be taken from the first edition. Perhaps it may be too much to expect from an English historian, that he should have taken the trouble to compare the two Commentaries, when Milner has not given the references: but if Mr Hallam had done so, even in a single instance, he would have found, what Milner himself was not aware of, that the Commentary on the Galatians publisht in 1536 is a totally different work from that publisht in 1519, being thrice as long, and having few sentences, I believe, if any, in common. A second revised edition of the earlier Commentary was publisht in 1524: but that in 1536 is wholly distinct. As the Epistle to the Galatians afforded Luther such occasion for maintaining his prime doctrine,

and this time against the two opposite perversions of it, he again delivered a course of lectures on that Epistle; which were taken down by some of his friends, and publisht with his consent and corrections. In this, as has already been observed, the contest against antinomianism is very prominent, because antinomianism had taken root and spread widely in the preceding fifteen years. On the other hand there was little antinomianism when Luther publisht his first Commentary: hence, according to the practical bent of his mind, he devoted himself mainly to combating that form of errour which at the time was dominant in the Church. But there too his doctrine was in the main the same. Here let me recur to an assertion of Mr Hallam's, which has already been quoted in p. 658: "whoever has read the writings of Luther up to the year 1820 inclusive, must find it impossible to contradict my assertion," of Luther's antinomian paradoxes. Mr Hallam, I trust, has been driven from every other position; and he must not be allowed to keep his ground in this. In fact a more astoundingly rash assertion I have rarely met with. I open the first volume of Luther's Latin works at random; and the first words my eye falls on (in p. 418, ed. Jen.) are, "Ecce haec eruditio docebit te quantus sis in Christianismo. Hic invenies quos diligas, et non diligas, quantum proficias aut deficias. Nam si unum habes, in quem non es dulcis affectu, jam nihil es, etiamsi miracula opereris. Hac denique regula disces tu ipse sine magistro discernere inter opera et opera bona. Clare tunc tu videbis melius esse proximo bene velle, bene dicere, bene facere, et totam vitam tuam facere ut sit servitus proximi in caritate (ut Apostolus paulo supra dixit), quam si omnium omnes Ecclesias aedificares, omnium monasteriorum merita haberes, omnium prorsus sanctorum miracula faceres, absque hoc quod proximo in iis servires. Ecce haec est doctrina, quam hodie non modo ignorant, sed suis traditionibus velut copiis infinitis penitus expugnant. Quorum institutum hoc est, ut proximum nunquam, nisi personalem, doceant diligere, dum inter opera tantum digladiantur, et facies distinguunt. Nec minus caute intelligenda est vulgatissima illa distinctio legis naturae, legis Scriptae, legis Evangelicae. Cum enim

Apostolus hic dicat omnes in uno et in summa convenire, certe caritas omnis legis finis est, ut 1 Tim. I. dicit. Sed et Christus, Matt. VII. illam legem naturae (ut vocant), *Omnia quae vultis ut faciant vobis homines, et vos facite illis*, expresse eandem facit cum lege et Prophetis, dicens, *Haec enim lex et Prophetae.* Cum autem ipse Evangelium doceat, clarum est tres has leges non tam officio quam falso sensu intelligentium differre. Proinde haec lex scripta, *Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum*, prorsus idem dicit quod lex naturae: *Quae vultis, ut faciant vobis homines* (hoc enim est seipsum diligere), *eadem facite vos illis* (hoc certe est, sicut seipsum, ita diligere et alios, ut claret). At quid aliud totum Evangelium quoque docet? Igitur una est lex, quae transiit per omnia saecula, omnibus nota hominibus, scripta in omnium cordibus, nec excusabilem relinquit ullum ab initio usque ad finem, licet Judaeis accesserint caeremoniae, tum aliis gentibus suae propriae leges, quae non universum mundum obligabant, sed haec sola, quam Spiritus dictat in cordibus omnium, sine intermissione:" Comm. on v. 14.

Mr Hallam indeed says, that, "in treating of an author so full of unlimited propositions as Luther, no positive proof as to his tenets can be refuted by the production of inconsistent passages." This is an ingenious way of silencing all opposition. For what is poor Luther's advocate to do? He cannot refute the charge brought against him by taking the evidence to pieces, and shewing its invalidity; for of evidence there is not a jot. At the same time he is told that he must not hope to refute it by proving a mental *alibi;* for that Luther is such a conjuror, he can be in a dozen places at once. But seriously speaking, if it can be proved, as the passage last quoted assuredly does prove, that Luther had fully and most clearly discerned the relation between faith and the evangelical law of love, and seen how this is the sum and principle of all positive laws, we may confidently assert that he cannot have been an antinomian. Should passages having an opposite tendency be brought forward, I would contend, that, unless Luther can be shewn to have been either a madman or an idiot, we are bound to interpret them by the light which may be derived from

the various passages cited above, and from the numberless others to the same effect strewn through every part of his writings. But further, I believe that, among the numerous works publisht by Luther during the three years markt out by Mr Hallam, there is hardly one, from which, if it affords us any glimpse of his opinions on morals, it might not be demonstrated that Luther was not an antinomian. Indeed in some respects Luther, during that period, when he was only gradually purifying himself from the Roman leaven, may almost be thought to speak too much about good works. To begin with the first page in the Jena edition of his Latin works, it is filled with certain propositions concerning the power of the will in the natural man. Here the third corollary to the first conclusion asserts that, though men without faith cannot do anything purely good, yet there is a difference between the chaste and the unchaste, the just and the unjust, so that they will not fall under the same punishment. The second conclusion asserts, *Homo, Dei gratia exclusa, praecepta ejus servare nequaquam potest;* thus recognizing that there is a divine law, and that man is bound to observe it, though from the corruption of his nature he cannot, without divine grace. The third corollary to this conclusion may startle one at first sight: *Cum justitia fidelium sit in Deo abscondita, peccatum vero eorum manifestum in seipsis, verum est non nisi justos damnari, atque peccatores et meretrices salvari.* But the proposition here asserted is in fact the truth involved in the beautiful parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, coupled with the declaration that the life of the believer is hidden in God, so that of this he is unconscious, while he feels a deep consciousness of his sin. The assertion, *non nisi justos damnari*, is probably incorrectly exprest, and may have been meant to be equivalent to *justos non nisi damnari.* If not, every candid mind will make allowances for exaggerations in such apophthegmatically worded scholastic theses, which were the fashion of the age. If we turn over the leaf, we find that the next two pages contain the noble letter which Luther sent along with his Theses to the Archbishop of Mayence. In this he urges as one main argument against the indulgences, that "opera pietatis et caritatis sunt in

infinitum meliora indulgentiis, et tamen—propter venias praedicandas illa tacent, cum tamen omnium episcoporum hoc sit officium primum et solum, ut populus evangelium discat et *caritatem Christi*." These last words seem from the context to mean *the duties of Christian love*. Again, the very foremost in that grand body of Theses, which were the first act in the deliverance of the Church,—*Dominus et Magister noster Jesus Christus, dicendo Poenitentiam agite, etc. omnem vitam fidelium poenitentiam esse voluit*,—is of itself sufficient to disprove the charge of antinomianism: for penitence implies that there must be a moral law; and the continuance of penitence through life manifests the deepest conviction of sin, that is, of the violation of the moral law. Nay, the idea which runs through the whole series of theses, is that of the dignity and sanctity of the moral law. Or, I may cite the 43d, and the next two theses as exhibiting a state of thought and feeling utterly alien from antinomianism. *Docendi sunt Christiani, quod dans pauperi, aut mutuans egenti, melius facit quam si venias redimeret: Quia per opus caritatis crescit caritas, et fit homo melior; sed per venias non fit melior, sed tantummodo a poena liberior.—Docendi sunt Christiani, quod qui videt egenum, et neglecto eo dat pro veniis, non indulgentias Papae, sed indignationem Dei sibi vindicat.* Again, the highest reverence for the law pervades the ninety-nine Theses against the Scholastic Philosophy in 1517. I might go on in like manner through one treatise after another. But one more example will be sufficient to determine the value of Mr Hallam's statements concerning Luther. He says, as we have seen, that "whoever has read the writings of Luther up to the year 1520 inclusive, must find it impossible to contradict his assertion." Now, even after all the instances already produced of his singular rashness,—a rashness the more puzzling at first sight from its contrast with the calmness and deliberateness and caution which he aims at, but easily explicable to those who know how often caution out of season becomes rashness,—even after all we have hitherto met with, it fills one with amazement, to find that in the first volume of Luther's Latin works, containing those of 1517, 1518, 1519, with

some belonging to the year 1520, above ninety folio pages are filled with a translation of a course of sermons which he had been preaching to the people on the Ten Commandments, even then, as throughout his life, one of his favorite themes, in which every Commandment is fully expounded and urged both in its literal and in its widest spiritual sense. Moreover, a few pages after, we come to an Instruction for the Confession of sins according to the Ten Commandments.

In the text indeed to the note which we have so long been examining, Mr Hallam, while speaking of divers things which he deems reprehensible in Luther, says, "He fancied that to represent a future state as the motive of virtuous action, or as any way connected with human conduct, for better or worse, was derogatory to the free grace of God, and the omnipotent agency of the Spirit in converting the soul." This sentence leaves us at a loss to make out what is the opinion here objected to. One might suppose that it is the opinion, which we find now and then exprest by Luther, especially in his earlier writings, when he was more under the influence of Tauler and other mystics, that the reference to a future state, if it operates as a motive of our actions, either in the way of personal hope or fear, detracts from their purity and perfection, and is a witness of the corruption of our nature; for that, if we were not tainted with sin, we should act rightly from the mere love of truth and purity and justice. I cannot feel confident that this is Mr Hallam's meaning: but it seems to be so; and this opinion we certainly do find in Luther, for instance in the sentences already quoted in p. 665, and again in the following beautiful passage from the same Sermon *On Penitence*. "Proinde confessurus id potissimum et ante omnia tecum cogita, quid faceres, si non esset praeceptum confitendi, si nulla esset quadragesima, si nulli confiterentur, si nullus esset pudor, sed omnis omnium plenaque libertas. An etiam sic velles confiteri, conteri, poenitere? Quod si te non ita invenis, jam scito te non ex amore justitiae, sed consuetudine et timore praecepti poenitere, atque malle sequi turbam, si omnibus liceret non poenitere. Si autem velles, etiamsi nullus poeniteret, confiteretur, contereretur, atque

adeo si totus mundus aliter ageret, nec praecepti habita ratione, poenitere, sed amore novae vitae et melioris, jam vere poenitea. Ecce hoc est, quod illi solent dicere, quod contritio in caritate facta facit remitti peccata." Yet, if this be Mr Hallam's meaning, one is puzzled to understand how he can deem that such an opinion is a reprehensible moral paradox, nay, as the context and note would seem to imply, that it savours of antinomianism. Such an opinion might indicate a want of practical wisdom, if it led a person to reject all motives derivable from hope and fear, and to deny their utility and necessity in our frail peccable state. But this Luther did not: on the contary he continually urged such motives in their proper place. Nor did he imagine that man would ever in this life attain to a condition, in which those leadingstrings and crutches for our tottering virtue would no longer be needed. Just after the last quotation he adds: "si recte perpendas haec dicta, facile dices nullum hominem esse in mundo, qui hanc contritionem habeat, vel saltem paucissimos: et de me ipso confiteor similia omnino." This however he regarded as a proof of our inherent, inveterate, irremediable sinfulness, of our continual need of forgiveness, and of the evil which clings to our very best acts, and abides with us in our very best estate. But I repeat, I cannot feel certain that this is what Mr Hallam refers to; and I should have past over his words altogether, but from my wish not to leave the slightest shadow of his censure on Luther's moral tenets unremoved, if it seemed possible to remove it.

And now it is full time to take leave of Mr Hallam, the argument with whom has grown to a much greater length than I anticipated, and is certainly very disproportionate to his brief remarks upon Luther. Were it not for the adventitious force which those remarks acquire from his reputation for learning, judgement, and fairness, they might have been dismist summarily: but when it appeared desirable that they should be refuted, their very vagueness and slightness, and the absence of any tangible fact, left no way of disproving them except that of proving the contrary. Hereby the prejudice, which, though utterly groundless, is by no means uncommon in these days, that Luther erred on the side of

antinomianism, will, I trust, have been dispelled; and we shall be able to come with free, open minds to the examination of the more definite charges brought against him by others. How indispensable this is to a right appreciation of particular sentences and propositions pickt out from the writings of a man who expresses himself as strongly as Luther, we shall see exemplified in several cases anon. When a person, prepossest with the notion that Luther was an antinomian, lights upon some strong passage severed from the context, he welcomes it as a fresh confirmation of his previous antipathy. On the other hand, he who is familiar with Luther's writings, with their tone and spirit, their singular practical sense and spiritual wisdom, if he falls in with one of these stones of offence, will not stumble, but will suspend his judgement, trusting that what in its separation may seem as shocking as a hand or eye, when severed from its body, will be found on examination in its original place to fit aptly into the great body of truth from which it has been torn. And after finding, as often as I have found, that this anticipation is thoroughly justified, one's confidence amounts to an assurance, which will not easily be shaken.

For this assurance there is too much scope nowadays, owing to the manner in which the attacks upon Luther have recently been carried on. They have proceeded from more than one quarter, but chiefly, as might be expected, from that new school of theology, which has set itself to undo and to depreciate the work of the Reformation. By our modern Romanizers the mightiest enemy of the Romish corruptions is naturally regarded with dislike, with aversion, almost with hatred. His intense love of truth revolts those who dally with truth, and play tricks with it, until they cease to discern the distinction between truth and falsehood. His straightforwardness finds no sympathy among those who walk in crooked ways. His hunger and thirst after that which is spiritual, and his comparative indifference about outward forms, are mortal offenses to those with whom forms, institutions, rites, ordinances are the main thing, and almost everything. Hence the contest about Luther's character now has a peculiar interest and importance. It is a part of the great contest by which our Church is so dismally

torn. The enemy, the traducer has endeavoured to get possession of him, and to cover him with ignominy: there is urgent need of some one to vindicate him from his assailants; and as no one else has come forward, that I am aware of, I have felt bound to do what I can for him to whom I owe such a debt of gratitude and love as can never be repaid.

In this, as in most of the other opinions which characterize our new school of theology, the way was led by him who is the primary author of the schism now rending our Church. As the revival of the true scriptural doctrine of Justification was the first act and germ of the Reformation, so, wherever and whenever there has been a lapse Romeward, that doctrine has been impugned and undermined by a more or less overt assertion of human merit and of good works. Hence the discerning perceived from the first that there was a strong tendency toward the Church of Rome in Mr Newman's *Lectures on Justification*, even as there was in our Arminian divinity of the seventeenth century; although they hoped that the practical wisdom and godliness, which are ever indispensable to bridle in the runaway impetus of speculation, would now also, as then, preserve the devious thinker from following the impulses of his own morbid subtilty. In these *Lectures on Justification* the Lutheran doctrine is assailed with great ingenuity and logical acuteness; and in the course of the argument Luther himself is often spoken of, but on the whole with respect, or at least with that exemplary decorum which has ever markt Mr Newman's controversial writings, notwithstanding the numerous provocations he has received. In one place, at the close of the second Lecture, a comparison is instituted between Luther and Augustin, of course to Luther's disadvantage: but if we bate the contrast between their doctrine on the point in question, which I cannot discuss here, the main defect urged against Luther is that he lived in the sixteenth century. For the comparison is wound up with this finely sounding, but empty antithesis: "They (Luther and the other Reformers) have been founders of schools: St Augustin is a Father in the Holy Apostolic Church." Now, as the list of Fathers, so-called, closes with Bernard in the twelfth century, these words, if they mean

anything, must mean that no theologian who has had the mishap of being born since the twelfth century, is to be regarded as comparable in spiritual and scriptural knowledge with those who came into the world previously, and were installed for whatsoever cause in the rank of Fathers. Yet in the foregoing notes I have several times had occasion to point out how inferior even the chief among the Fathers were in their understanding of Scripture, with regard to certain principal heads of evangelical truth, to the great divines of the Reformation. Mr Newman himself and his disciples have found out, subsequently to the publication of his Lectures, that theology did not come to an absolute standstill, or, in other words, since abiding herein would be an impossibility, enter upon a state of continual retrogression, at the end of the fourth century, or of the fifth, or at any other definite epoch, but that it advanced, at least in certain departments, beyond the Fathers in the age of the Schoolmen: and far greater and of higher moment was its stride forward at the Reformation. Indeed there is much truth, though perhaps not without some exaggeration of phrase, in what Coleridge says (*Remains* III. 276), with reference to Luther, Melanchthon, and Calvin, that "the least of them was not inferior to St Augustin, and worth a brigadê of the Cyprians, Firmilians, and the like." Surely there is nothing surprising in this. The marvel, the contradiction to the whole course of history, would be if this were not the case; unless we suppose that the special illumination which was granted to the Apostles, was bestowed on the chief teachers of Christianity down to the last of the Fathers, was then withdrawn, and has been withheld ever since. But for such a limitation and restriction of the gifts of the Spirit no ground can be discovered either in Scripture, or in the nature of man: nor does the history of the Church present any facts to support it. On the contrary, in all periods of the world the men of greatest intellectual power have ever borne the mark and stamp of their age: they have received, before they could give: if they have given much, they have received much previously: nor have they continued to give, unless they have likewise continued all the while to receive. Indeed this is the special characteristic and office of a great thinker, that

in him some of the dominant thoughts and tendencies of his age are concentrated and embodied, and find their first utterance. Nor has it been otherwise in the history of the Church. Although Christianity, being in her essence above the relations of time and space, renders her devout votaries in a certain sense independent of them, with regard to their own personal spiritual life, yet, when they set themselves to teach or to act upon others, the variable elements of their nature, those which are necessarily moulded and modified by the moral and intellectual powers and agencies they are brought into contact with, come into play. Hence it is next to a moral impossibility, that men living in the decrepitude of the ancient world, under the relaxing and palsying influences of the Roman and Byzantine empires, when all intellectual and moral life was fast waning away, and the grand and stirring ideas and aims which had drawn forth the energies of the classical nations in their prime, had been superseded by rhetorical tumour and allegorical and grammatical trifling, should have mounted to such a pitch of intellectual power, as to be beyond the reach of the noblest minds in the age when all the faculties of the new world were bursting into life, and when one region of power after another was laid open to man, and called him to start up and take possession of it,—the whole circuit of the earth he lived in,—the infinitude and the sublimities of the universe in which it is comprised, — the world of night surpassing that of day, and swallowing it up in its unfathomable depths,—the classical nations rising out of their millennial sleep, with the beauty of their art and their poetry, and with their heroic glory; while the incipient knowledge of the newly discovered races tended along therewith to bring out self-consciousness, and to make self-knowledge more distinct,—and the Book of God, speaking in each man's native tongue, became indeed a living book, the Book of Man, revealing the inmost thoughts and purposes of his heart. Hereby more especially man was summoned from the merely objective and passive, or conventional and traditional contemplation of outward things, and of logical abstractions and generalizations, to look into the recesses within his own bosom, and to behold himself in his individuality, as separate from the world, and yet

a part, nay, a counterpart of the world, a microcosm representing the laws and processes of the macrocosm. Nor should we omit to notice the stimulus afforded by the acquisition of such a mighty organ as the press, multiplying a man's voice a thousandfold, endowing him with a kind of ubiquity, and bringing him into contact with the hearts and minds of the whole body of his countrymen. One of the first acts of this subjective self-analysis, one of the first effects of man's perception of the entire difference between himself and the outward world, was the discovery of the abyss of sin within himself, as wholly apart from any bad habits or vices contracted from outward influences, and which outward influences and outward acts, penances, expiatory offerings, mortifications, were unavailing to remove. The Mystics in the middle ages had a feeling of this; and herein lay the ground of their separation from the popular theology of their time: but their feeling was itself a mystical one, incommunicable except to such as were initiated into the mysteries of divine contemplation. They did not teach how sin was to be overcome by those who tread the walks of daily life. The open enunciation of these truths in a manner intelligible to all men, and the declaration of the only efficacious remedy for their inward disease, was the first utterance, the birthcry of the Reformation; and hereby, and by that deeper knowledge of human nature which such a self-analysis, so long as it did not inveigle men into mistaking the processes of death for those of life, could not fail to produce, the theology of the Reformation became profounder than that of earlier ages. It is a wonderful proof of the power of Christianity to expand and elevate the mind, in despite of the most unfavorable circumstances, that several of the Fathers, living as they did among the falling and fallen leaves of the old world, and so long before the first vernal germinating of the mind of the new world, should have been such great thinkers as they were: but it would have been an inversion and subversion of the order of nature, if they who grew up in a state of things so much more propitious for the unfolding of high and deep thoughts, and who had the stores of Christian meditation and experience

accumulated during so many centuries to profit by, had been doomed to be altogether inferior to them.

Thus there is no antecedent improbability that a theologian in the sixteenth century should be quite as wise and as sound an expounder of scriptural truth, as one in the fourth or fifth. Though the earlier divines may have had certain special advantages, the advantages enjoyed by those in the later period were far greater and more important: and if they had peculiar temptations to lead them astray, so had the others. The epoch at which a man lives does not afford us a criterion for judging of the truth of what he says; except so far as his testimony may be appealed to concerning facts: in other respects the value of his writings must be determined on different grounds, by candid and intelligent criticism. Nor is such criticism less needful with regard to the Fathers than to any other body of writers. This is not a merely historical question: it is of urgent practical moment at this day, deeply affecting the welfare of our Church. The blind admiration for the Fathers, the servile deference to their authority, have done us much harm in former ages, and are no less mischievous now. In Coleridge's *Remains* we find several instances noted of the injury done to our divines of the seventeenth century by their exaggerated reverence for the Fathers: see Vol. III, pp. 103 (where he remarks that "Luther was too spiritual, of too heroic faith, to be thus blinded by the declamations of the Fathers,"), 104, 117, 125, 149, 174, 175, 183, ("Let any competent judge read Hacket's life of Archbishop Williams, and then his Sermons, and so measure the stultifying, nugifying effect of a blind and uncritical study of the Fathers, and the exclusive prepossession in favour of their authority, in the minds of many of our Church dignitaries in the reign of Charles I."), 239, 270: Vol. IV. pp. 257, 310. An intelligent person familiar with these divines might easily multiply these instances a hundredfold; nor would it be difficult to find numbers of similar ones in the writers of our days, who have been reviving the "same blind and uncritical study of the Fathers, and the exclusive prepossession in favour of their authority." To those who study the Fathers critically and discerningly, they still yield grains of precious gold in abundance,

as we see in the excellent exegetical writings of Mr Trench. But the superstitious and idolatrous are ever fond of displaying their doting, by picking out as the special objects of their complacency, not that which is really valuable,—other men might approve of that,—but that which in itself is worthless, nay, mawkishly silly, or wildly absurd. In truth there is a wisdom approaching to prophetic intuition in the following sentences of Coleridge's, taken from his notes on Luther's *Tabletalk* (*Remains*, Vol. IV. p. 47). "I cannot conceive anything more likely, than that a young man of strong mind and active intellect, who has no fears, or suffers no fears of worldly prudence to cry, *Halt!* to him in his career of consequential logic, and who has been *innutritus et juratus* in the Grotio-Paleyan scheme of Christian evidence, and who has been taught by the men and books, which he has been bred up to regard as authority, to consider all inward experiences as fanatical delusions;—I say, I can scarcely conceive such a young man, to make a serious study of the Fathers of the first four or five centuries without becoming either a Romanist or a Deist. Let him only read Petavius and the different Patristic and Ecclesiastico-Historical tracts of Semler, and have no better philosophy than that of Locke, no better theology than that of Arminius and Bishop Jeremy Taylor, and I should tremble for his belief. Yet why tremble for a belief which is the very antipode of faith? Better for such a man to precipitate himself on to the utmost goal: for then perhaps he may, in the repose of intellectual activity, feel the nothingness of his prize, or the wretchedness of it: and then perhaps the inward yearning after a religion may make him ask, *Have I not mistaken the road at the outset? Am I sure that the Reformers, Luther and the rest collectively, were fanatics?*" How disastrously these words have been fulfilled, and are receiving fresh fulfilment every day! and with what exactitude is the training of some of our Patrolaters, who are lapsing into Romanism, here described! The issue indeed, so far as we are at present acquainted with it, has all been in one direction, toward Rome. This is not because the Fathers of the first four or five centuries are favorable to the errours and corruptions of Rome. The contest on this point

has been waged again and again; and the victory in the main has always been on our side. But the very habit of looking with prostrate minds to outward human authority, and that too authority so remote from the special wants and yearnings of our age, and incapable of speaking to us with that intelligent fellow-feeling which elicits the responsive activity of our own spirits,—to authority therefore which can only speak imperatively, except to the few whose understandings are mature enough to consult it critically, and to distinguish the true from the erroneous, the relevant from the irrelevant,—tends to breed an imbecile tone of judgement, which is incapable of standing alone, and will not be content with the helps wherewith God has supplied us, but craves restlessly for some absolute authority, whereby it may be enabled to walk in leading strings all its life long. Such minds, when one prop after another gives way under them, as they find out that no Father can be appealed to as an absolute authority, least of all on the particular questions which agitate our times the most, will try to save themselves from falling into infidelity by catching desperately hold of infallibility. And how long will this bear them up?

But though Luther was not what is technically termed *a Father*, and could not be so from the period when, for the good of mankind, it was ordained that he should be born, yet it has pleased God that he, above all other men since the days of the Apostles, should, in the truest and highest sense, be a father in Christ's church, yea, the human father and nourisher of the spiritual life of millions of souls, for generation after generation. In a few more weeks three hundred years will have rolled away since he was raised, through Christ's redeeming grace, from the militant Church into the triumphant; and throughout those three hundred years, and still at this day, it has been and is vouchsafed to him,—and so, God willing, shall it be for centuries to come,—that he should feed the children of half Germany with the milk of the Gospel by his Catechism,—that he should supply the poor and simple, yea, and all classes of his countrymen, with words wherewith to commend their souls to God, when they rise from their bed, and when they lie down in it, —that in his words they should invoke a blessing upon their daily

meals, and offer up their thanks for them,—that with his stirring hymns they should kindle and pour out their devotion, both in the solemn assembly, and in the sanctuary of every family,—that by his German words, through the blessed fruit of his labours, they should daily and hourly strengthen and enlighten their hearts and souls and mind, with that Book of Life in which God's Mercy and Truth have met together, His Righteousness and Peace have kist each other, and are treasured up for the edification of mankind unto the end of the world. If this is not to be a Father in Christ's Church, I know not what is. Nay, more: his spiritual children are not confined to his own country. The word of truth, which he was sent to preach, has sounded from land to land, and was heard in our own land also, coming as it did from the home of our forefathers, for the purification of the Church, and for the guiding of numberless souls away from a vain confidence in the works of the flesh to a living trust in their Saviour. This is the man whom Mr Newman calls, not a Father, but the "founder of a school." He seems to have been pleased with his antithesis, with which he closes his elaborate comparison and his lecture; yet a more thoroughly infelicitous one has seldom dropt from a pen. *The founder of a school*, forsooth! A teacher indeed he was, and a wise and faithful one, in that school of divine knowledge which is founded upon the Apostles and Prophets, our Lord himself being the Head Cornerstone: this however is not the sense in which Mr Newman uses the expression. Were he to write now, he would choose a harder term, and one equally destitute of objective truth, but which would have the advantage of meaning something. Verily, in reading the remarks of English censurers on Luther, one is tempted at times to fancy that the History of Germany must have been omitted from the course of their studies, and that they supposed they might pass it by, as they would that of Cochin China or Kamschatka: so singularly inappropriate are some of their observations, somewhat like the Idiot Boy's story, "The cocks did crow towhoo! towhoo! And the sun did shine so cold." If it has been Luther's fate that his name should be borne by a large branch of the Church, a large branch of the Church, even though it should

be falsely deemed heretical or schismatical, is not a school. Seeing too that the name was originally imposed on his followers by their adversaries,—seeing that it was a great trouble and grief to him, which he often expresses, to hear his name attacht to those who ought to bear no name save that of their crucified Lord,*—seeing that from first to last his desire was ever to decrease, and that his beloved Master might increase,—the name may so far be accepted, as a testimony to all generations that Luther was the man of God, sent with the power and spirit of Elijah to cast down the altars of Baal, and to re-establish the true spiritual worship of the Father in hearts reconciled to Him by the incarnation and sacrifice of His Only-begotten Son.

Here, though I must decline entering in this place into a discussion of Mr Newman's objections to Luther's view of Justification, which would carry me much too far, yet, since he states in a note on this comparison between Luther and Augustin (p. 66), that "It is but fair to Luther to say, that he indirectly renounced the extravagant parts of his doctrine at the end of life; that is, the distinctive parts," supporting the assertion by a reference to Dr Laurence's Bampton Lectures; and as this seems at variance with the argument maintained above (pp. 674-678), I will remark, that it was not Luther's practice, however such a practice may find

* That the name was adopted very early, appears from the manner in which he deprecates it in the beginning of 1522, in his *Faithful Admonition to all Christians to keep from Tumults and Insurrections*: "In the first place I beg that people will let my name alone, and not call themselves Lutherans, but Christians. What is Luther? The doctrine is not mine. Nor was I crucified for anybody. St Paul (1 Cor. i. 12. 13, iii. 4, 5) would not allow that the Christians should call themselves Pauline or Petrine, but Christians. How should I, poor stinking worm-bag, come into such a case, that the children of Christ should be called by my wretched name? Not so, dear friend! let us get rid of party names, and call ourselves Christians, after Him whose doctrine we have." The Editor of the recent edition speaks somewhat doubtingly about the occasion which led Luther to write this *Admonition*; but the date, the 19th of January 1522, proves that it issued from the Wartburg during the disturbances at Wittenberg, about six weeks before Luther came in person to quiet them. Though there is no direct mention of Wittenberg or of Carlstadt, this may easily be accounted for from the wish to avoid whatever might be personally offensive or irritating.

favour in other eyes, to do things, least of all when of such importance, "indirectly." The marvel is, that any honest man should have deemed he was advancing an apology for Luther, which Mr Newman's words imply, when alledging that, after upholding a doctrine asserted to be immoral, openly and strenuously all his life, he retracted it "*indirectly*" in his last year, by a kind of deathbed confession. We shall see in a moment what sort of a retractation it would have been, one which nobody could have guest the drift of. Other men may act thus, and think by so doing to save their own souls: had Luther meant to renounce any part of his doctrine on Justification, he would have done it openly and explicitly, or he would not have been Luther. But the passage referred to in Dr Laurence's Lectures does not afford the slightest ground for Mr Newman's assertion. For in the first place Dr Laurence is not speaking of Luther's views on Justification, but on the Freedom of the Will. Indeed on Justification Dr Laurence seems to have concurred with Luther. Besides, even with regard to Free-will, the evidence cited by Dr Laurence is far from establishing his position. His sole argument is, that Luther spoke very disparagingly of his own works, in the Preface to the first Volume of the Latin Collection, publisht in 1545, the year before his death. The passage is beautiful and very characteristic: "Multum diuque restiti illis, qui meos libros, seu verius confusiones mearum lucubrationum voluerunt editas, tum quod nolui antiquorum labores meis novitatibus obrui, et lectorem a legendis illis impediri, tum quod nunc, Dei gratia, extent methodici libri quam plurimi, inter quos *Loci Communes* Philippi excellunt, quibus Theologus et Episcopus pulcre et abunde formari potest, ut sit potens in sermone doctrinae pietatis; praesertim cum ipsa sacra Biblia nunc in omni prope lingua haberi possint, mei autem libri, ut ferebat, imo cogebat, rerum gerendarum nullus ordo, ita etiam ipsi sint quoddam rude et indigestum chaos, quod nunc nec mihi ipsi sit facile digerere. His rationibus adductus cupiebam omnes libros meos perpetua oblivione sepultos, ut melioribus esset locus." From this passage Dr Laurence infers that Luther intended to retract his opinions on Free-will, and to give his sanction to the milder views adopted by

Melanchthon in the later editions of the *Loci Communes:* and he supports this notion by citing some other expressions in praise of Melanchthon from the same Preface. Yet the inference is a mere fallacy. When a man speaks slightingly of his own writings, he does not commonly mean to reject the opinions advocated in them: his dissatisfaction will rather arise from the inadequate manner in which those opinions are set forth, from shame at perceiving how feebly he has exprest the truths which possest him; except when the writings belong to an earlier period of his life, and to a past frame of his mind; and then he will probably explain that such is the case. Now Luther has done this a little way on in the same Preface, where he tells us what he especially condemns in his earlier writings,—the collection only embracing those down to 1520,—namely, the Romish leaven, from which he was only purged by degrees, and especially his exaggerated reverence for the Pope. "Sciat (Lector) me fuisse aliquando monachum et Papistam insanissimum, cum istam causam aggressus sum, ita ebrium, imo submersum in dogmatibus Papae, ut paratissimus fuerim omnes, si potuissem, occidere, aut occidentibus cooperari et consentire, qui Papae vel una syllaba obedientiam detrectarent." Of his other writings he promises to say something, if he lives, in the prefaces to the subsequent volumes. Now surely one has no right to conclude from Luther's words here, that he intended to retract all the opinions in which he differed in whatsoever degree from Melanchthon, and to set up Melanchthon's in their stead. They merely express his singular modesty, which shone so brightly in its union with his singular assurance whenever he felt he was standing on the Word of God, a combination which might seem almost contranatural, unless we had seen the same in St Paul. And one of the ways in which his modesty is wont to manifest itself, is in depreciating himself by the side of Melanchthon, toward whom, from first to last, he felt an intensity of love and admiration betokening the depth and fulness of the heart it flowed from.

In the same Lecture of Mr Newman's, four pages back, we stumble upon another expression, which strengthens the temptation to believe that the life of Luther and the German Reformation

must be supposed to belong to the History of Kamschatka. Adopting the phrase, *shadows of religion*, from good Bishop Wilson's Family Prayers, he says, of the Lutheran doctrine of Justification, "Shadows of religion these things fitly may be called, like the Jewish new-moons and sabbaths which the Judaizers were so loth to part with." A more anomalous comparison has never been devised. Outward formal works are likened to an inward spiritual union, which is nothing, except so far as it involves the active energy of a living faith. Here, as throughout Mr Newman's Lectures, we find a confusion with regard to the meaning of Faith. Faith with him "is not a practical principle" (p. 287). Be it so: then, according to this conception of Faith, Justification by Faith would indeed be a mere "shadow of religion." But with Luther Faith is a practical principle; and Mr Newman has no right to charge Luther with consequences, which merely proceed from his own view of Faith, but are incompatible with Luther's. This argument however belongs to another place. For the present I would only mark the felicitous infelicity of the phrase, "shadows of religion," as applied to Luther. Mr Newman is so well pleased with it, that he repeats it again in a Note on his fifth Lecture (p. 128). "When are we to escape from the city of Shadows, in which Luther would bewilder the citizens of the Holy Jerusalem?" This expression may indeed suit the apocryphal Luther, "the founder of a school," who lives in the region where the cocks crow, towhoo! towhoo! and the sun shines so cold: but as for the true Luther, the Luther of Eisleben, of Wittenberg, of Worms,—you might as reasonably call Hercules a milksop, or Socrates a sentimental blockhead. You can hardly read a page of Luther, either in the four folio volumes of his Latin works, or the twenty-two thick double-columned German quartoes—you can hardly read a single letter, however slight and short, among the 2324 in De Wette's Collection,—without being imprest with the conviction that religion with Luther is not a thing of words and phrases, not a thing of habit or custom, of convention or tradition, not a thing of times and seasons, but an intense vivid reality, which governs the pulses of his heart and the motions of his will. Different opinions however have

been entertained as to what is a reality, and what a shadow. To savages, to those whose senses overlay their other faculties, even to the early Greeks, as we see from the first lines of the Iliad, the body is the reality, the soul or spirit the shade. The same inversion is found under all forms of superstition: indeed this is superstition, to seek and lose the reality in the form, in the symbol, in the outward work, in the outward ordinance: and this superstition was pervading the whole Church, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, when Luther arose to call it back from the worship of forms to the worship of living realities. It was because he saw hardly anything but shadows and masks and empty forms, the spawn of the limbo of vanities, moving to and fro in the deathdance around him,—because the spirit of life had slipt away from institutions and ordinances, which may once have had life and a meaning and a practical purpose, but which were now become purposeless and hollow and cavernous for all manner of evil lusts to revel in,—and because, when, in his yearning after realities, he threw his arms round these hollow forms, they crumbled to dust in his fervent embrace,—because he could not bear to live in a world of shadows and fictions, amid a swarm of "unreal mockeries,"—because he felt through all the depths of his heart and soul and mind that God and Christ and Salvation and Justification and Grace and Holiness and Righteousness are not words and shadows, but realities,—while at the same time he felt no less strongly that Sin and Evil and Condemnation and Hell are also terrible realities, which have thrust their iron fangs through our hearts, and hold them bound, and from which in this world we can never wholly get free,—it was because of this yearning after realities, and of his deep conviction of this twofold reality, that, as one shadow after another revealed its hollowness to him, he bad it avaunt and vanish. In reading the history of the German Reformation, as delineated, for instance, by Ranke's faithful pen, one of the things which strike us continually, is the singular thoroughgoing contrast between the shadows and masks of religion on the one side, and the living realities on the other. On the one side we find a mongrel rabble of passions and appetites, ambition, statecraft, the pride of dominion, covetousness and every form

of cupidity, the love of ease and the anger at having that ease disturbed, hatred, revenge, bloodthirstiness, fraud, a host of traditionary prejudices, and the obstinate adherence to inveterate habits; while they who persecuted the Reformers the most, and were the loudest in urging the plea of religion, the Pope and the body of the hierarchy, were for the most part utterly destitute of it.* On the other side, along with many imperfections, and divers faults of weakness and of violence, we find that which is the mightiest of earthly powers, as being the channel whereby we receive power from heaven,—that which is the one earthly principle of all reality, inasmuch as through it alone do we gain the conviction of heavenly realities,—faith. Hereby the Reformers stand: this is the source of their strength: they look not to earthly means and auxiliaries, to human force or policy. On the contrary, Luther ever disclaims

* Since this was written, I have met with the following remarks by Leo, a historian who does ample justice to the idea of the Church in the middle ages: "The contest which the renovation of the Church had to wage,—was not against a power which brought forth its weapons of defense in like manner out of the depths of a religious consciousness: for the most zealous Romanists must needs allow that the opponents of the Reformation at the outset were rather pugnacious and dexterous, than animated with any deep Christian feeling, and that only by degrees, through its influence, was a severer and more truly churchly spirit awakened, and a revival of Christian principles of conduct introduced in the Church of Rome, especially in consequence of the Council of Trent. At first the attempt to restore the Church had only to encounter an utterly corrupt clergy, who did not try to support and maintain themselves by clinging similarly to the moral and spiritual requirements and doctrines of the Gospel, but rather by the use and employment of the worldly arts which had gathered around the spirit of the Church during the middle ages. The political influence, the worldly power and riches of the Church, the worldly interests of the various classes under the domination of a rich Church, and of a practically negligent ecclesiastical discipline, the scholastic method of philosophy,—these were the allies they called in aid. In a word, it was by the help of external means, partly such as were in themselves sensual, partly such as acted upon the senses, or upon the surface of the spirit, that an inward native impulse was to be stifled, or at least controlled in its expressions; an impulse which owed its being to the deepest religious feelings, and which aimed, not at freedom of thought and action, but, on the contrary, at the severest religious strictness, both in thought and in action. This was to be crusht by a power which had political influence, money, lands, rich places, at command, and which promist men that, after a licentious irregularity of thought, and a sinful life, they should, under certain conditions, attain to everlasting happiness;

and repudiates all support, except such as appears to him wholly consistent with the divine law. *The cause is not mine, but Thine, O God: do Thou uphold it:* this in all his difficulties is the voice that rises from and cheers his heart. *The cause is God's, and He will uphold it:* this is his reply to those who speak to him of danger and perplexity, and who desire to resist or countermine their foes. Such too is the power of Faith, he was able in a wonderful manner to infuse his spirit into those around him,—"shadows" have no such power,—and to restrain them from measures, which, under their circumstances, would by most men be deemed very excusable, if not perfectly justifiable, but which to him seemed in some respect contrary to the precepts of Scripture.* In fact this is the pervading distinction,—so far as there is any manifesting itself in the various practical functions of the Church,—which characterizes that of Rome.

which moreover contrived to make the fulfilment of these conditions easy, and converted the worship of God into an entertaining spectacle, and, with the help of the arts, into a work of the most refined sensuality. The art and method of governing by means of sensual interests and impulses, of hope and fear, of gold and blood, taking advantage of men's likings and dislikes, as well as of producing these means of Government, and directing their operation,—this method, which had already been practist by heathen antiquity, had first been adopted consciously and applied anew in Italy, where the principles of the ancient heathen world were diligently grafted into Christianity, in all the modes and forms of life. This method, after having been pursued in Italy in divers ways, had been applied and clearly set forth in some of its primary features by Machiavel, in a variety of writings, on the government of newly establisht principalities, and on the history of the ancient republics, in his histories, and in his reports; and through his more notorious works it was gradually diffused from Italy over the whole of Europe; that is, so far as its diffusion was possible: for it is clear, from the nature of things, that the efficacy of this method could not but cease, when, in opposition to all the powers of the world, an appeal was made to its supreme King and Lord, and the temptations of this world were contrasted with the joys of Heaven, the fears of this world with the eternal misery of hell. With this method of policy, which we are accustomed to call Machiavelian, even when applied to objects never thought of by Machiavel, the Reformation entered into conflict." Lehrbuch der Universalgeschichte, Vol. iii. pp. 5. 6.

* A hundred examples in proof of this might be cited from Luther's letters But as it is easier to perceive the connexion of events in a history, like Ranke's, I will merely refer the reader to the account which he gives of Luther's conduct on occasion of the alarm excited by Pack's forgeries in 1528 (Book v. chap. 2), of his opposition to the Schwabach League in 1529 (v. 6), of his exhortation to

Inheriting the ambition of the Republic and the Empire to rule over the bodies and outward actions of all mankind, she has ever directed her attention mainly to that which is outward, to forms, shadows, rites, ceremonies, observances; while everywhere she betrays her want of that faith, which gives substance to the unseen, and pierces through the veil to the invisible glory behind. Hence, through the want of faith in divine realities, has she set up her monstrous fiction of a visible Vicar in the place of the invisible Lord: hence what she has chiefly cared and shed blood for, has been to enforce outward submission, outward conformity, outward acts of devotion, the repeating of certain prayers, no matter whether in a known or unknown tongue: hence her missionaries have generally been content to make converts by wholesale, as though truth could be spread like a disease epidemically: hence again, from the same inability to substantiate the realities of faith, has she enshrined her images, and interposed the Virgin and the Saints between man and the only Mediator and Saviour: hence too the whole system of pious frauds, of innocent deceptions, of holy impostures and impostors: hence that huge and flagrant imposture of compulsory celibacy. On the other hand, Luther's intense love of truth, which could not be lulled by any make-believe, his yearning after realities, which no phantom or shadow could still, are the legacy which he bequeathed to the Protestant Churches; and so far as they have retained any portion of his spirit, these have been the marks of it, though often exhibiting themselves in uncouth and uncongenial forms. Even the Rationalism, with which Protestant Germany is so often, and not undeservedly reproacht, is itself an offshoot, though a wild and corrupt one, from the love of truth and reality. It bears witness that men could not be satisfied unless the

the war against the Turks (v. 7), and of his conduct and that of the evangelical Princes during the Diet at Augsburg in 1530 (v. 9). He who, after reading Ranke, turns to Bossuet's remarks on Luther's conduct during these events, will be divided between astonishment and indignation at his misrepresentations: and if he examines the original documents contained in Luther's letters and other writings, he will find that Ranke is more than justified, and that Bossuet's celebrated history sinks into a false and scandalous libel.

traditional truths of religion were set in harmony with the rest of their knowledge, their experience, and their philosophy,—that they felt the urgent necessity of giving a reason for their faith, of knowing in whom they believed, and what, and why. Their philosophy may have been shallow or perverse, their experience superficial, their knowledge very limited: but at all events this Rationalism, gross as its absurdities have been, is infinitely preferable to that secret unbelief, which has been so dismally prevalent for centuries among the more intelligent in the Romish nations of Europe; though its utterance was ordinarily suppressed, and it was often combined with a specious outward conformity to the establisht creed and worship. He who loves reality will dwell in a mud-cottage, rather than in a palace of froth: and even the crawling and riggling of a worm toward the throne of truth has more of real life in it than all the freaks and pranks of myriads of monkies in the den of falsehood.

I cannot, as I have already said, enter here into the general argument concerning Mr Newman's view of Justification, and his objections to Luther's: but as the passage just cited about "shadows of religion" is followed by a vehement burst of indignation, it may be well to remark that the indignation is somewhat misplaced. "Away (Mr Newman exclaims) with this modern, this private, this arbitrary, this unscriptural system, which promising liberty conspires against it, which abolishes Sacraments to introduce barren and dead ordinances, and for the real participation of Christ, and Justification through His spirit, would, at the very marriage feast, feed us on shells and husks, who hunger and thirst after righteousness." Even here a long discussion would be requisite to examine the various counts in this cumulative indictment, and to show how fallacious they all are: I will only touch on two points. In the first place, the inconsistency and contradiction here, and in other passages to the same effect, ascribed to the Lutheran doctrine of Justification, pervades the whole Christian view of human nature. Pelagius stumbled at it, and fell into his heresy; and numbers of shallow thinkers since, whose logic just reacht the point of perceiving that of two contradictory propositions one or other must

be false,—but who have never attained to that higher eminence of philosophy where we discern how such contradictions are perpetually involved in the relations between the finite and the infinite, when essential, eternal truths clothe themselves in the forms of the human understanding,—have followed Pelagius in his onesided assertion of the unicity of human nature, or have slipt over to the other side of the ship and tumbled into Manicheism. The ordinary form in which the contradiction in human nature manifests itself, is that described in the wellknown passage of the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, which is the key to all profound knowledge of man. Without engaging in the controversy concerning the particular state there described by St Paul,—whether it be that of man prior or subsequent to his regeneration,—I may be allowed to assert, that they who have ever had a deep feeling of this inward contradiction, retain that feeling to the end: they who have ever had a deep spiritual conviction of sin, and of their own sinfulness, retain that conviction to the end. Their growth in holiness does not stifle it, but on the contrary renders it livelier and more piercing: and thus, ascending step by step, we come to that singular phenomenon, that the holiest men would be the most opprest by the conviction of their sinfulness, were it not for their conviction of Christ's righteousness, of which they become partakers through faith incorporating them as living members into His body, and through which, being clothed upon by it, they may humbly hope to stand in the presence of God. It was this deep and lively conviction of sin, awakened primarily in Luther, and partly through his instrumentality in the Protestant Church, that at once swept away the worship of saints. The Church of Rome, with her superficial Pelagianizing conception of sin, may set up her saints by thousands, yea, even *ex quovis stipite*, and may deck them out with works of supererogation and other frippery; and her advocates may taunt us with having none. But our answer is in those grand words of Tertullian: *Solus Deus sine peccato, et solus homo sine peccato Christus, quia et Deus Christus.*

The other point to be noticed in the last sentence cited from Mr Newman is what he says about the Lutheran view of the

Sacraments. Here it would seem necessary to take another leaf out of the history of Kamschatka. Yet one finds it difficult to understand how Mr Newman could have failed to hear that this Luther, who "abolisht Sacraments to introduce barren and dead ordinances," along with his great primary struggle against Popery, carried on two other obstinate contests for years, one to vindicate the reality and power of the first Sacrament against the Anabaptists, the other that of the second against the Zuinglians and so-called Sacramentaries. Or, if it be replied that Mr Newman is not speaking directly against Luther, but against the Lutheran doctrine of Justification,—in the first place, as the whole preceding argument has been directed almost exclusively against Luther himself, an exception in his behalf ought to have been made, recognizing that he is free from this disparagement of the Sacraments; and next, as the Lutheran doctrine must at all events be that of the Lutheran Church, I would ask, can Mr Newman be ignorant that the Lutherans have a Confession defining the chief peculiarities of their faith, and that in this Confession the Sacraments are thus explained? *De Baptismo docent, quod sit necessarius ad salutem, quodque per Baptismum offeratur gratia Dei; et quod pueri sint baptizandi, qui per Baptismum oblati Deo recipiantur in gratiam Dei.—De Coena Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint, et distribuantur vescentibus in Coena Domini.* Surely this is something different from "barren and dead ordinances," from "shells and husks"; but one comes every now and then to indications which would incline one to suppose that the Confession of Augsburg can never have been heard of by most of the writers in the new Oxford school of theology: so pertinaciously do they draw their notions of what they term Lutheranism from English writers of our so-called Evangelical school, ascribing the opinions which they find in those writers, in the gross to Luther,—or else from Romish polemics, from gossip pickt up no matter how or where, from everything except its one genuine source, the symbolical books. Thus, by these perversions and distortions, have the minds of our students been led astray and deluded into believing all manner of evil concerning the Reformation, and its authors, and the Churches that

have sprung out of it; while a similar course of unjustifiable perversions and distortions and suppressions, exercised upon an opposite class of facts, has beguiled many into looking with admiration and love and reverence upon Rome, nay, into lusting after the corruptions from which the Reformers, through God's appointment, delivered us. It will hardly be rejoined that, in what Mr Newman says about the degradation of the Sacraments, he was not speaking of the actual fact, either with regard to Luther or to the Lutheran Church, but of the consequences which necessarily flow from the logical carrying out of the doctrine of Justification by Faith. For still more incumbent on him would it have been to acknowledge that this necessity was contravened by the great body who were the main asserters of that doctrine. Surely too the Lutheran conception of faith, which justifies only by apprehending and appropriating the benefits of Christ's atonement, is no way repugnant to the belief that these benefits are conveyed and received in the Sacraments. At least the sole difficulty, that with regard to the Baptism of Infants, did not repell Luther, who repeatedly explained it: nor is it greater, according to his view of Justification, than according to any other which recognizes that the Sacraments are, not magical, but spiritual powers.

The specific charge of Antinomianism is not, I believe, brought against Luther in Mr Newman's Lectures. On the contrary he rightly states Luther's doctrine to be, "not that the Christian is not in fact fruitful in good works, but that they flow naturally from" his faith (p. 31): and he is too fair a controversialist to lay a stress on particular exaggerations of language as matter for reproof. At least the only thing of the sort that I have observed is just before the close of the first Lecture, where in a note he quotes the following grand passage from the Argument prefixt to the Commentary on the Galatians. "Dicimus autem supra quod lex in Christiano non debeat excedere limites suos, sed tantum habere dominium in carnem, quae et ei subjecta sit, et sub ea maneat; hoc ubi fit, consistit lex intra limites suos. Si vero vult occupare conscientiam, et hic dominari, vide ut tum sis bonus dialecticus, recte dividas, et legi non plus tribuas quam ei tribuendum est; sed dicas, Lex, tu vis

ascendere in regnum conscientiae, et ibi dominari, et eam arguere peccati, et gaudium cordis tollere, quod habeo ex fide in Christum, et me in desperationem adigere, ut desperem et peream. Hoc praeter officium tuum facis: consiste intra limites tuos, et exerce dominium in carnem. Conscientiam autem ne attingas mihi: sum enim baptizatus, et per evangelium vocatus ad communionem justitiae et vitae aeternae, ad regnum Christi, in quo acquiescit conscientia mea, ubi nulla est lex, etc.—Hanc (justitiam Christi) cum intus habeo, *descendo de coelo*, tanquam pluvia foecundans terram, hoc est, prodeo foras *in aliud regnum, et facio bona opera quaecunque mihi occurrunt, etc.*—Quicunque certo novit Christum esse justitiam suam, is non solum ex animo et cum gaudio bene operatur in vocatione sua, sed subjicit se quoque per caritatem magistratibus, etc.—quia scit Deum hoc velle, et placere hanc obedientiam." To this quotation Mr Newman subjoins, "Perhaps it is a happy thing that all of Luther's followers are not 'boni dialectici' enough to carry out his principles this length." This remark is not meant to have much of a sting; nor in fact has it any. Of course the mere intellectual perception of a negative proposition will be of little use to common minds; and it may become mischievous, when it relates to practical matters, and stops short of the higher affirmative proposition, to which that negation is a step. This however is no reason why the two should not be stated together, especially in writings the very language of which precludes them from vulgar use. Else the same objections might be brought against the *Lutherus ante Lutherum*, who wrote, that *the Law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for the unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for manslayers, for whoremongers, for menstealers, for liars, for perjured persons, and if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine.*

On the whole however, as has been acknowledged above, Mr Newman preserves that decorous tone, which so honorably distinguishes his polemical writings. If in any instance he has deviated from that tone, it is in a quotation; which, when it strikes us as apposite

and smart; often proves a snare, inveigling us to say more than we should deem it warrantable to say in our own person. At the head of the first Lecture he has placed the following words from the Book of Job: *Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?* and he says in p. 5, "what I think of the (Lutheran) system may be gathered from the text I have selected." Here I will not stop to argue whether these words may justly be applied to Luther: but probably it must have seemed to many, when they terminated their wanderings through the mazes of these Lectures on Justification, that the text prefixt to the first Lecture had been selected under a judicial blindness as the aptest motto for the whole work. And when we look back on the Author's subsequent career when we reflect how he has gone on year after year sharpening the edge of his already overkeen understanding, casting one truth after another into his logical crucible, and persuading himself that he had dissolved it to atoms, and then exhibiting a like ingenuity in compounding the semblance of truths out of fictions,—when we reflect how in this way he appeared to be gradually losing the faculty of distinguishing between truth and falsehood, and the very belief in the existence of any power for discerning truth, nay, as it seemed at times, in the existence of any positive truth to be discerned, and how, taking refuge, as it were, from the encroachments of a universal scepticism, he has at length bowed his neck under a yoke, which a man, gifted with such fine qualities of mind and character could hardly assume, until he had put out the eyes of his heart and of his conscience, as well as of his understanding,—it is not in scorn and triumph, but in deep sadness and awe, that we repeat, *Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?*

Alas too, his own mind is not the only one that Mr Newman has thus darkened. How many there may be, we know not yet: that there are many is lamentably clear, and not a few who might otherwise have been profitably employed in the service of our Church. Among these it has for some years been the fashion to depreciate the Reformation in all manner of ways: this was the first symptom of their apostasy from the Church of their fathers.

By degrees the depreciation swelled out into vehement abuse; and of this a portion fell upon the German Reformation, especially upon something which was called Lutheranism, and, as connected therewith, upon Luther. It proceeded mainly from a series of articles in the *British Critic*, since acknowledged by a writer who has attained to an unenviable notoriety. Those articles exhibited a good deal of cleverness in the spinning of a system out of materials, not very abundant in regard to thought, and still less in regard to knowledge; and they were further characterized by the exaggerations of a mind, which, on gaining sight of a few truths, fancies it has got hold of all truth, and that whatever is not comprised in its narrow circle is worthless and false. Indeed the tone of the language now and then comes up to frantic railing, rising in proportion to the ignorance it betrays, like the mercury in a vacuum. Thus it fell out that the fervid vials of the writer's wrath were discharged on what he was pleased to call the Lutheran doctrine of Justification. Of this he says, in one place, that "no heresy has ever prevailed so subtile and extensively poisonous.—It corrupts *all* sound Christian doctrine, nay the very principle of orthodoxy itself.—*As far as its formal statements are concerned*, it poisons at the very root, not Christianity only, but natural religion.—A religious heathen, were he *really* to accept the doctrine which Lutheran *language* expresses, so far from making any advance, would sustain a heavy loss, in exchanging fundamental truth for fundamental errour." (Vol. xxxii. pp. 390, 391.) In another place (xxxi. 446) the Lutheran scheme of doctrine is termed "radically and fundamentally monstrous, immoral, heretical, and antichristian;" and in another (xxxiv. 33) "the soul-destroying heresy of Luther on the subject of Justification:" in another (xxxiv. 18) it is said "to bring omnigenous corruption in its train." In another place (xxxiv. 407) the writer says, "When we speak of Lutheranism, we speak of an abstract doctrine, which cannot, we verily believe, be held consistently even by the devils.—And of this abstract doctrine we now say, that the considerations in the text shew it to be worse, that is, to be more fundamentally at variance with our higher and better nature, than Atheism itself." Yet with all this reckless

virulence, or rather just as one might expect from it, the writer does not shew the slightest acquaintance with Luther's writings, or with those of any of the Lutheran divines, or even with the symbolical expositions of the Lutheran doctrine in the Confession of Augsburg and in Melanchthon's Apology. On the contrary it is evident that he has no such acquaintance, that he has poured forth this flood of railing in utter ignorance of the subject, or at least that he has drawn his impressions of Lutheranism from Mr Newman's *Lectures*, from the translation of Moehler's *Symbolik*, and from certain English writers of the so-called Evangelical school, whom he has chosen to identify with Luther. This is a sample of the conscientiousness and of the reverence deemed becoming by a writer, who, with the rest of his school, is continually complaining of the want of conscientiousness and of the want of reverence as characteristics of our modern religion. He shews his conscientiousness by pronouncing a peremptory sentence of condemnation, without taking the trouble to enquire whether there are any just grounds for it, merely picking up extracts quoted by opponents, and therefore to be examined with caution; although these extracts themselves, if read with care, would abundantly refute the worst parts of his invective: but even from these he must merely have severed certain insulated propositions, setting himself thereupon to elicit poison out of them, such as may often be found in particular propositions, when detacht from the body of truth they belong to, as has been seen repeatedly in the immoral paradoxes extorted from the words of the Bible. This too is the measure of his reverence, railing unscrupulously and without restraint at a doctrine, which he designates with a name implying it to have been held by one of the greatest teachers and by one of the richest branches of Christ's Church, and in which many of the wisest and holiest of men have found the spring and stay of their spiritual lives.

In the passage last cited indeed, the writer, having been reprehended by the Bishop of Ossory for "calumnious misrepresentations" of Lutheranism, and for "rabid violence of language,"—a censure which the reader of the foregoing extracts may think not wholly unmerited,—says, "When we speak of Lutheranism,

we speak of an abstract doctrine, which cannot, we verily believe, be held consistently even by the devils;" and he leaves the question of fact, whether he has any right to call this "abstract doctrine" Lutheranism for future discussion. This is a novel kind of apology. Suppose a man were to keep on month after month publishing gross libellous attacks on the Duke of Wellington, calling him a robber and a murderer, with a garniture of suitable phrases, and then, on being prosecuted, were to plead that he had been inveying against the abstract notion of a conqueror, which, he verily believed, was too hateful and horrid for any human being ever to come up to it, what would such a plea avail him? unless indeed it were regarded as evidence of his not being in sound mind. If our Reviewer can ever bring himself to investigate the historical question honestly, he will find that he had no right whatever to attach the name of Lutheranism to his fiendish doctrine. The strange thing is, that any man, with the slightest consciousness of the responsibility incurred by the public expression of opinions on such topics, any man who had the least self-respect, or feeling of his duty to his neighbour, should have gone on pouring out these vollies of abuse in number after number of the *British Critic*, without its ever occurring to him that he ought to ascertain whether there was any ground for what he said. This seems so incredible, that the charitable reader will naturally deem he must have done so: yet that he did not is quite clear on the face of the Articles themselves, first from the absence of all indications of an acquaintance with any of the Lutheran divines, and secondly from the outrageous misrepresentations, which, in the choice between two miserable alternatives, one would rather believe, for the writer's sake, to have been drawn up in ignorance than against knowledge. Moreover these Articles have since been acknowledged by Mr Ward in the Preface to his *Ideal of a Christian Church*; in a note to which book (in p. 168) the author, with the view of vindicating himself from the imputation of having written against Luther, with no further knowledge than he had pickt up from extracts in the works of his adversaries, asserts, "I have read great part of Luther's Commentary on the Galatians:—I *do* know more of

Luther than extracts, having read continuously great part of his principal work." Here one cannot help remarking that this assertion still leaves it doubtful how much he had even "read" of Luther, in the lowest sense of the word *reading*, previously to his attacks on Lutheranism: and at all events it is plain from what follows that, even if he had read through the whole Commentary, his state of mind totally disqualified him for forming a judgement, or so much as seeing and understanding what he read. "First, I took up the Commentary (he says) with an expectation of finding much to agree with.—Alas! I found no such points of sympathy and agreement as I hoped. Never was my conscience so shocked and revolted by any work, not openly professing immorality. On looking at it again more recently, I think I hardly did it justice in my first perusal: probably the naked expression of his doctrine on Justification (which, in its undisguised deformity, had never been previously presented to my imagination) so seized on my mind, that I did not sufficiently observe the various happy and creditable inconsistencies which were to be found in it. I now perceive in one place (and very likely the same may be found in other passages) that he distinctly admits that Christians, after justification, continually advance in conquest over sin." A man is reported to have walkt from Whitechapel to Hyde Park Corner, and to have said at the end of his journey, *I think I saw a house somewhere on the way*. What he had done with his eyes is not recorded: he cannot well have put them in his pocket: a sleepwalker would have run against a wall or a passenger, and thus been startled out of his sleep: some have fancied it may have been a fugitive from Bedlam: some conjecture it was a Frenchman, who carried the map of Paris tied before his eyes, and had come across the Channel in the persuasion that there was not a town in England. Thus it was probably from looking through Mr Newman's spectacles, that Mr Ward could see nothing except what was revolting in Luther: only here, as is so often the case, where the master spoke on the whole intelligently and moderately, the disciple, merely following his master's whistle, without knowing the country, has dasht and floundered through all sorts of extravagances. Else the very passage quoted

above (in p. 723) from the Argument, as having been extracted by Mr Newman, must have met him at the outset. Even as it stands in Mr Newman's Note, that passage should have made him hesitate; still more so, when read with the omissions supplied in Luther's text. "Hanc (justitiam) cum intus habeo, descendo de coelo tanquam pluvia foecundans terram, hoc est, prodeo foras in aliud regnum, et facio bona opera, quaecunque mihi occurrunt. Si sum minister verbi, praedico, consolor pusillanimes, administro sacramenta; si paterfamilias, rego domum, familiam, educo liberos ad pietatem et honestatem; si magistratus, officium divinitus mihi mandatum facio; si servus, fideliter rem domini curo: summa quicunque certo novit Christum esse justitiam suam, is non solum ex animo et cum gaudio bene operatur in vocatione sua, sed subjicit se quoque per caritatem magistratibus, etiam impiis legibus eorum, et omnibus praesentis vitae, si res ita postulet, oneribus atque periculis, quia scit Deum hoc velle, et ei placere hanc obedientiam." It is true, Luther does not represent his Christian as imposing arbitrary penances upon himself, or indulging in acts of willworship: still one would have thought that any man in his senses, after reading this passage, along with what was cited in p. 723, would have stopt before he pronounced that the doctrine here set forth is "worse than Atheism," and too bad "to be held consistently even by the devils." Allowing that this passage may appear to be inconsistent with other portions of the Lutheran doctrine, surely a candid man, an honest man, a lover of truth, a man of reverent spirit, a man who had any regard for the common decencies of life, nay, any man who was not besotted by party rancour and presumption, would have paused before he uttered such a sentence, and would have askt himself, *Is it indeed quite certain that I have rightly apprehended the doctrine which is thus explained by its chief expositor? Is there not a possibility that he, who had lived near twenty years with his whole heart and mind under and in and by this truth, may have understood it as well as I who only know it from a few casual glances at fragments of it disht up in the pages of its opponents? At any rate I must hold my peace, till I have satisfactorily made out the hiatus in the chain of his logic. His major, I am quite*

clear, is diabolical, nay, too bad even for the devils: how, by what strange process, has this angelical conclusion been deduced from it? One thing too is plain: whenever I set about exposing the monstrous evils of this hyperdiabolical doctrine, I must take the utmost care to note that Luther, through a happy blunder, is not personally implicated in the guilt of having inculcated them. Nay, before I give vent to my indignation, ought I not to enquire whether the other principal teachers of this doctrine are chargeable with that guilt, or no? Mr Ward pleads indeed, that he had said very little about Luther personally, and that "the extracts with which one meets, whether in Moehler or elsewhere, are quite sufficient to justify all that he had ever publisht in his individual disparagement." What this apology is worth, will be seen anon. But at all events Mr Ward had spoken out strongly enough against Lutheranism and the Lutheran doctrine. Now what is Lutheranism and the Lutheran doctrine, according to the ordinary acceptation of words? Surely it is the doctrine of Luther, or that of the Lutheran Church. So at least it would be understood by every scholar, by every person fit to bear the name of a theologian, or to write on theological subjects. Such a person, if he deemed himself called upon to attack Lutheranism, would also deem himself bound to study Lutheranism carefully in the writings of its great promulgator, in the recognized expositions of the Lutheran Church, and in the works of the principal Lutheran divines. He would not be content to draw his conception of Lutheranism from recent English writers, although this seems to be a practice that commends itself to the new Oxford school of theology. He might indeed attack these by themselves: but then, if it be unreasonable to expect a man to confess that there is anything in the whole sphere of knowledge of which he is ignorant, he would shew at least that his censure was restricted to them: and he would feel that, if his views of the doctrine were drawn exclusively from them, and he were then to boast, as Mr Ward does in his *Ideal* (p. 305), that he had "ventured to characterize that hateful and fearful type of Antichrist in terms not wholly inadequate to its prodigious demerits," it would be much as if Thersites had boasted of having run his spear through Hector, because he had

spit at one of his Lycian auxiliaries. This is a point which needs to be urged on the consciences of our writers in these days. However a prater about conscience may deem himself at liberty to shower down foul words at haphazard, a truly conscientious writer will hold himself bound to take pains in ascertaining the grounds of the censures he expresses. But the literary conscience of our age is sadly torpid: every sciolist fancies himself entitled to pronounce judgement on all men and on all things, while few care to go through any previous enquiry: the patience of laborious research is become rare: the love of truth is grievously flagging and waning, as it needs must in a country where Romanizing principles are gaining ground. Another motive too for dwelling longer than one fain would on such a point is, that our students of divinity may know the trustworthiness of the guides, who are provoking them to quit their own Church, to despise and hate what she has hitherto prized and loved, and to admire and fondle what she has ever reprobated and rejected.

But let us see what is this "abstract doctrine," which Mr Ward dubs with the name of Lutheranism, and of which he declares his belief that it is too bad "to be held consistently even by the devils," this doctrine by the invention of which Luther has created in the lowest hell a lower still. In the note in the *British Critic* (VOL. XXXIV. p. 406), the Reviewer defines what he means by Lutheranism, in order to justify himself from the charge of having misrepresented it. "We consider it a first principle, that the *unum necessarium*, the only possible preparation for the enjoyment of any real blessings, is 'obedience to the rule of right at whatever sacrifice of self;' and that any professed revelation, which should not fully recognize this cardinal principle as its very foundation, could not possibly be received by any serious mind. Now, whether or not a denial of this principle be rightly called, as we call it, Lutheranism, is a question of history." Such is the definition he gives of the "abstract doctrine," which he calls Lutheranism: it is the denial of the proposition just stated. A vaguer, more confused, more inadequate definition was never laid down. Whatever Lutheranism may be, seeing that it has exercised a vast power over

mankind, its principle or form, the kernel of its true definition, must be something positive, not something negative, an assertion, not a denial. The assertion will indeed involve a denial, or, it may be, many denials; and these will be the limits of the definition: but a *No* has little power, unless it be the rebound of a *Yes*, the thunderclap following the lightning-flash. Erasmuses *No*, Voltaire's *No* merely awakened echoing *Noes* in the hollow caverns of men's hearts, and, the latter at least, gnawed at men's hearts, dried up the fountains of tears, and turned their smiles into sneers. Luther's shook the world, but shook it in order to steady it. It burst the chains of death, to set free the spirit of life. That the denial of the above-stated proposition is not explicitly the principle, or any principle of Lutheranism, is most certain. If it is so implicitly, this needs proof. Here it behoves us to remember that there are two ways in which a proposition may be denied, by being rejected as false, or by being absorbed into a higher truth; as the animal nature is denied by being subordinated to the spiritual, according to that grand process, whereby through losing our life we save it. A particular proposition may be the best and highest mode of expressing a moral truth for one stage of man's moral and intellectual life, and may be brought forward less distinctly at another stage, not because it is denied and rejected, but because it is involved and vanishes in a higher declaration of the same truth. The commands which are given to a child of three years old, are not given in the same words to a boy or girl of ten, but are comprehended under some wider forms, which again will be enlarged at fifteen, and again still more at twenty. So the Mosaic Law, which with its minute precepts concerning outward observances belonged to the heir during the period of his bondage, vanisht, when the fulness of time came, in the higher spiritual Law of the Gospel, not as being rejected by it, but as being comprised in a larger enunciation of God's eternal will. For this, as well as other reasons, it would be wiser and safer to take the declaration of the *unum necessarium* which we find in St Luke, x. 25—28, than Mr Ward's. The latter is rather the statement of a heathen moralist, and might have come from the pen of a Stoic, but would hardly be recognized in this absolute

form by any denomination of Christians, except such as were far gone in the heresy of Pelagius. Not that I would in any respect disparage obedience. In a certain stage it is the highest perfection that we can attain to: and even when man has been raised to a higher stage of moral intuition, the indispensableness of obedience needs to be urged continually, lest we fall into a lax, delusive interpretation of the Law of Love. But the Law of Love is a higher form of the Law of obedience, comprising it, and supplying the principle and motive which may lead man to fulfill it, not grudgingly, according to the letter, but cheerfully and in good measure, running over with the fruits of the spirit. Thus our Lord Himself has expounded the Law of Love to be the Law of Selfsacrifice, and that of a far higher kind than what the Law of Obedience can enjoin: and in the heavenly Epistle of the Apostle of Love (IV. 11-19) we learn what is the living principle and spring of that Law, and what has made it, and alone can ever make it, a living law in the heart. Now if the Law of Obedience seems in any respect left out of sight in Luther's exposition of the Gospel,—though I think the foregoing argument against Mr Hallam sufficiently proves that it is not, but has its due place and dignity assigned to it,—this appearance, so far as there is any, would arise from this, that, in speaking of the justified Christian, the Christian as living by faith in Christ, Luther speaks of him as living under the constraint of the love of Christ, and as fulfilling the Law of Love, rather than as fulfilling the Law of Obedience. This is plain from the very passage last quoted. Were it needful, I could fill hundreds of pages with extracts to the same effect: but I will merely refer the reader to the exposition of the Commandments in the Catechisms; where he will also find that the Law of Love with Luther comprises the Law of Obedience, and that no tittle of the latter is allowed to pass away.

In the *Ideal of a Christian Church*, where the argument against what Mr Ward calls the Lutheran doctrine of Justification forms the subject of a very long chapter, he has given another fuller definition of what he means by it, but with little improvement in regard to correctness, or approximation to the doctrine really held

by Luther and the Lutheran Church. Indeed the very process which he has chosen to follow in order to get at his definition, is one by which he was sure to go wrong. An ordinary mortal in such a case, who was anxious to speak the truth, and to keep from misrepresenting and slandering his brethren, would have had recourse to some of the most celebrated expositions of the Lutheran doctrine, for the sake of ascertaining what the Lutherans themselves meant by it. Having done this, he would have had a full right to point out any inconsistencies which he thought he perceived in that doctrine, or any conclusions flowing from it repugnant to morality. Such a course however was not suited to Mr Ward: it would have required some thoughtful, conscientious study, and might have cut him short in the midst of his railing. When you wish to belabour a man, and to shew off your strength and skill in demolishing him, put up a man of straw, an abstract man; and you may thump away without risk. This is what Mr Ward does. Instead of stating on historical grounds what the Lutheran doctrine of Justification is, he lays down, in p. 186, what, he says, it "inevitably must be." Its two chief peculiarities, according to this new mode of detecting and refuting heresies, are, first "that the pardon is complete and final, involving no terms or conditions whatever;" secondly, "that the trust in Christ—carries with it its own evidence, and leads necessarily, without any special pains or effort on our part, to a holy life." Mr Ward acknowledges that this is merely his own statement of the Lutheran doctrine, which, he says in p. 187, "he had been compelled himself to put into this shape, because he had not been able to find any consistent account of it whatever in the writings of its defenders;" that is, he had not found any account consistent with his own preconceived notions. He acknowledges too that, in all the writers whom he has supposed to hold this doctrine, there are a number of inconsistencies with his view of it. This however does not disturb his persuasion: for the belief in one's own infallibility, and the contempt and abhorrence of all investigation, seem to be two of the qualities which fit people out for a voyage to Rome. In the words of an old dramatist, "One eye is Put out with zeal, t'other with ignorance; And yet

they think they're eagles." The course by which Mr Ward gets to his statement, is a curious sample of the logic current among the new school of sophists. "In order to determine the real essence of Lutheran doctrine," he says in p. 167, "it will be impossible perhaps to act more safely, than by taking along with us the remembrance, what it is which Lutheranism professes to accomplish. Now its great achievement, according to the unanimous voice of all its advocates, is, that it provides a full security for personal holiness, at the same time that it rescues the believer from all fear of God's wrath to come." One cannot well find a more glaring instance of that strange perversion of the laws of reasoning which prevails among our Romanizing divines, than this deduction of a statement of a doctrine, held during three centuries by a large portion of the Church, not from historical evidence, nor from the grounds on which it was originally establisht, but from certain incidental consequences. For though it is truly asserted that Luther's doctrine of Justification does minister comfort to troubled consciences, and does tend to promote holiness, it is only when we already know what it is, that we can understand how it does this. By no process of mere ratiocination can we make out from an applepie that the fruit must have grown on an appletree, or from warmth and light that they must have proceeded from the sun; nor, to take an analogous instance, could any one, meditating on the salvation of mankind, have made out through reasoning by what wonderful manifestation of Divine Love it was to be effected. Yet here the effect was the direct purpose of the cause: whereas the Lutheran doctrine was not devised for any purpose, but was drawn from the word of God as it revealed itself to Luther: and only after he had discerned what seemed to him to be the truth, did he also perceive the blessed results which flow from it, as like results ever must from every manifestation of divine truth. Yet Mr Ward thinks his course quite unobjectionable. "It is impossible (he says) to adopt a course more free from the possibility of cavil, than to make this, the pretension (of Lutheranism) the test for discovering its real nature and meaning; an attempt of no ordinary difficulty, when we consider the cloudy language and inconsecutive thought so

prevalent among its supporters." When such reasoning is in vogue, it is no wonder people grow to lose the notion that there is such a thing as truth. Facts are thrust aside as of no value: anything may be transubstantiated out of anything: and a papal Bull will serve in lieu of all other authority to declare the order and laws of the moral and spiritual universe, nay, has this advantage, that it saves us from the trouble and the perils of enquiry. As to the excuse alledged for adopting this anomalous method, by which it was morally impossible ever to get at the truth,—namely, "the cloudy language and inconsecutive thought prevalent" among Lutheran divines, and the inability "to find any consistent account of the Lutheran doctrine whatever in the writings of its defenders,"—it may be not irrelevant to observe, that Baur, when reprinting his masterly and triumphant refutation of Moehler's attack on the Lutheran doctrine of Justification, remarks (in p. 319), "It may be regarded as a cheering proof of the firmness and stability with which this fundamental doctrine of the Lutheran Creed still maintains its central place in the minds of Protestants, that among the Protestant theologians who have taken part in this controversy, there is no perceptible difference of any importance on this point." So saying he cites the replies to Moehler by Nitzsch and by Hengstenberg: and assuredly it is a remarkable witness, both to the power of the doctrine and to the precision with which it has been laid down, that three such men, belonging to three very different theological and philosophical schools, and two of them masters in theological learning and thought, should have coincided so entirely in their statements of such an elementary doctrine, branching, as it does, through every part of Christian life. There cannot be a surer sign that the doctrine has a consistency in itself, and that the expositions of it have been clear, strong, and authoritative. In opposition to the weight which lies in the testimony and example of such men, Mr Ward's will not weigh a chip of straw: for, without comparing their relative competency in other respects, the three Germans are thoroughly acquainted with the matter they are treating of, while he has hardly seen so much as the tip of its shadow.

Such being the mode adopted by Mr Ward to guess out what the Lutheran doctrine may be, it is not surprising that the result of his conjectural operations should be sky-wide of the truth. It would be far beyond my purpose however to attempt any exposition of the numerous fallacies in his Chapter on Justification: all that is requisite is to shew that, whatever he may be contending against, and however furious his blows may be, they do not touch the Lutheran doctrine. Nor will this be difficult. For according to Mr Ward, as we have seen,—and the statement is repeated in p. 187,—the distinctive peculiarities of the Lutheran doctrine of Justification "must inevitably be" comprised in these two propositions; first, "that the pardon is complete and final, involving no terms or conditions whatever;" and secondly, "that the trust in Christ, on which it immediately follows, is a feeling which carries with it its own evidence, and which leads necessarily, without any special pains or effort on our part, to a holy life." Now with regard to both these propositions it may be averred, that they are no part of the Lutheran doctrine, which on the contrary distinctly eschews and repudiates them. In support of his first proposition Mr Ward adds, "If the pardon once given be not complete and final, then our anxiety is not removed on our future lot: —if it involve any terms or conditions whatever, then the same anxiety remains." Thus he grounds both the parts of his first proposition on that incidental consequence. This is in the true Romish spirit, which could not achieve its object of overriding the world with a huge lie, unless it took speculative arguments as the basis of its historical facts, while it makes tradition serve as the only source of speculative truth. Still however I trust, the Protestant love of truth is not so far extinct in England, as that we should have thrown aside that prime maxim of modern philosophy, that no secure positive knowledge of facts can be drawn from any except documentary evidence: and on the strength of that evidence I reply, that the doctrine here called Lutheran, with regard to the completeness and finality of the pardon once given, is not the Lutheran doctrine, inasmuch as it is expressly condemned in the Confession of Augsburg, where, in the twelfth Article, we

read, *Damnant Anabaptistas qui negant justificatos posse amittere Spiritum Sanctum.* As to the assertion that the pardon "involves no terms or conditions whatever," the Lutheran doctrine does not go beyond the repeated declarations in Scripture concerning the freeness of grace: but while it constantly maintains the passiveness of faith in receiving pardon, it is no less strenuous in contending that, if this faith be real, it must be a living power, full of active energy, and manifesting itself in good works, through the operation of the indwelling Spirit. This is proved by the passage quoted above in p. 686; and a thousand others to the same effect might be cited without much trouble from Luther's works: but as the statement of a doctrine in a symbolical book like *the Apology for the Confession of Augsburg* will naturally be rounder and more precise than in polemical or homiletical writings, I will rather adduce the following words from the Section *De dilectione et impletione legis.* "Profitemur igitur quod necesse sit inchoari in nobis, et subinde magis magisque fieri legem. Et complectimur simul utrumque, videlicet spirituales motus, et externa bona opera. Falso igitur calumniantur nos adversarii, quod nostri non doceant bona opera, cum ea non solum requirant, sed etiam ostendant quomodo fieri possint.—Longe enim imbecillior est humana natura, quam ut suis viribus resistere Diabolo possit, qui habet captivos omnes, qui non sunt liberati per fidem. Potentia Christi opus est adversus Diabolum, videlicet ut, quia scimus nos propter Christum exaudiri et habere promissionem, petamus ut gubernet et propugnet nos Spiritus Sanctus, ne decepti erremus, ne impulsi contra voluntatem Dei aliquid suscipiamus.—Christus enim vicit Diabolum, et dedit nobis promissionem et Spiritum Sanctum, ut auxilio divino vincamus et ipsi. Et 1 Johannis, iii. 8, *Ad hoc apparuit Filius Dei, ut solvat opera Diaboli.*—Item fides illa, de qua loquimur, existit in poenitentia, hoc est, concipitur in terroribus conscientiae, quae sentit iram Dei adversus nostra peccata, et quaerit remissionem peccatorum, et liberari a peccato. Et in talibus terroribus et aliis afflictionibus debet haec fides crescere et confirmari. Quare non potest existere in his, qui secundum carnem vivunt, qui delectantur cupiditatibus suis, et obtemperant

eis.—Quare fides illa, quae accipit remissionem peccatorum in corde perterrefacto et fugiente peccatum, non manet in his qui obtemperant cupiditatibus, nec existit cum mortali peccato." This passage from *the Apology* is also a sufficient refutation of what Mr Ward lays down as the second characteristic of Lutheranism, that "the trust in Christ, on which pardon follows, is a feeling which carries with it its own evidence, and which leads necessarily, without any special pains or effort on our part, to a holy life." For it asserts that, unless faith manifest itself in good works, in the conquest of sin, in an increasing performance of the law, and a growth in spiritual graces, it is not real faith,—that faith does not abide in those who follow their lusts,—that it cannot coexist with mortal sin,—further, that it must be nourisht by continual prayer for the aid of the Spirit in fighting against the devil,—and finally, that it is amid the terrours of conscience and other afflictions, that it has to grow and be strengthened. In fact this one passage from *the Apology* is enough to convict I know not how many of Mr Ward's charges against Lutheranism of flagrant misrepresentation, and, if he retains any feeling of shame, should make him sink to the earth in confusion, until he has openly retracted his calumnies.

These quotations from the Lutheran symbolical books are sufficient, I say, to rebut Mr Ward's charges, as leveled against Lutheranism, and to convict him of that recklessness about the ninth Commandment, which is so awfully prevalent in the fallen Church of Rome, so as almost to be a recognized principle of conduct, sanctioned by the unreproved practice of half a dozen centuries, with regard to all such as that Church has chosen to condemn. But since Mr Ward, after his recent researches in Luther's writings, mainly in the Commentary on the Galatians, for materials to bolster up his slanders, has thought fit specifically to assert (p. 171), "The essence of Luther's Gospel is this, that a person so affected," with the terrours of conscience, "has only one great struggle to go through, in order that he may obtain the indefectible promise of eternal salvation," it will be well to cite a few of the passages in this very Commentary, where the contrary is

expressly maintained. To begin with the short Preface, we there read, "Valde prodest ut haec fidei doctrina in publico et assiduo usu—conservetur. Et quantumvis cognoscatur et perdiscatur, tamen diabolus adversarius noster semper obambulans et quaerens nos devorare non est mortuus; item, *caro nostra adhuc vivit; denique omnes undique tentationes nos urgent et premunt.* Quare haec doctrina nunquam satis tractari et inculcari potest." Here the words about the flesh and temptations plainly refer, not merely to the conflict which a man has to go through before he receives the gift of justifying faith, but to the struggles between the flesh and the spirit which continue through the whole of life. Thus in th Argument we find, "Ita *utrumque manet dum hic vivimus. Caro accusatur, exercetur tentationibus,* contristatur et conteritur justitia activa legis. Sed spiritus regnat etc." Again near the beginning of the note on i. 3: "Nam satis vel nimium non potest inculcari et urgeri (articulus justificationis). Imo etiamsi probe discamus et teneamus eum, *tamen nullus est, qui eum perfecte apprehendat, aut pleno affectu et corde credat. Adeo lubrica est caro nostra, et repugnat obedientiae spiritus.*" A little before the end of the same note: "Ideo *oportet nos dare operam, ut fides nostra* certa sit, *diligenti et assidua tractatione verbi et invocatione crescat et confirmetur,* ut Satanae resistere possimus." At the end of the note on *quod tam cito*, i. 6: "*Vigilemus igitur sedulo, primum unusquisque pro se,* deinde doctores non solum pro se, sed pro tota ecclesia, ne intremus in tentationem." Yet Mr Ward, speaking of *watchfulness* as a peculiar Catholic grace, asserts (p. 205), printing his assertion in Italics, to bring out its venom more forcibly, "*This grace can have no place whatever under the Gospel, according to any consistent form of Lutheranism;*" that is, according to that imaginary form which he has spun for it out of his own brain. Again, in the note on vv. 11, 12, there is a striking passage, where Luther speaks of his own experience: "Deinde causa quoque justificationis lubrica est, non quidem per se,—sed quoad nos; id quod ego ipse saepe experior. *Novi enim, in quibus horis tenebrarum nonnunquam lucter, Novi, quoties ego radios evangelii et gratiae veluti in quibusdam densis nubibus subito amittam. Novi denique, quam versentur ibi*

in lubrico etiam exercitati, et qui pedem firmissime figunt.—Ideo, quantum ad nos attinet, *res valde lubrica est, quia nos lubrici sumus.*—Resistit insuper spiritui caro, quae non potest certo statuere promissa Dei vera esse. Ideo pugnat et militat contra spiritum, et, ut Paulus ait, captivat spiritum, ut tam firmiter credere non possit, ac velit. Quare perpetuo inculcamus cognitionem Christi et fidem non esse rem aut opus humanum, sed simpliciter donum Dei, qui, ut creat, ita conservat fidem in nobis, sicut autem per verbum fidem primum donat, *ita deinceps per verbum exercet, auget, confirmat et perficit eam. Itaque summus Dei cultus et sabbatum sabbatorum est, exercere sese ad pietatem, tractare et audire verbum.*—Qui ergo sic friget, quod putat se apprehendisse, et incipit paulatim fastidire verbum, *ille jam Christum et evangelium amisit,* et hoc quod putat se nosse, tantum speculative apprehendit;—talesque fiunt tandem fanatici ac nugaces spiritus. *Quare unusquisque pius toto conatu summisque viribus contendat et decertet serio discere et conservare hanc doctrinam, et ad hoc utatur humili oratione coram Deo, et assiduo studio ac meditatione verbi. Et quanquam vehementissime decertaverimus, adhuc satis tamen sudabimus. Habemus enim non contemnendos, sed maximos, fortissimos, et valde assiduos hostes contra nos, carnem nostram, omnia pericula mundi, item legem, peccatum, mortem, iram ac judicium Dei, et diabolum ipsum, qui nunquam quiescit, intus per ignita tela, foris per pseudoapostolos nos tentare, ut, si non omnes, tamen plures ex nobis subvertat.*" So much for Mr Ward's assertion, that "the essence of Luther's Gospel is this, that a person—*has only one great struggle to go through,* in order that he may obtain the *indefectible* promise of eternal salvation." "This doctrine (he has the audacity to add) does not come in accidentally here and there; it is the one burthen of the greater part of the Commentary." Yet he has not produced a single passage conveying it; nor can he. "Ut tenerrimus est (iste articulus), *ita facillime laeditur* (says Luther, on ii. 4, 5): hoc bene expertus est Paulus; *hoc quoque experiuntur omnes pii.*" Again, when speaking of St Paul's withstanding St Peter at Antioch (on ii. 11), he says, "Hujusmodi exempla scribuntur nobis in consolationem. Est enim

plenum consolatione, cum audimus sanctos Spiritum Dei habentes etiam peccare. Hanc consolationem nobis eripere volunt, qui negant sanctos posse peccare. Samson, David, et alii multi celebres viri Spiritu Sancto pleni lapsi sunt in grandia peccata.—Tales errores et peccata sanctorum proponit Scriptura in consolationem afflictorum et desperabundorum.—Nemo unquam tam graviter lapsus est, qui non possit resurgere. Econtra nemo tam firmiter fixit pedem, qui non possit labi. Si Petrus lapsus est, et ego labi possum. Si resurrexit, possum et ego resurgere." Once more, in the note on ii. 13; "Profecto mira res est, quod tanti viri, Petrus, Barnabas, et alii, tam cito et facile labuntur in illo ipso opere, quod noverant recte factum, ac antea docuerant.—*Nam in illo ipso, quod optime scimus, possumus tamen labi et errare, non solum in grave nostrum, sed etiam aliorum damnum. Versemur, igitur summa diligentia et humilitate in studio sacrarum literarum, ac serio oremus, ne veritatem evangelii amittamus.* Nihil igitur sumus cum omnibus quantumvis magnis donis, nisi Deus adsit.—Nisi ipse nos assiduo sustentet, nihil prodest summa cognitio, et ipsissima theologia. Nam sub horam tentationis subito fieri potest, ut astu diaboli eripiantur nobis e conspectu omnes loci consolatorii, ac solum comminatorii occurrant ac obruant nos. *Discamus igitur, Deo subtrahente manum facillime posse nos labi ac everti.* Itaque nemo superbiat et glorietur de justitia, sapientia, et donis suis, sed humilietur ac oret cum apostolis, *Domine adauge nobis fidem.*"

In truth almost the only semblance of evidence, which can be produced in support of Mr Ward's description of the Lutheran doctrine of Justification, is the fact, which is sufficiently notorious, that far more attention is paid by the Romish than by the Protestant Churches to rules of discipline for the moral training of its members. It may be that the Reformers undervalued such things; though, if they did, we cannot well wonder at it, considering the many gross and demoralizing perversions of such discipline, which they had seen and past through. But when Mr Ward says that, according to the Lutheran doctrine, "the trust in Christ, on which pardon follows,—leads necessarily, without special pains or effort

on our part, to a holy life,"—not to mention the misunderstanding involved in the words, *on which pardon follows*, instead of, *by which pardon is received*,—he entirely leaves out of account the two mighty arms wherewith man is to strive in his heavenward course, faith and the prayer of faith. As we read that *Whosoever is born of God cannot sin* (1 John iii. 9), and as our Saviour Himself has declared, *He that heareth My word, and believeth in Him that sent Me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is past from death to life* (John v. 24), the great truth here exprest, of which the Church previously knew not well what to make, is recognized as fundamental by Lutheranism; though without the omission of the opposite side of the picture, the imperfection of our faith, and of our regeneration, and the sinfulness which consequently cleaves to us. But Mr Ward, as one might expect of a Romanizer, cannot get rid of the notion that the act of faith by which justification is received is an *opus operatum*. In arguing against Lutheranism, he ever leaves out of sight, that faith, according to the Lutheran view, is an abiding, energetic, active principle, manifesting itself necessarily by the conquest over sin, and by all manner of good works: nor has he ever attained, any more than the whole Romish Church, to an adequate conviction that the only really efficacious means which man can use for overcoming sin and advancing in holiness, is the prayer of faith for the help of the Spirit. The efficacy of disciplinary regulations Luther mistrusted, it may be too much so, from his experience of their impotence, from having found in his own case that they were as powerless to bind the strong man as Sampson's withes, and from having seen how in others they were often a mere form, the mockery of a form, a trick to lull and cheat the conscience. Besides he had the full conviction that it is not fitting that *those who have known God, or rather are known by God*, should *turn again to the weak and beggarly elements of the world*, and *be subject to ordinances, Touch not, taste not, handle not*. It should be borne in mind too that the laxity of recent times was very unlike what he and the other Reformers, whether in Germany or in England, desired to see establisht. But it may be questioned

whether any one else ever felt such intense, unhesitating reliance on the power of prayer, as the best and only sure auxiliary in all our struggles, either against temporal or spiritual enemies. In Luther's Letters, which present such a picture of every movement of his heart and soul from the year 1517 to his death, as we scarcely have in the case of any other man, we see ever-recurring proofs of this, on the one hand in the confidence with which he encounters every outward danger, however appalling in itself, through his trust in his Heavenly Helper; and on the other hand in his continual earnest entreaties to his friends for their prayers, in order that he may be enabled to overcome the assaults of sin and Satan. Among the twenty-three hundred letters in De Wette's Collection, far more than half, I believe, are wound up with a solicitation for the prayers of his correspondent.

Immediately after the passage just cited from p. 171, Mr Ward pursues his account of what he calls "Luther's Gospel." "When conscience has performed its office of frightening and alarming the sinner, its usefulness is over; from that time it is no longer man's *guide* to salvation, but the one only *impediment* in the way of his *attaining* salvation. Well was it for Luther that he had enjoyed the unspeakable blessings of a Catholic education and monastic discipline, and so had learnt to feel in some slight measure the real sinfulness of sin, before he turned his mind to the invention of these blasphemies." It would take no little time to set forth the blunders and misrepresentations, the bewildering confusion of history and philosophy and theology, in these two short sentences. The remarks about *conscience* shew that Mr Ward wholly misunderstands Luther's use of the word, and the meaning which it bore in his age. In its primary and most legitimate signification, Conscience is the testimony which a man's inward sense bears to his feelings, and to his acts as proceeding from and expressive of his feelings, with reference to their moral value. It is *consciousness* determined in this specific direction, by recognizing a moral obligation, and comparing our feelings and acts therewith. The particular form of law which it may acknowledge, does not belong to its essence: for it is wholly subjective; wherefore that form will

vary with the culture which our moral sense may have received. What characterizes the Conscience as such, as that which is distinctive of man in all stages of culture, and constitutes him a moral being, is merely that it recognizes a law, a principle, an obligation, which, as moral beings, we are bound to obey. Now the voice of law is almost always vetative; so therefore is that of Conscience; and, like law, it reproves and punishes transgressions. Hence, as our moral acts are notoriously mostly evil, and fall far short even of that very imperfect moral standard which exists in each individual mind, Conscience, even among heathen writers, is generally found to be used *in malam partem*, signifying the consciousness of something wrong and vicious. Much more did this become the case, when the knowledge of sin, of its depth and universality, and of the sanctity of the moral law, was brought out so distinctly by Christianity. Then even the answer of *a good conscience* could be nothing more than *a conscience void of offense*, when *our heart does not condemn us*. Seeing therefore that the exceeding sinfulness of sin, the sinfulness underlying, even when it does not rise up and shew itself in every human feeling and action, was manifested to Luther more vividly than perhaps to any man who lived between him and St Paul, *Conscientia* with him usually means the consciousness of our sins and of our sinfulness; a consciousness under the crushing misery of which, when a man has once been awakened to a spiritual conviction of this sinfulness, he cannot find rest in anything except the atoning sacrifice of the Saviour. This is the great work of the Conscience in the scheme of salvation. The Law being our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, Conscience acts as the executive of the Law, applying it to each several case. In this sense, when we have *our hearts sprinkled from an evil Conscience*, and so far as they continue under that purificatory sprinkling, the work of the accusing Conscience is at an end; or, as Mr Ward says, "its usefulness is over." In his next words,—"from that time it is no longer man's *guide* to salvation"—it is difficult to make out any tenable meaning. Can he intend to say, what the words imply, that Luther speaks of a man's Conscience as being, at any moment

in his spiritual course, his "*guide* to salvation?" Luther did not use his words thus vaguely. Later moralists have indeed enlarged the domain of the Conscience, so as to make it comprehend our special convictions of the moral law, according to our highest discernment of it, with reference to our own personal conduct: for Conscience is always subjective, and acts reflexly, pronouncing only on our own actions, but never sallying forth to pass judgement on the actions of others. It is in the earlier sense, taking conscience for the consciousness of evil and sin, that Hamlet says, *Thus Conscience does make cowards of us all;* which line I once heard Coleridge quote, and add; "*Ay, and it is also Conscience that makes heroes of us.*" This remark however, though there is grandeur in the thought, seems to imply a misconception of the powers of Conscience; the office of which, at least in Shakspeare's age, was like that of Law, to keep us from evil, but which has no positive spring to prompt heroic enterprises. This, the ordinary action of the Conscience, is set forth in a masterly manner in the dialogue between the Murderers of Clarence in *Richard the Third*, and with exquisite humour in Launcelot Gobbo's argument with himself about leaving the Jew's house. There may too be cases, where a stout unflinching obedience to the voice of the Conscience will be heroic; as when Luther closed his answer at Worms with saying, *Unless I, and the texts which I have quoted, are refuted by testimonies out of Holy Scripture, or by open and clear reasons and arguments, and unless my Conscience is thus bound by God's word, I cannot and will not recant anything; because it is neither safe nor advisable to do anything against one's Conscience. Here I stand; I can do nothing else; God help me! Amen!* This was Luther's practical exposition of the meaning of Conscience: we have seen several examples of Mr Ward's. Yet Luther would have shrunk from calling the Conscience in any respect "the guide to salvation;" although the law by which he set and regulated his Conscience was that of God. He had far too deep a conviction of sin, to fancy that we can have any "guide to salvation" except a heavenly. What Mr Ward meant by the expression is not clear. If we take this passage along with that quoted in p. 732, and divers others in

his writings, we might have ample grounds for charging him with Ultrapelagian heresy; and this would be well in keeping with his hankerings after Rome. But it is more probable that these passages, as well as a number of others, are merely the floundering and sprawling and splashing of a person who has got beyond his depth, and who thrusts out his arms and legs on all sides, and catches at every twig, that he may have something to take hold of. For Conscience is a word with which sundry tricks have been played by the new school of sophists at Oxford; until it has come to be held that Conscience is to pronounce on the moral fitness of particular outward acts; whereas that fitness can only be determined by the calm and patient exercise of the practical understanding, examining the materials supplied by experience and observation, and applying the laws of the reason to them, with a due regard to the demands of the affections, and, in certain cases, to the imaginative parts of our nature. By this unlimited extension of the office of Conscience, its majesty and sanctity are violated. It loses that infallibility, which belongs to it only when it is declaring that a person ought to do what according to his best convictions he verily believes to be his duty, a proposition which is very far from identical, inasmuch as hereby it pronounces that the convictions of the understanding ought to bind the will, thus casting a bridge over the great primary chasm in our nature, while on the other hand it sighs and groans at every act which widens that chasm. But when we would charge the Conscience with the office of determining upon outward acts, its infallibility passes away, and we become not only still more prone to errour, but more presumptuous and headstrong in our errours. The decisions of the Conscience, being summary and immediate, supersede that careful thought and diligent investigation, which are requisite before we can pass a right judgement on a complicated practical question: every prejudice, every caprice, every wayward impulse of fancy or passion may be stampt with the authority of Conscience. This sophistry is still, as ever, a favorite part in the Romish system of falsehood. Hereby the Massacre of St Bartholomew, the persecutions of the Waldenses, the murder of Henry the Fourth, the Gunpowder

Plot were baptized in its hellish baptism as Acts of Conscience. Thus too in our days one man after another is quitting the Church in which he was baptized, and the ministry to which he had solemnly devoted himself, for the sake of some idle fancy, some petty whim, some phantom of unity or authority, without having anything more than a visionary notion of what the Church of Rome is, or being able to alledge any solid reasons for abandoning that of England. He pleads that, in taking such a step, he is following the dictates of his Conscience. Thus he cheats his Conscience, and stifles its remonstrances, and gulls himself with the belief that he is acting a heroic part. Whereas such conduct is much as if a judge were to pass sentence of death on a man, who was arraigned before him on a charge of murder, without thinking of examining the evidence, on the ground that murder is a very horrible crime, from which his Conscience revolts, and that all the laws of God and man condemn it, and that the man's countenance speaks ill of him, or that a friend for whom he has a high esteem thought him guilty, or that the culprit's coat is of an ugly cōlour, or that he dislikes the cut of his hair. This is painfully, awfully absurd; but scarcely more rational are the grounds on which many persons nowadays are falling into the sin of schism, on the plea of Conscience, whereby they bar out all the reasoning by which their follies might be dispelled. Such are the natural results of that wild, jacobinical principle asserted by Mr Ward in p. 44, — which, he says, it is "one great object of his work to enforce and illustrate,— *the absolute supremacy of the Conscience in moral and religious questions.*" There is indeed a true principle of high moment intimated, though strangely distorted and exaggerated, in these words, the principle exprest by the Apostles, when they said, *We ought to obey God rather than men.* But this true principle Mr Ward wholly misunderstands: for it is the very principle on which the Reformers, whom he so virulently reviles, Luther above all, acted, as we have just seen in his speech at Worms, which is confirmed by an abundance of similar evidence during the whole of his public life. Only Luther's conduct is that of a reasonable being. He does not call an arbitrary notion, an imaginary

persuasion, the voice of his Conscience: he does not pretend that his Conscience can pronounce whether such and such propositions are true or not. He says, *I'rove to me by solid, cogent arguments, and by the plain testimony of God's word, that the propositions which I have maintained are erroneous; and then I will recant them. But so long as the best and calmest exercise of my own understanding, enlightened by God's word, and building upon its express declarations, assures me that my doctrine is true, my Conscience forbids me to recant; and how can I disobey it?* Of the recent abuse of the word Conscience he knew nothing, nor of the wider signification attacht to it by moralists of the last century. Hence Mr Ward's rebuke of him for not regarding the Conscience as "man's guide to salvation," in addition to the other marks of wisdom we have discerned in it, involves a sheer anachronism, as gross as it would be to quarrel with him for not having gone to Worms by the railroad. The worth of Mr Ward's next assertion, that, in "Luther's Gospel," after "the Conscience has performed its office of frightening and alarming the sinner," it is now "the one only *impediment* in the way of his *attaining* salvation," may be perceived in some measure by a reference to the passage quoted in p. 742. There is a state of mind indeed, through which spirits of a peculiar depth and earnestness have to pass, when they have been first brought to a lively conviction of their sins, and of the sanctity and terrours of God's Law,—the state represented in the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans,—the state, of which there is such an awful picture in Bunyan's account of his own spiritual conflicts. When thus stirred and shaken, the Conscience, in its agony and bloody sweat, will often for a while reject all consolation, and is unable to discern the angel coming to strengthen it through the thickness of the surrounding night. Now to those who have past through this state, and have been brought by God's grace to a hopeful trust in the Saviour, this crisis of their spiritual life must necessarily ever be of overpowering interest; and therefore, as Luther had been brought through it, and as it was during this very crisis that he first discerned the hollowness of the prevalent formal religion, with its outward acts and penances,

which could not make him who performed them perfect as pertaining to his conscience, he ever after spoke of everything connected with these struggles, and of the only way in which the Conscience can be *purged from dead works to serve the living God*, with an intensity of earnestness totally incomprehensible to those who have never known anything of this inward warfare. It is in this relation only that Luther speaks of the Conscience as "an *impediment* in the way of a man's attaining salvation;" when, in the recoil from carelessness or from self-righteousness, unable as yet to relinquish the notion of his own importance, a man magnifies his sins, or rather raises them up as a thick mist of darkness around him, which interposes a veil of wrath before the mercy-seat, so that the Sun of Righteousness is turned into a ball of fire, and instead of the crown of thorns and the drops of blood shed for others trickling down the calm forgiving brow, he can see nothing but the head of a Fury attired with whips and snakes. At the same time it is utterly false, that Luther speaks of the Conscience as, at any time, "the one only *impediment* in the way of a man's *attaining* salvation:" nor, as we have seen from his speech at Worms, is it less false to say, that he regarded the Conscience as having no office to perform except that "of frightening and alarming the sinner;" or that he thought its usefulness would ever in this life cease.

Among the remarks I have been led to make about Luther, much has already occurred to shew the strange ineptitude of Mr Ward's next observation: "Well was it for Luther that he had enjoyed the unspeakable blessings of a Catholic education and monastic discipline, and so had learnt to feel in some slight measure the real sinfulness and evil of sin, before he turned his mind to the invention of these blasphemies." In this sentence I will only speak of one point: the stones which, after the writer's fashion, are spouted forth so profusely from the Geyser in his breast, may be left to fall back on his own head. The gist however of this sentence, if it means anything, is, that, though Luther had some insight into the sinfulness of sin, it was but slight, at least in comparison with that possest by the Church under the dominion of Rome, and

cultivated by its discipline and institutions, and that for the insight which he had, such as it was, he was indebted to that discipline and those institutions. It cannot, I think, be pleaded that Mr Ward's words do not imply this; for if they do not mean this, what do they mean? yet one should be loth to suspect any writer, except one who is so fond of playing at heels over head with History, of broaching assertions so contrary, not only to well-known facts, but also to the view of those facts recognized by all who have the least acquaintance with the History of the Church. To cite a single testimony: my honoured friend, Mr Trench, in his admirable and well-timed Lectures *On the fitness of Scripture for unfolding the Spiritual Life of Men*, has just been saying (p. 60), "Who can fail to see in the great Apostle of Tarsus,—him who by the past training of his life, and the consequent fulness with which he brought out the scheme of our justification, should become the spiritual forefather of the Augustins and Luthers, of all them *who have brought out for us, with the sense of personal guilt, the sense also of personal deliverance, the consciousness of a personal standing of each one of us before God?*" In truth, if there is one thing notorious about Luther, it is that his deep, irrepressible, unappeasable consciousness of sin was the primary motive of his whole public life, and of all that he did for the reformation of the Church. It was on account of this deep feeling of the inward disease in the Conscience, that he tore off the plasters and lenitives with which the Romish quacks were wont to lull and skin over the wounds at the surface. It was on account of this that he set his foot upon the scandalous fraud of Indulgences. It was by reason of this that he saw through the utter vanity of the penances and so-called good works, by which men were idly trying to purge their consciences. He felt, as St Paul and Augustin felt, that the evil in man does not lie in the imperfection of his outward works, but in the corruption of his heart and will. Therefore did he insist so strongly on the frailty which clings to our very best works; and therefore did he continually urge that, if we are to be justified, it must be wholly through grace, by the righteousness of our divine Saviour, to be received and appropriated by faith,

without any admixture of the works wrought by so frail and peccable a creature. On the other hand, among the characters whereby the Church of Rome is distinguisht from those branches of the Church, from which she cut herself off at the Reformation, none is more plain and manifest than this, that she has a less deep and pervading conviction of sin, and of the sinfulness of human nature. Thus much must needs be admitted by every intelligent judge, to whichever side his own predilections may lean. Hence the apologists for the Romish doctrines are ever wont to urge that the Protestant representations of the corruption of human nature are monstrously exaggerated, so as to have a Manichean character; while the reciprocal charge of Pelagianism is constantly brought by Protestant polemics against Rome. This, even without our prejudging the question as to which representation may be the most correct, is enough to prove on which side lies the deeper consciousness of sin: and the conviction we are thus led to is confirmed by divers features in the Romish system. The whole doctrine of penances and of acts of mortification, so far as these are regarded, not as disciplinary, but as expiatory, implies a no less false and superficial conception of the sinfulness of man, than of the mercy of God. So again the whole notion of human merit and of meritorious works is wholly incompatible with the knowledge of man's deep and pervading sinfulness: and how, unless that knowledge had been checkt and almost stifled, could the Church ever have devised and propagated the fraud of works of supererogation, and that of Indulgences founded thereon? I do not mean to deny that, among the holy men in all ages of the Church, many were truly opprest by a heavy consciousness of sin: but the system of the Church either deluded them into trying to lull this consciousness by outward works of satisfaction; or else, if it did not openly condemn and reject them as heretical, it drove them into themselves, and made them seek solace in mysticism.

Here it may seem incredible,—and yet, if the reader turn to Mr Ward's book, he will find it the fact,—that in the very page in which Luther is stated to have learnt through his "Catholic

education and monastic discipline, — to feel *in some slight measure* the real sinfulness and evil of sin," and only a dozen lines before this strange statement, Mr Ward cites portions of the following passage. "Perpende diligenter singula verba Pauli, et inprimis bene nota et urge hoc pronomen: *nostris. (Qui dedit semetipsum pro peccatis nostris:* Gal. i. 4.)—Facile dixeris et credideris Christum Dei Filium traditum esse pro peccatis Petri, Pauli, et aliorum sanctorum, quos dignos fuisse judicamus hac gratia. Sed difficillimum est, ut tu, qui indignum te judicas hac gratia, ex corde dicas et credas Christum traditum pro tuis invictis, infinitis, et ingentibus peccatis. Ideo in genere et sine pronomine facile est magnificis amplificationibus praedicare et extollere beneficium Christi, scilicet, quod traditus sit quidem pro peccatis, sed aliorum, qui digni fuerunt. Quando autem pronomen, *nostris*, addendum est, ibi resilit infirma natura et ratio. Ibi non audet accedere ad Deum, nec polliceri sibi tantum thesaurum gratuito dandum. Ideo neque cum Deo vult agere, nisi prius sit pura et sine peccatis. Quare si etiam legit, audit hanc sententiam, *Qui dedit semetipsum pro peccatis nostris*, aut similes, tamen pronomen, *nostris*, non applicat pro se, sed pro aliis, qui digni et sancti sunt. Ipsa vero tantisper exspectare vult, donec digna reddatur suis operibus. Hoc tunc nihil aliud est, nisi quod humana ratio libenter vellet, quod peccati vis non esset major nec potentior, quam ipsa somniat. Hinc hypocritae ignari Christi, etiamsi sentiant remorsum peccati, tamen cogitant se facile suis operibus et meritis illud abolituros. Et tacite sic optant, quod illa verba, *Qui dedit semetipsum pro peccatis nostris*, essent verba in humilitate dicta, et peccata non essent seria et vera, sed inania et ficta. In summa ratio humana vellet libenter Deo offerre et adducere fictum et simulatum peccatorem, qui nihil esset conterritus, qui peccatum non sentiret; sanum vellet adducere, non indigentem medico, et tunc, quando non sentiret peccatum, vellet credere quod Christus traditus esset pro peccatis nostris. Sic totus mundus affectus est, et praesertim qui in mundo esse volunt aliis religiosiores et sanctiores, ut ipsi somniant, scilicet, monachi et omnes justitiarii. Hi ore quidem fatentur se peccatores esse, fatentur item se quotidie

peccata committere, sed non tam ingentia et multa, quin suis operibus ea abolere possint. Imo ultra hoc volunt afferre justitias et merita sua ad tribunal Christi, et pro illis postulare a judice retributionem vitae aeternae. Interim tamen, ut sunt humiles fratres, ne penitus mundi sint, fingunt quaedam peccata, ut pro illorum venia possint magna devotione cum ipso publicano orare, *Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori.* Illis haec verba Pauli, *pro peccatis nostris,* sunt plane inania et nugacia. Ideo neque ea intelligunt, neque in tentatione, cum peccatum serio sentiunt, consolationem ex eis accipere possunt, sed ibi simpliciter desperare coguntur. Est igitur haec praecipua scientia ac vera sapientia Christiana, haec verba Pauli pro seriis et verissimis habere, scilicet, quod Christus in mortem traditus sit, non propter justitiam aut sanctitatem nostram, sed propter peccata nostra, quae vera, grandia, multa, imo infinita et invicta sunt. Itaque ne fingas ea esse parva, quae tuis operibus aboleri possint. Neque desperes propter ipsorum magnitudinem, cum aliquando in vita vel in morte serio ea senseris; sed disce hic ex Paulo credere, Christum non pro fictis aut pictis, sed veris, non pro parvis, sed maximis, non pro uno atque altero, sed omnibus, non pro devictis, (quia nullus homo, nullus etiam angelus vel minimum peccatum vincere potest,) sed pro invictis peccatis traditum esse.—Da igitur operam sedulo, ut non solum extra tempus tentationis, sed et in periculo et pugna mortis, cum conscientia perterrefit recordatione praeteritorum peccatorum, et diabolus magno impetu te invadit, et mole, fluctibus, ac diluvio peccatorum obruere vult, et perterrefaciat, a Christo abstrahat, et ad desperationem te adigat, ut, inquam, tum possis cum fiducia dicere:[a] Christus Dei Filius traditus est non pro justis et sanctis, sed pro injustis et peccatoribus. Si justus essem, et peccatum non haberem, non indigerem Propitiatore Christo. Cur ergo, O perversum in modum sancte Satan, vis me facere sanctum, et a me exigere justitias, cum nihil habeam praeter peccata, et ea vera et gravissima, non ficta aut inania? Qualia sunt peccata contra primam tabulam, videlicet, summa infidelitas, dubitatio, desperatio, contemtus Dei, odium, ignorantia, blasphemia Dei, ingratitudo, abusus nominis Dei, negligentia, fastidium, contemtus verbi Dei,

etc.; deinde etiam illa carnalia contra secundam, qualia sunt, non habere honorem parentibus, non obedire magistratui, appetere alterius res, uxorem, etc. quanquam ista levia sint respectu superiorum. Et esto sane, quod homicidium, adulterium, furtum, et id genus alia peccata contra secundam tabulam, facto non commiserim, commisi tamen corde. Quare sum transgressor omnium mandatorum Dei, tantaque est peccatorum meorum multitudo, ut bubalum corium ea complecti non possit. Imo non est numerus eorum; peccavi enim supra numerum arenae maris. Ad haec diabolus tam callidus est artifex, ut etiam ex bonis operibus meis et justitia mea possit facere maximum peccatum. Cum igitur peccata mea tam seria, vera, grandia, infinita, horribilia, et insuperabilia sint, et mea justitia coram Deo mihi non prosit, sed plus obsit, ideo Christus Dei Filius pro ipsis in mortem traditus est, ut ea aboleret, et me et omnes qui hoc credunt salvos faceret." This passage attracted Mr Ward's notice, when he was hunting after stumblingblocks in *the Commentary on the Galatians;* and we must suppose him to have read it through, since he quotes several fragments of it, though in such a way that the reader is sure to misapprehend the meaning, and will never divine that the appalling enumeration of sins is represented as a part of the last agony of a troubled conscience, "*in periculo et pugna mortis.*" Not that Mr Ward's misrepresentations, either here or elsewhere, seem to have been intentional: he is as candid and veracious as his violent delusions, his blinding idolatries and antipathies, his ignorance on many of the matters treated of, his carelessness, and his presumption will let him be. If his extracts from this passage do not adequately convey its meaning, it is also plain that he himself had totally misunderstood it. Else he could not have said, immediately after those extracts, "The essence then of Luther's Gospel is this, that a person so affected *has only one great struggle to go through,* in order that he may obtain the indefectible promise of eternal salvation." For in the latter part of this very passage Luther is not speaking of the primary struggle, when the sinner is first brought to seek the righteousness of Christ: on the contrary he is exhorting those who have been so brought, *to hold the*

beginning of their confidence firm to the end; and he sets forth the enormous difficulty of doing so. "*Da operam sedulo, ut non solum extra tempus tentationis, sed et in periculo et pugna mortis, —ut, inquam, tum possis cum fiducia dicere, etc.*" So that the believer is expressly warned in this passage to exercise constant diligence and watchfulness throughout his life, to the end that he may not *at his last hour for any pains of death fall from Christ;* in direct contradiction to Mr Ward's inference from it, that he "*has only one great struggle to go through.*" Such a perversion, though probably arising from no worse cause than the recklessness with which he gathers up materials for abusing the objects of his aversion, proves him wholly unfitted for exercising any critical or judicial function. Far more difficult however is it to understand how any one, having read through this awful and terrific catalogue of sins,—the sins, not of an openly vicious life, but such as every sensitive conscience, looking back through the dark line of its past years, must acknowledge itself to be burthened with,—should immediately say that Luther had "learnt to feel *in some slight measure* the sinfulness of sin," and should not have expunged the assertion, which stands two pages before, that he can see nothing in *the Commentary on the Galatians* "shewing any deep and true insight even into human corruption."

Nor is it a much less strange defiance of the ordinary rules by which we frame our conclusions concerning facts, to ascribe Luther's feeling of "the real sinfulness of sin," such as it was, to "the unspeakable blessings of a Catholic education and monastic discipline," just after reading his statement of the miserably false and perverted notion of sin which prevailed in the monasteries. To this subject he often recurs, because it was one of the crying delusions of the age. In consequence of the general blindness to the real nature of sin, and to the real sinfulness of man,—from the vulgar notion that sin consisted mainly in certain outward forbidden acts, from which if a man abstained, he was deemed to be comparatively pure,—a notion which rules of discipline and the practice of compulsory confession are pretty sure to foster,—it grew to be held that the monastic life, as being to a certain extent

removed from the grosser temptations of the world, had a sort of inherent purity: and thus people were brought into such an unnatural state, that artificial sins were fabricated, in order that they might have something to confess. Of these *ficta peccata* some instances are mentioned in the passage quoted above, in p. 444. Hence Luther says, in the Commentary on II. 16, "Ipsi (Papa cum suis episcopis, doctoribus, monachis, etc.) peccatum mortale tantum intellexerunt de opere externo commisso contra legem, ut est homicidium, adulterium, furtum, etc. Non viderunt peccatum mortale esse ignorantiam, odium, contemtum Dei in corde, ingratitudinem, murmurationem contra Deum, aversari voluntatem Dei.—Quisque enim monachus hanc habet imaginationem: ego per observationem sanctae regulae possum mereri gratiam de congruo; operibus autem, quae post acceptam gratiam facio, tantum meritum accumulare possum, ut non tantum mihi sufficiat pro consequenda vita aeterna, sed etiam hoc aliis communicare et vendere possim. Sic docuerunt et vixerunt omnes monachi, et pro hac manifesta blasphemia in Christum defendenda nihil non tentant hodie contra nos papistae." Where such opinions prevailed, there could not possibly be any deep feeling of "the real sinfulness and evil of sin:" and that which the monastic system had not, it could not impart, unless by awakening a feeling of its own shallowness and hollowness. Hence, in the Commentary on I. 15, Luther says, "Ego in monachatu Christum quotidie crucifixi, et falsa mea fiducia, quae tum perpetuo adhaerebat mihi, blasphemavi. Externe non eram sicut caeteri homines, raptores, injusti, adulteri; sed servabam castitatem, obedientiam, et paupertatem; denique liber a curis praesentis vitae, totus eram deditus jejuniis, vigiliis, orationibus, legendis missis, etc. Interim tamen sub ista sanctitate et fiducia justitiae propriae alebam perpetuam diffidentiam, dubitationem, pavorem, odium, et blasphemiam Dei." Again,—for it is desirable that these audacious assertions concerning "the unspeakable blessings of a Catholic education and monastic discipline," and their aptness for teaching "the real sinfulness and evil of sin," assertions by which the ignorant and credulous may so easily be beguiled, should be exposed in their naked falsehood,—in the

Commentary on II. 18, Luther gives a form of absolution, which the monks "inter se usi sunt," especially those "qui volebant haberi religiosiores caeteris." He records it, he says, "ut et posteritas intelligat infinitam et ineffabilem fuisse abominationem papistici regni." And now that all the arts of sophistry are busily employed, in order to prove that black is white, and white black, that evil is good, and good evil, it is unhappily needful to refute them by shewing that black is indeed black, and evil indeed evil. The form is as follows: "Parcat tibi Deus, frater. Meritum passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et beatae Mariae semper Virginis, et omnium sanctorum, meritum ordinis, gravamen religionis, humilitas confessionis, contritio cordis, bona opera, quae fecisti et facies pro amore Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cedant tibi in remissionem peccatorum tuorum, in augmentum meriti et gratiae, et in praemium vitae aeternae: Amen." It is true, this document does contain a mention of Christ's Passion, as one of the grounds whereby the remission of sins and eternal life are to be obtained: but well might Luther say, "Si diligenter verba expenderis, intelliges Christum plane ὀtiosum esse, et ei detrahi gloriam et nomen Justificatoris et Salvatoris, et tribui monasticis operibus." When the merits of Christ's Passion were set in the same rank with the merits of the Virgin Mary, and of all the Saints, and of a religious order, and with the burthens of religious observances, and the good works done and to be done by the person to be absolved, it is plain that the whole stress would be laid on the religious observances and good works: and the natural result was what Luther describes as his own state: "Ego in eodem luto haesitavi; putabam Christum esse Judicem (etsi ore fatebar eum passum et mortuum pro redemtione generis humani) placandum observatione regulae meae. Ideo cum orabam aut celebrabam missam, solitus eram semper adjicere in fine: *Domine Jesu ad te venio, et oro ut gravamina ordinis mei sint compensatio pro peccatis meis.*" Well too might he give thanks for his deliverance from this darkness, in which the fallen Church had been given up to that miserable idolatry, the worship of our own works. "Nunc vero gratias ago Patri misericordiarum, qui me e tenebris vocavit ad lucem Evangelii, et donavit

me uberrima cognitione Christi Jesu Domini mei; propter quem, una cum Paulo, omnia duco esse damna, putoque esse σκύβαλα, ut Christum lucrifaciam, utque inveniar in Illo, non habens meam justitiam ex regula Augustini, sed eam quae est per fidem Christi: cui sit laus et gloria, una cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, in saecula saeculorum, Amen." These last extracts will, I hope, still be efficacious in preserving some from being duped by empty phrases about "the unspeakable blessings of a Catholic education and monastic discipline," and their fitness for teaching men to feel "the real sinfulness and evil of sin." During several ages there were indeed divers beneficial purposes, which the monastic institutions were calculated to effect, and which to a large extent they did effect: and even in these days a modified form of them might be serviceable for the performance of some of the mighty works to which the Church is called. But among the special temptations to which such institutions are liable, one is that of substituting fictitious offenses, *peccata ficta*, and fictitious good works for the ordinary transgressions and the ordinary duties of morality: and the proneness of man in every condition to magnify whatever belongs peculiarly to that condition cannot fail to exercise its noxious influence with regard to these fictitious offenses and good works, so that they are apt to throw what is higher and deeper, and belongs to our common humanity, into the background. This delusion had reacht a dismal highth at the beginning of the sixteenth century: and hence do we find Luther continually inveying against the hollowness of such arbitrary works, whereby men's consciences were deceived; while he is no less strenuous in urging the infinite superiority of the simple moral law, with its every-day household duties, to all such self-imposed artificial acts of willworship: see for instance above, pp. 691, 692.

Here however Mr Ward interposes with the bold assertion, that Luther "shews the greatest misconception of Catholic doctrine" (p. 172). And on what grounds does he rest this assertion? Has he taken the trouble to examine Luther's statements concerning the various matters of doctrine and practice against which he lifts up his voice? and has he compared them with the

information which may be derived from other writers, as to the state of the Church at that period? No: such a laborious process would never suit a person whose conscience is to pronounce summary judgement on every question pertaining to religion. In limited monarchies it may be thought right to attend to facts; but the autocrat of all the Russias would feel his supremacy impeacht, if he were not allowed to deal with facts also, to make and unmake them, at will. Mr Ward does not attempt to shew that Luther's representations of the opinions and practices current in his age, with the knowledge and sanction of the highest authorities in the Church, are at variance with the facts ascertainable from other sources. His plea is merely that they are inconsistent with certain higher and more spiritual views of Romish doctrine and practice, which he has formed for himself, so far as one may judge from the books quoted in various parts of his volume, out of a few devotional works, almost all of them belonging to later times, some of them to the nineteenth century. I do not mean to deny that similar views are to be found also in writers anterior to the Reformation. In every age of the Church there was a Christian element in it, contending with the Antichristian, an evangelical, scriptural, spiritual element, struggling with more or less success against the corruptions which the hierarchy suckt in from its adulterous intercourse with the world. Hereby the life of the Church was preserved from sinking into utter rottenness. Hereby too the Reformation, when this evangelical element was raised into distincter consciousness, and for a season into predominant power, was united by an unbroken, though in certain places a very slender, thread of truth to the first ages of the Church. At the end of the fifteenth century indeed the thread seemed almost about to snap: but then, as so often in history, was it again seen that, *when need is highest, then aid is nighest.* Hence, although it is quite true that the gross corruptions of Christian doctrine, with the consequent practical corruptions which roused Luther to protest against them, were not the only form of doctrine previously discoverable in the Church, yet it is a sheer fallacy to make this, as the Romish apologists are wont to do, the ground of a charge

that he misunderstood and misrepresented the doctrines of the Church. His protest in the first instance was directed, not against the doctrines of the Church, but against the corruptions of her doctrine and practice, which he saw spreading uncheckt on every side. He had no thought of separation: but when his conscience forbad him to keep silence any longer, he spoke, hoping earnestly, however fondly, that the evils, when pointed out, would be corrected. Here again I feel bound to repeat, that the schism was not Luther's act, but the Pope's, whose fatal Bull decreed that, in lieu of a reformation of the whole Church, the Reformation should be confined to a portion of it, with which the remainder should no longer hold Christian communion. For the imagination so readily becomes a slave to the objects by which we are habitually surrounded, that, in thinking of persons living whether in forein lands or in past ages, we involuntarily place them amid circumstances similar in the main to our own: and it requires constant effort and watchfulness to bear in mind how much that to us is so familiar, as almost to seem a part of the order of the world, must in their eyes have been totally different. Thus Mr Ward, in a passage where, for the sake of sharpening his abuse of our English Reformers, he makes a sort of admission in favour of the German, says in p. 44: "It does appear that the Continental Reformers had submitted themselves to the discipline under which God's Providence had placed them, until their conscience (most ill-directed, I admit, and morally perverse, but still honestly) seemed to them to command its abandonment." Now these words give an erroneous notion of Luther's situation and conduct; for it is plain that he is the Reformer especially referred to: and this they do by transferring the relations of our days to his; as though two different bodies and systems had been existing in his days, and as though he, after making trial of one, and being dissatisfied, had gone over to the other, under the expectation of liking it better. Such capricious conduct however was totally alien from Luther. Mr Ward's words may apply more or less to several of the schismatics in our days, who have recently been "abandoning the discipline under which God's Providence had placed them," being

moved to do so by certain speculative or imaginative impulses, or by mere caprices of will, which they have confounded with the dictates of conscience: but they are wholly inapplicable to Luther, who did not of his own accord *abandon* the system he was placed under, but who was driven out of it; and who did not allow his Conscience so to transgress its proper sphere, as that it should command him to abandon that system, pronouncing judgement on an act of so complicated a nature and involving such far-stretching consequences, but confined it rather, as we have seen above, to its most appropriate office, that of pronouncing a categorical veto when he was called upon to deny what the word of God, interpreted according to the best exercise of all his faculties, convinced him to be the truth. That Luther's representations of the doctrines and practices current in his age are not founded on a misconception of them, but are quite correct, is proved by the most indisputable documents: nor would there be any difficulty in producing a crushing mass of evidence to confirm them. Indeed it may be doubted whether any one, except a person who had set up the infallibility of his own fancies and prepossessions, under the name of Conscience, would have presumed to deny this, at all events without attempting to bring forward some chain of proofs in warrant of his assertion. In default of such proofs, the first question that suggests itself is, which is the most likely to have understood the real character and purport of the doctrines and practices prevalent in the German monasteries at the beginning of the sixteenth century, — Luther? or Mr Ward? To this question Mr Ward himself might be allowed to return an answer: shame, if no better motive, would keep him from engrossing the minority to himself. For while his view of "Catholic doctrine" appears, as I have already said, to be derived mainly from the devotional writings of later ages, Luther had the best of all means for understanding it, such as it was in his days, thoroughly, seeing that he spent a dozen years of his prime in endeavouring to realize it, as it presented itself to him, in his own life: and the strenuousness and perseverance of his efforts prove that he was earnestly desirous of knowing its meaning and value.

After the statement of what Mr Ward is pleased to call Luther's Gospel, in p. 171, he adds: "Luther speaks in many places of his own great difficulty in acquiescing in the system he had devised: and from himself he seems to have argued to others; so that—any one who knows ever so little of Luther's writings must see how painfully aware he is of the opposition presented by human instincts to his lax system; and how anxiously he endeavours to deceive both others and himself as to the potency of the remedy, which he had the almost incredible boldness of devising from his own invention, against the plainest testimonies of Scripture, against the unceasing and continuous voice of the Church. All this is very pleasing in considering his personal character." Here we have another sample of the morality lookt upon with favour by the modern sophists who prate about the supremacy of the Conscience. Mr Newman, we have seen above (in p. 712), thinks he is bringing forward an apology for Luther, when charging him with the baseness of "*indirectly renouncing*" immoral doctrines, which he maintained publicly with the utmost vehemence and apparent earnestness down to his death. And now Mr Ward deems it "*very pleasing in considering his personal character*," that he should have been painfully aware of the opposition presented by human instincts to his lax system, "which he had the boldness of devising from his own invention, against the plainest testimonies of Scripture, against the unceasing and continuous voice of the Church." The greater the crimes committed in the service of the apostate Church, the more the criminals were often exalted in her eyes. Jaques Clement, Garnet and Catesby, were highly extolled; in honour of the Massacre of St Bartholomew medals were coined. Still it was reserved for the new school of the Conscience to find out that it is a matter of commendation in an adversary to renounce *indirectly* what he has asserted thousands of times openly, and still goes on asserting; and that it is a "very pleasing" trait of character for him to have been aware how the doctrine which he invented, and upheld on every occasion with all his heart and soul and mind, in defiance of Scripture and of the Church, was also in opposition to the instincts of human

nature. Mr Ward complains of "the cloudy language and inconsecutive thought prevalent among the supporters" of Lutheranism: to a man in a thick fog all the country round, even places lying under a clear sky, seems involved in a like atmosphere. Moreover, while the remainder of the last extract may be left to burst through its own tumidity, it seems right to note that here again the Pelagian hoof peeps out. Otherwise it would be strange to find it alledged as a strong argument against Luther's doctrine, that it is "opposed by human instincts," at all events without some enquiry as to the nature and character of those instincts. For human instincts must needs be opposed to that doctrine, of which we are told that *the world cannot receive it*, that *the natural man cannot know it*, to that which was a *stumbling-block to the Jews, and foolishness to the Greeks*. Therefore, though the opposition to human instincts is not of itself enough to prove a doctrine true, yet we may be sure that, unless a doctrine be thus in opposition to them, it cannot be more than a partial, superficial representation of the Gospel. Even the second commandment, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*, is in opposition to human instincts; so too far more is the first. I grant that, even in man's fallen state, traces may be discerned of feelings which were designed to respond to these commandments, and which can only receive their full expansion by means of them. But so are there traces of feelings which respond to the great truth, that we are justified by faith, without the works of the law. Here however, as in many other places, Mr Ward betrays that very want of "any deep and true insight into human corruption," which he ascribes to Luther.

In p. 172 another admission is made in Luther's favour: "Of course it should be most fully acknowledged, that he expresses a confident opinion that justifying faith will always lead to good works." This is another instance how, even when Mr Ward tries to do justice to Luther, he cannot. His mind is so full of his own notions, there is no room in it for Luther's. Mr Newman, we saw (in p. 715), falls into a misconception, from confounding Luther's view of Faith with his own. In like manner this

acknowledgement of Mr Ward's implies a very inadequate apprehension of what Luther means by Faith, as may be seen from the passage already quoted in p. 686. If Luther's idea of Faith had corresponded to Mr Newman's and Mr Ward's, he could then have done no more than "*express a confident opinion that justifying Faith will always lead to good works.*" But then his whole theory of evangelical truth would have wanted its keystone. It would no longer have been a Gospel in which Righteousness and Peace meet together, but a loose, disjointed string of thoughts, in which the holiness and justice of God and the moral interests of mankind are equally sacrificed to the establishment of absolute and arbitrary decrees. He who would understand Luther rightly, must keep fast hold on the idea, that Faith, according to his view, by an inherent, irrepressible necessity, must produce good works; *Fides semper est efficax, vel non est fides:* in confirmation of which I will merely quote one passage from the Commentary on the Galatians, ii. 18: "Concludimus ergo cum Paulo, sola fide in Christum nos justificari, sine lege et operibus. Postquam vero homo fide justificatus est, et jam Christum fide possidet, et novit eum esse Justitiam et Vitam suam, certe non erit otiosus, sed ut bona arbor proferet bonos fructus, quia credens habet Spiritum Sanctum. Ubi is est, non sinit hominem esse otiosum, sed impellit ad omnia exercitia pietatis, ad dilectionem Dei, ad patientiam in afflictionibus, ad invocationem, gratiarum actionem, ad exhibendam caritatem erga omnes. *Quare et nos dicimus fidem sine operibus nihili esse et inanem.* Hoc papistae et fanatici sic intelligunt, fidem absque operibus non justificare, aut fidem quantumvis veram, si opera non habeat, nihil valere. Hoc falsum est: *sed fides sine operibus, id est, fanatica cogitatio, mera vanitas et somnium cordis, falsa est, et non justificat.*"

The rest of Mr Ward's remarks on particular passages in the Commentary on the Galatians do not seem to call for any special notice. With regard to most of them it is clear that his apprehension of their meaning is more or less imperfect; but the misunderstandings are of the same kind as those which have been already exposed. Nor is there any need of vindicating the book

itself from his contemptuous sentence. "The Commentary (he says in p. 172), considered intellectually as a theological effort, is perhaps one of the feeblest and most worthless productions ever written." I was told some years since of an Oxford bachelor, who, having heard Euclid spoken of with much praise in the common-room, said the next day at dinner that he had been reading through six books that morning, but had not found much in them. Had he been a disciple of Mr Ward's, he would probably have said that they were one of the stupidest and most worthless books ever written. But after the abundant evidence we have had of Mr Ward's incapacity to understand Luther, we shall not attach much more weight to his sentence. The doctrine which was *foolishness to the Greek* from the first, is so still: and since Luther's Commentary is an exposition of that one doctrine in all manner of forms and relations, as might be anticipated from his declaration in the Preface, quoted above in p. 675, one cannot wonder that it should fall under the same condemnation. Those who look into it expecting to find a learned critical commentary, will be disappointed. It is not such, and was never intended to be such: nor would the circumstances of its composition have allowed it to be so. Luther had too much practical work of paramount importance on his hands, to find leisure for critical exegesis. Indeed the very form of the work forbad this: for it appears from the Preface to have been made up of a course of Lectures, which were taken down by some of his friends: "Vix ipse credo tam verbosum fuisse me, cum enarrarem publice hanc—Epistolam, quam hic me libellus exhibet. Et tamen sentio meas cogitationes esse omnes, quas in hoc scripto per fratres tanta diligentia signatas reperio, ut fateri cogar vel omnia, vel etiam plura fortasse, in ista publica tractatione a me esse dicta." This homiletical character of the work accounts for its diffuseness, which would have been wholly unsuited to a written commentary: in fact it is not so much this, as a course of lectures on the doctrine of Justification by Faith as declared in the Epistle to the Galatians. At times the author's strong will makes passages bend somewhat reluctantly to his interpretation; but on the whole it is marvellous how he enters

into St Paul's mind, and draws forth his thoughts and expands them: and it is hardly too much to say, what is nearly implied in the passage quoted from Mr Trench, that Luther has done more to bring out the innermost spirit of St Paul's writings, than all other critics put together. This has been recognized by many godly men ever since, especially by those who have had to go through the same spiritual conflicts. Not till the world's course has run out, will it be known to how many such persons this Commentary on the Galatians, of which Mr Ward speaks with unmeasured contempt, has been a blessed wellspring of spiritual light and consolation. Let me be allowed here to quote the words of one of those great teachers who are now and then raised up for the edification of Christ's Church, the author of *the Pilgrim's Progress*. In his account of that awful warfare by which he was so wonderfully prepared and fitted for the ministry of consolation, he says: "Before I had got thus far out of these my temptations, I did greatly long to see some ancient godly man's experience, who had writ some hundreds of years before I was born.—Well, after many such longings in my mind, the God in whose hands are all our days and ways, did cast into my hand one day a book of Martin Luther, it was his Comment on the Galatians; it was so old that it was ready to fall piece from piece if I did but turn it over. Now I was pleased much that such an old book had fallen into my hands; the which, when I had but a little way perused, I found my condition in his experience, so largely and profoundly handled, as if his book had been written out of my heart. This made me marvel; for thus thought I, this man could not know anything of the state of Christians now, but must needs write and speak the experience of former days. Besides, he doth most gravely in that book debate of the rise of these temptations, namely, blasphemy, desperation, and the like, shewing that the law of Moses, as well as the devil, death, and hell, hath a very great hand therein, the which at first was very strange to me; but considering and watching I found it so indeed. But of particulars here I intend nothing: only this methinks I must let fall before all men, I do prefer this book of Martin Luther upon the

Galatians (excepting the Holy Bible) before all the books that ever I have seen, as most fit for a wounded conscience." The book of which Bunyan speaks thus will not be extinguisht by Mr Ward's scornful censure.

After saying all the evil he can of the Commentary on the Galatians,—the total amount of which, as attaching to Luther, is just nought, so that, if no momentum can be lost, it must recoil on the head of its author,—Mr Ward seems to have spent a few minutes in turning over the pages of the first volume of his works, in the hope of lighting upon something to find fault with. "Another short work of Luther's, which I have looked through, is his *Sermo de Matrimonio*, preached, let it never be forgotten, publicly before a large congregation. Let those who speak of him as a spiritually-minded man read that Sermon. Quotations however of that kind are better omitted. The following are extracted from certain *Disputationes pro Veritate inquirenda*:" from these he cites five propositions. In such a frivolous mode does this writer pursue the task he has set himself,—a task which, if ever entered upon, ought to have been carried on with judicial accuracy and deliberation,—of taking away the character of one who for three centuries has been held in the highest veneration by so many of the best and wisest of men. He "*looks through*" his Sermon on Marriage, insinuates that there is great impurity in it, and then flies off to another book to pick up something offensive there. This is another instance how our newfangled autocratical Conscience pronounces her verdicts without examination. Whereas a conscientious man of the old school, of that Protestant school which loves truth above all things, if called to pass sentence on a treatise such as Mr Ward describes, would not have been content with *looking through* it, but would have *read it through* carefully, in order to ascertain whether the necessities of the argument did not justify what, taken unconnectedly, might seem obtrusively indelicate: he would have called to mind how the picking out of particular expressions might warrant a charge of impurity against the purest writings, for instance, against the First Epistle to the Corinthians: and he would further have taken into consideration how much in

such matters is variable and arbitrary, how the plainness of speech which is offensive to later ages, was deemed no way unbecoming by earlier, and how the differences between different periods in this respect are totally irrespective of moral purity, even as the outside of the whited sepulcre affords no criterion of what is to be found within. Which of Luther's Sermons on Marriage shockt Mr Ward so that he could not bring himself to read it, but forgot the obligations of justice in his eagerness to note down his moral indignation, I do not feel quite certain. The collections of his German works contain four, one preacht in 1519, the second in 1522, the third in 1525, the fourth in 1545. In all four there is much that is wise and wholesome; and several passages are of exceeding beauty: in no one of them is there anything to warrant Mr Ward's censure, if we read them with a due regard to the age and circumstances. But the latter two do not seem to have been translated into Latin: and though a Latin translation of the second is stated to be inserted in the Wittenberg edition, it would seem, from Seckendorf's reference to it, to be entitled *De vita conjugali*, which would be the literal translation of the German title, *Vom ehelichen Leben*. Hence one may infer that the Sermon of which Mr Ward speaks, must be the one preacht in 1519, of which a translation, with the title *De Matrimonio*, stands in the Latin Collections. If we had to deal with any other critic indeed, it might be deemed an objection to this notion, that this Sermon only fills three folio pages, so that the laziest of human beings, unless the plea of conscience had blunted the sense of moral responsibility, would have had patience enough to read it through, before he held it up to reprobation. So too, if we had to deal with any other critic, would it have seemed incredible that he should speak in such a tone of this Sermon, seeing that it does not contain a single word to offend the purest ears in our days, not a single sentence which one need hesitate on this score to preach before any congregation in England. A stronger reason for doubting whether this Sermon is the object of Mr Ward's censure lies in the Romish leaven still found in it: for it speaks of marriage as a sacrament, which Luther did not controvert, I believe, till he publisht his

treatise *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae* in 1522: nor had he as yet entirely divested himself of the exaggerated honour for celibacy. The Sermon ends however with a beautiful passage on the primary duty of parents to bring up their children in the fear of God. "Si vis veram agere poenitentiam, summas indulgentias hic et alibi acquirere, feliciter mori, tuam prosapiam augeri et amplificari, summa diligentia, totis viribus conare ut pueri bene instituantur. Si per te non potes, utere aliorum opera, qui sciant, possent, et velint; nec parce labori, pecuniis, aut sumptui. Haec sunt altaria, testamenta, vigiliae et missae defunctorum, item lumina quae tibi lucebunt perpetuo, hic dum vixeris, et alibi post mortem in vita aeterna." Can this be the passage which is to prove that Luther was not spiritually minded? On the Sermon *De vita conjugali* I shall have to say a few words presently. Should this turn out to be the one referred to by Mr Ward, I should be prepared to shew that, as bearing on this also, his censure is undeserved. At least, though it may be questioned how far the subjects discust in it are fitted for a pulpit, this is a point on which we cannot pronounce, without knowing before what congregation it was preacht, and what was its immediate occasion. Luther himself says in the Preface, that he had shrunk from touching the subject, but that necessity must overcome reluctance: "I must try to instruct miserable perplext consciences." The date of this Sermon, 1522, when many of the inmates of the convents were quitting them, and when the errours of the Anabaptists were beginning to spread, shews that there was urgent need for the voice of wisdom to set forth the true idea, relations, and obligations of marriage: nor could this be done without an exposition and refutation of the manifold scandalous errours and abuses concerning it bred and propagated by the Papacy.

At the same time, although there is nothing in the Sermon *De Matrimonio* to justify Mr Ward's censure, I do not deny that in Luther's writings we occasionally meet with certain coarsenesses of expression, such as to the more delicate ears of our days would be very offensive: and they who are unable to distinguish between what is essential and permanent and what is merely accidental and

variable, that is, ninetynine hundredths of mankind, would be apt to exclaim that he who could allow himself to use such language cannot possibly have been "spiritually minded." But to judge of such matters, we ought, according to a favorite expression of Luther's, which has already occurred above, to be *boni dialectici*, so as to discern how much in the prescriptive usages of society belongs to particular configurations of manners, and how much results of necessity from the principles of morals. On this point, as I have already remarkt, different ages differ greatly; and even in the same age there are considerable differences between different classes of society. Culture increases delicacy: as a nation becomes more cultivated, it becomes more delicate and fastidious in its language: so too in the same age are those classes whose minds are more cultivated. Hence, though much in the conventions of society on this score is somewhat arbitrary, yet, since there is a sort of connexion between delicacy of language and purity of feeling, inasmuch as that delicacy implies the shrinking from the very notion and suggestion of impurity, a person who wantonly violates these conventions is justly an object of moral condemnation. Still, even in the same age, although the various classes of society to a certain extent breathe the same moral and intellectual atmosphere, and are subject to like influences through the manifold intercourse amongst them, a plainness of speech, which would be revolting in members of the higher classes, is continually used by the lower inoffensively and irreprehensibly. Moreover, if we examine the question on the widest scale, we find that the feeling of shame did not exist in the paradisiacal state, any more than it does in early childhood, that it only sprang out of the Fall, being, so to say, the shadow cast by sin on the pure surface of the Conscience, and that, as the consciousness of sin has deepened, so has shame. Thus we learn that, though shamelessness, in all ages since the first, betokens a deadness of Conscience, yet the increase of fastidiousness with regard to language by no means betokens an increase of moral purity, but often the very contrary. Words which might have been used with unsuspicious freedom in Cato's age by grave senators, and even by virtuous matrons, were discarded as

unseemly in that of Augustus: for sensitiveness may arise from soreness, as well as from a natural fineness of organization; and the sparks which would be harmless elsewhere, become dangerous in the neighbourhood of tinder and of gunpowder. Thus in Luther's age a plainness of speech prevailed, whereby, if we look at it unreflectingly, we may easily be disgusted. But it gave no offense then, because, in the greater simplicity, or call it rusticity, of men's minds, it was not provocative of impure feelings. Besides, in forming a judgement on this matter, it would be necessary to take into account the class in which Luther was born, and his life in the monastery. For peasants know little about conventional niceties of language; and the absence of female society deprived the monks of that which is the great refiner and purifier of manners; while the practice of the confessional induces a necessity of speaking on subjects from which a man might otherwise shrink. He who has lived in forein countries must have been often tempted, in this as in many other respects, to condemn the natives hastily and rashly, and therefore unjustly, trying them by his own standard, instead of theirs. If it be urged that we do not find similar coarsenesses in the Latin writings of the pious monks in earlier ages, I would reply that neither do we in Luther's. Few of them have left any remains in their native tongue; and the very use of a dead language operates as a check on familiarity of expression. The nations too which sprang out of the Roman empire may be said to have inherited a traditional consciousness of impurity, and, along therewith, to a certain extent, a traditional shame, and a traditional refinement of speech. Many words came to them already bearing a stamp of reprobation, which was not attacht till later to their German synonyms. With regard to Luther moreover we must ever keep in mind that his energy and his mighty love of truth constrained him always to speak plainly and strongly: he could not mince his words, or take thought about suiting them to fastidious ears, even if there had been such to suit them to: and the humour with which he was so richly gifted, and which is the natural associate of an intense love of truth, if it be not rather a particular form and manifestation of that love, led

him to strip off the artificial drapery and conventional formalities of life, and to look straight at the realities hidden beneath them, in their naked contrasts and contradictions. In fine, if we would understand Luther rightly, as has been well said in one of the excellent articles in defense of his *Tabletalk*, in the *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*, which seem to be by the editor, Harless (vol. ii. pp. 207, 209), "we must not expect to find a saint of Padua, with downcast look and hollow voice; we must not be afraid of seeing him everywhere, without any cloak or ornaments, in the fulness, freedom, and truth of his natural character; we must accustom ourselves to observe him in his private human relations, as one who, like the whole race sprung during six thousand years from the loins of Adam, was weak and sinful, or, as Jerome says of the whole body of the Apostles, *homo vasculo clausus infirmo*, and to remember that he too was fallible in higher things.—We do not lose him, we do not lose his greatness, when we draw near and watch him in the pettiest concerns of his daily life. He is one of those grand characters that *can do all things;* and hating all show, free from all self-consciousness, scornfully heedless of all consequences, he wins and conquers every one who comes within his sphere, by the simple truth of his bearing, by the energy of his will, and by the inward majesty of his sanctified nature. He is so utterly destitute of everything like a halo, that one's first glance at him has to beg pardon of the next for seeing so little in him."

As to the propositions selected by Mr Ward from the *Theses pro veritate inquirenda*, some of them have already been spoken of in the earlier part of this Note: and as he does not specify anything objectionable in them, thinking no doubt that their very enunciation is sufficient to condemn Luther, there seems no need of saying more on the character of such Theses, or on the Lutheran idea of Faith, without a right apprehension of which we shall perpetually imagine stumblingblocks where there are none. At the same time a candid critic, when looking at these Theses, and at Luther's other writings anterior to 1521, will remember his own sentence on them prefixt to his first Volume. "Cum judicio legenda sunt

omnia. Nam multa leguntur et disputantur in hoc primo Tomo, quae spirant et olent Parisiensium et Lovaniensium vappas et sentinam. Tantum eluctari et emergere me voluisse e tantis tenebris intelliges." Moreover it is especially incumbent on a person who quotes passages as grounds of condemnation, to be careful that his extracts are thoroughly correct, neither distorted nor mutilated. On this score Mr Ward does not offend often. Here however, in citing the 15th proposition, he merely gives, "It is certain that thy sins are forgiven, if thou believest them forgiven." Whereas the original is: "Certum est, remissa esse peccata, si credis remissa, *quia certa est Christi Salvatoris promissio.*" The proposition is indeed complete in itself; but as it is scarcely intelligible without the reason given for it, which must needs be deemed weighty, this should not be withheld when we are called on to condemn it. Nor is the translation of the 25th thesis quite correct. Much too of what is startling in them vanishes when we view them in connexion with those which precede and follow.

With these propositions Mr Ward closes the string of extracts which he has gathered out of Luther's writings, in order to justify his way of speaking of him. But he seems to have felt that he had made out a poor case: so he looks round as far and wide as his reading enables him, in the hope that other enemies and revilers of Luther may supply him with something worse than what he himself has been able to discover. In so doing he is as unscrupulous as ever. He does not take the slightest pains to ascertain whether the charges brought against Luther are well-founded or no: whatever presents itself is welcome, if it will but blast his name: the more heinous it is, the more eagerly he embraces it. Indeed he would almost seem to have shaped his conduct after the model of that tribunal which sought false witness against Luther's Heavenly Master: and he also has at length succeeded in finding two witnesses, whose evidence is exactly in accord with his wishes. One of them quotes Luther's own words; but so did the false witnesses before that infernal tribunal. What the other does, we shall see presently. At all events, as Luther always rejoiced and gave thanks when he had to endure any cross

whereby he might in any respect be likened to his Master, so would he rejoice, as far as he himself is concerned, that men should still revile him and speak all manner of evil of him falsely for Christ's name's sake.

The evidence which Mr Ward's learning has in this manner collected, is a quotation taken from the English translation of Audin's *Life of Luther*, two quotations from the English translation of Moehler's *Symbolik*, a quotation from an Article of his own in the British Critic, which appears there to have been borrowed from the French translation of Moehler, and certain extracts from an Article in the Edinburgh Review, and from a pamphlet on the recent schism in the Church of Scotland. Verily, a formidable array of witnesses, selected with a due recognition of the judicial maxim that secondhand testimony is to be rejected! To one point however they do bear conclusive testimony, which is confirmed by all the rest of the volume, namely, to Mr Ward's utter incompetency for pronouncing an opinion on any question relating to the German Reformation.

The passage taken from Audin need not detain us, nor the first of the three taken from Moehler. They merely declare the impotence of man's unregenerate will in regard to divine and spiritual things with Luther's peculiar force of expression. I will merely beg the reader, who might otherwise be shockt by these passages as contradictory both to his own consciousness and to universal experience, to remember that Luther is only speaking of the impotence of the natural mind with reference to spiritual things. He does not deny, nor does Calvin,—though both are commonly supposed to do so,—that man, even since the Fall, has always possest a power, however it may have been almost stifled in the great mass of men, to fulfill the duties of civil justice and morality, at least to a certain extent. From among the number of passages which prove this, I will cite one, which also shews that Luther readily recognized the virtues of the great heathens, however the misinterpreters and exaggeraters of his doctrines may have fancied themselves bound to deny them. "Possunt autem opera legis fieri aut ante justificationem aut post justificationem.

Ante justificationem multi boni viri etiam inter gentiles, quales sunt Xenophon, Aristides, Fabius, Cicero, Pomponius Atticus, etc. praestiterunt legem et fecerunt egregia opera. Cicero mortem fortiter perpessus est in causa justa et bona. Pomponius vir fuit verax et constans, qui nullum neque dicebat neque ferre poterat mendacium. Constantia autem et veritas sunt optimae virtutes, ac pulcherrima opera legis; et tamen per ea non sunt justificati:" Comment. in Gal. ii. 16. See also the fifth note on Laurence's fourth Bampton Lecture.

On the next two extracts it will unhappily be requisite to dwell longer. For they are two of the favorite passages with those who set themselves in ignorance to revile Luther: at least they have been so since they were held up to indignation by Moehler in his *Symbolik*. Yet this itself would have excited a scruple in a lover of truth. Would you judge of Laud by what Prynne may say of him, without sifting his assertions? or of Cromwell from Clarendon? Would you choose Eschines as your authority for determining the character of Demosthenes? or take the statements of Celsus or Julian as authentic documents for the principles of Christianity? Then, if you have such an appetite for falsehood, may you swallow the reports of a Romish writer concerning Luther. A sample of the enormous lies which were circulated about him during his lifetime and soon after, even by men of considerable eminence, may be found in Bayle's Article upon him. What we have seen of Bossuet shews that, though he does not deal in such gross fictions, he is far from having a due regard for truth. Moehler may perhaps be more veracious: but his religion compelled him to look at the Reformation and its authors under the influence of a blinding prejudice: and instead of training him to a conscientious accuracy in the minutest things, it habituated him to attend solely to what coincides with the tenets of his Church, and to reject whatever opposes them. Hence it may be said that the task which Moehler undertook in his *Symbolik*,—that of examining the various Protestant Confessions of Faith, and comparing them with the Creeds of the Church of Rome,—is one which a Romish divine cannot possibly perform. The submission

he is bound to pay to the dogmas of his own Church incapacitates him for an impartial examination of doctrines which his Church condemns: and this applies even to the German Romanists, notwithstanding the greater freedom and expansion which their minds acquire through their intercourse with the theology and philosophy of their Protestant neighbours. Besides, though from a higher point on the hill of knowledge one may look back on the lower steps, and discern their relative bearings, no one standing at a lower point can survey the higher. In fact a Romanist could not attain to an intelligent apprehension of that higher and purer manifestation of Christian truth which was vouchsafed to the Church at the Reformation, and by which the corruptions and errours of the previous centuries were disperst, without ceasing *ipso facto* to be a Romanist. It is a moral impossibility almost analogous to that of a heathen sitting in judgement on Christianity. A Protestant also, it may be objected, is in like manner unfitted by the shackles of his own faith for judging the Church of Rome with fairness: and doubtless all men, in whatever position they may stand, have a multitude of prejudices and prepossessions, which it is very difficult to repress or lay aside, and which turn their judgement awry, especially when it is exercised upon those who differ from them in matters of importance. Still the case is by no means the same. Every advance we make in philosophy or in any department of science throws a light upon all the preceding stages in its history, and enables us in some respects to understand their nature and purpose better even than those who lived under their immediate influence: and in like manner assuredly the clearer insight into Christian truth which was granted to us at the Reformation, should enable us to appreciate what was really good and evil in the medieval Church, and to discern its place and office in the providential order of the world. Besides the chief Confessions of the Protestant Churches do not make the same arrogant pretensions to determine the minute particulars of Christian doctrine; they are in many respects wisely negative, merely protesting against certain definite prevalent corruptions; and they assert little positively, beyond the primary

universal principles embodied in the ecumenical Creeds, and recognized by every denomination of Christians. Thus they do not cramp and fetter the mind, but enlarge it, and fulfill the divine office of Truth by setting it free. For these reasons the readers of Moehler's *Symbolik*, more especially those who have little previous knowledge to counteract the impressions produced by his statements, ought to bear continually in mind that he cannot, from his very position, be a trustworthy witness, much less a safe critic, with regard to the meaning and spirit of the Protestant Confessions. For he sets out with the unhesitating conviction that they are wholly erroneous, and with the determination to prove that they are so. He cannot do them justice, because his Church forbids him, and because his mind has been so trained and moulded by the teaching of that Church, that his very conceptions of the primary ideas of Christianity, faith, works, sin, grace, are very different, and he cannot help substituting his own conceptions, when he meets with those words in their Protestant signification. At the same time his critical faculty has been studiously represt, because, if it were not, it would overthrow or undermine a large portion of the walls which the Church has cast around his faith: and hence he must inevitably missee, misread, misunderstand, and consequently misrepresent what he finds, however unintentionally. He will catch at every straw that will tickle or help to bolster up his prejudices; and when he comes to anything that seems very offensive, as it is just what he expected and was seeking for, he will not stop to examine whether on a nearer view it may not prove perfectly innocent. Here, as Moehler's work has been translated into English, as it has been much bepraised by our Romanizers, and has evidently exercised a good deal of influence among them, — and as it is well calculated to foster most delusive prejudices against the Reformation and in favour of the Church of Rome, in readers prepared by visions about the glories of the middle ages, and who are ready to regard the Protestant Churches as outcasts from the pale of Christianity, because, through whatever cause, they have adopted a different form of government,—let me be allowed to remark that, able as the *Symbolik* certainly is,

considering the cause it has to maintain, and plausible as it must needs seem to such as have nothing more than a superficial acquaintance with the topics which it discusses, still, in addition to the errours already spoken of, its value in the service of truth is destroyed by two pervading fallacies. In the first place, while the author's profest object, as is intimated by his title, is to compare the Protestant Symbolical Books with those of the Romish Church, in order to ascertain and examine the doctrinal antitheses between them, he soon finds out that, if he confines himself to these deliberate dogmatical expressions of doctrine, he shall not be able to make out any case: therefore he scrapes together all sorts of passages, not merely out of professedly dogmatical treatises,—which under certain restrictions would be allowable,—but out of occasional pamphlets, out of sermons, out of private letters, nay, even out of Luther's *Tabletalk*, to kindle and fan an odium which he cannot otherwise excite. Yet it is plain that such a procedure can only mislead and dupe the reader with regard to the great subject matter of the controversy, which is not whether such and such individual Protestants may not at times have written extravagantly or unadvisedly, but is instituted to determine the relative value of the body of truth set forth by each Church in the solemn Confession of its Faith. Strange too it may seem that the thought of the *Lettres Provinciales* did not come across him, and warn him of the tremendous retribution he might provoke. Moreover, after he has thus craftily shifted the whole ground of the contrast, so that, while it is nominally between the symbolical declarations of doctrine recognized by the opposite Churches, in lieu of the Protestant symbolical declarations he is continually slipping in whatever errours he can pick up in the most trivial writings of the Reformers,—and these too not seldom aggravated by gross misrepresentations,—even this does not content him: a like trick must be played with the other scale. As the one side is degraded below the reality, the other is exalted above it. The fallacy spoken of above in p. 676 runs through the whole book. The opposition of the Reformers is represented as having been directed not against

the gross corruptions and errours which prevailed when they began the conflict, but against the modified exposition of Romish doctrine drawn up with such singular adroitness at the Semi-reformation of Trent: nay, even this is often refined and spiritualized by the interpolation of views belonging to the theology and philosophy of the nineteenth century. Hence it is not to be wondered at that Moehler's work should impose on such readers as do not see through these fallacies, but suppose his representations of the opposite parties to be correct. Yet its influence ought to have been exploded long ago: for never in the history of controversies was there a completer victory than that gained by the champions of Protestant truth who replied to it. Indeed the attack, instead of being injurious, was eminently beneficial to the German Protestants. It led them to examine the foundations of their strength, to bring out the divine armour of truth stored up in the writings of the Reformers. Among the answers which Moehler called forth, some, which are highly spoken of,—for instance, Hengstenberg's and Marheineke's,—I have not seen: but the two that I have read are triumphant. That by Nitzsch is a masterly assertion and vindication of the great Protestant principles which Moehler assailed; and its calm and dignified tone and spirit, its philosophic power and deep Christian wisdom render it one of the noblest among polemical works. Baur on the other hand takes up his Herculean club and smashes Moehler's book to atoms. Immeasurably superior to his adversary through his vast learning and wonderful dialectic power, he pursues him through sophism after sophism, unravels fallacy after fallacy, and strips off misstatement after misstatement, till he leaves him at last in a condition of pitiable nakedness and forlornness. In several of Baur's other works the Hegelian predominates over the Christian, to the great disparagement and sacrifice of Christian truth: and even in his answer to Moehler his philosophy at times is too obtrusive. But his vindication of the doctrines of the Reformation, and his exposure of the Tridentine fallacies, as well as of Moehler's, is complete. Varus himself hardly fared worse, than the modern who has recently been attempting to bring the countrymen of Arminius under the

bondage of Rome. May such be the fate of those who would bring us also under that bondage!

> Like conquest may the Church of England see!
> And her foes find a like inglorious grave!

Such being the witness against Luther,—one who, in addition to the common human readiness and carelessness in suspecting evil, labours under such special disqualifications as render it a moral impossibility for him to look at Luther with a calm, candid eye,—it might be thought that every one who cared for truth, or feared to commit the sin of slander, would have examined his allegations to make out their real purport and bearing. Suppose a man were to quote such words as *I came not to bring peace, but a sword*, and to assert that they are a characteristic specimen of the doctrines of Jesus, what sentence would such a false blasphemer incur? and what should we say of those who took up and repeated his blasphemy, without so much as inquiring after its grounds? Surely we do not need to have it proved, in this sixth millennium of the world, that words, however accurately cited, when wrested from their context, may seem to bear a very different meaning from that in which they were originally used. The first of the two passages we have to examine stands thus in Mr Ward's note. "So thou seest how rich is the Christian; even if he will he cannot destroy his salvation by any sins how grievous soever, unless he refuse to believe. For no sins can condemn him except unbelief alone. All others, if faith in the divine promise made at Baptism *return or remain, are absorbed in a moment through the same faith.*" Now these words, if faith be nothing more than a mere intellectual conviction, are doubtless very false and mischievous. But at the same time it is plain on the face of them, even as they stand here, that they will admit of an interpretation, whereby they will only be a strong and abrupt way of declaring that forgiveness of sins which we receive through the death and passion of our blessed Saviour, of which we become partakers by faith, and which is not limited to sins of a certain magnitude, and incapable of embracing the greater, but is sufficient to cover them all,—with the exception

at least of the one unpardonable sin,—and, though they are as scarlet, can make them white as snow, though they are like the sins of David, can put them away in a moment. Now if we turn to the Treatise *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae*, from which the extract is taken,—a treatise written in 1520, in the very crisis and agony of the conflict, and therefore necessarily bearing marks of the vehemence of the strife,—we find that it stands in that portion which is devoted to the vindicating of the sacrament of Baptism from the Romish corruptions. "Ubi virtutem Baptismi in parvulis non potuit Satan extinguere, praevaluit tamen ut in omnibus adultis extingueret, ut jam fere nemo sit qui sese baptisatum recordetur, nedum glorietur, tot repertis aliis viis remittendorum peccatorum et in coelum veniendi. Praebuit his opinionibus occasionem verbum illud periculosum divi Hieronymi, —quo poenitentiam appellat secundam post naufragium tabulam. —Hinc enim, ubi in peccatum lapsi fuerunt, de prima tabula seu nave desperantes velut amissa, secundae tantum incipiunt niti et fidere tabulae, id est, poenitentiae. Hinc nata sunt votorum, religionum, operum, satisfactionum, peregrinationum, indulgentiarum, sectarum infinita illa onera, et de iis maria illa librorum, quaestionum, opinionum, traditionum humanarum, quas totus mundus jam non capit, ut incomparabiliter pejus habeat Ecclesiam Dei ea tyrannis, quam unquam habuit Synagogam aut ullam nationem sub coelo.—Primum itaque in baptismo observanda est divina promissio, quae dicit, *Qui crediderit et baptisatus fuerit salvus erit.* Quae promissio praeferenda est incomparabiliter universis pompis operum, votorum, religionum, et quicquid humanitus est introductum.—Haec erat praedicatio sedulo inculcanda populo, assidue recantanda ista promissio, semper repetendus baptismus, jugiter excitanda fovendaque fides. Sicut enim semel super nos lata divina hac promissione, usque ad mortem veritas ejus perseverat, ita fides in eandem nunquam debet intermitti, sed usque ad mortem ali et roborari, perpetua memoria promissionis ejusdem in baptismo nobis factae. Quare dum a peccatis resurgimus sive poenitemus, non facimus aliud, quam quod ad baptismi virtutem et fidem, unde cecideramus, revertimur, et ad promissionem tunc

factam redimus, quam per peccatum deserueramus. Semper enim manet veritas promissionis semel factae, nos extenta manu susceptura reversos.—Si enim filii Israel ad poenitentiam reversuri primo omnium exitum de Aegypto memorabant, et hac memoria ad Deum, qui eduxerat eos, revertebantur, quae memoria et hoc ipsum praesidium eis toties a Mose inculcatur, et a David repetitur, quanto magis nos nostrum de Aegypto nostra exitum debemus memorare, et ejus memoria redire ad eum qui nos eduxit per lavacrum regenerationis novae, cujus memoria in hoc ipsum nobis commendata est?—*Ita vides quam dives sit homo Christianus, sive baptisatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere salutem suam quantiscunque peccatis, nisi nolit credere. Nulla enim peccata eum possunt damnare, nisi sola incredulitas. Caetera omnia, si redeat vel stet fides in promissionem divinam baptisato factam, in momento absorbentur per eandem fidem,* imo veritatem Dei, quia seipsum negare non potest, si tu eum confessus fueris, et promittenti fideliter adhaeseris. Contritio autem, et peccatorum confessio, deinde et satisfactio, et omnia illa hominum excogitata studia, subito te deserent, et infeliciorem reddent si oblitus veritatis hujus divinae in ipsis tete distenderis. Vanitas enim vanitatum et afflictio spiritus est quicquid extra fidem veritatis Dei laboratur." From this extract we perceive the real meaning of the words, which Moehler, and Mr Ward after him, hang up in their pages as a scarecrow. Luther,—he, be it remembered, whom Mr Newman charges with "abolishing Sacraments to introduce barren and dead ordinances,"—is speaking of the power of that grace which is conferred on us in our Baptism, and whereby we become the children of God: and he asserts, most truly, that the adoption bestowed on us then is not a mere shadow, but a mighty reality,—that the evangelical promise of the forgiveness of sins, of which we then receive the pledge, is not given merely to heathens, but to Christians also,—that to the Christian sinner also Christ says, *Thy sins are forgiven thee*, before He says, *Arise and walk*,—that, if we go to Him with a humble living faith in the power of His atonement, in the reconciliation which He has wrought for us, our sins, though they be as scarlet,—and who, knowing the

terrible depths of sin, will not confess that his are so? — shall be washt out at once, and will not be left for us to wash out by an endless scouring with the sand of good works; whereby, even though they were like the sand of the sea in number, we should be continually deepening the stain, rather than expunging it. *Take thy stand on thy Baptism*, says this disparager of Baptism; *not on thine own works, thine own sorrow, thine own penances, but on God's promise made to thee at thy Baptism. Therein thou wert received by Him to be His child. Be assured that this reception was a reality, that thou didst become His child. Go to Him as such in humble faith. His arms are already stretcht out to receive thee. Great as thy sins may be, let them not keep thee away: they cannot be greater than those of many whom He has received among His saints. Christ did not die for the righteous, but for sinners. The way into the kingdom of heaven has been opened for publicans and harlots; and so is it open for thee.* Thus the passage which Mr Ward holds up to reprobation, is in fact an assertion of that blessed truth, which is the only possible comfort for all such as have been brought to a spiritual conviction of sin: and it coincides exactly with the sentences on the same subject cited by my dear friend and brother, Mr Maurice, in the Second Letter in the first edition of his *Kingdom of Christ;* where, strengthening himself with the authority of Luther, he vindicates the same blessed truth against the unscriptural notions concerning post-baptismal sins promulgated by the new Oxford school of theology. It is an assertion of the blessed truth declared in the parable of the Prodigal Son, as its meaning and purport have been beautifully explained by Mr Trench,—a truth so blessed that the natural understanding cannot receive it, even after it has been revealed and declared. Hence all those who, following the dictates of their natural understanding, have set themselves to dechristianize Christianity, have ever begun by denying the freedom and fulness of divine grace, and by maintaining that God cannot give it except to those who will buy it of Him, though the utmost we could do would be to pay a grain of sand for a skyful of light. The irrepressible workings of this spirit have especially manifested

themselves in the Church of Rome, and are manifesting themselves among us at this day in our modern Romanizers. They cannot believe that there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth: *No*, they say, *the only cause worthy to make the angels rejoice is the sight of the ninetynine righteous men who need no repentance.* They cannot reconcile themselves, any more than the elder brother, to the notion that the Father should bring forth the best robe, and kill the fatted calf to welcome the returning Prodigal. They are sure that, if the Father receives him at all, it will be as one of his hired servants, to work off his sins by yearlong service, at the rate of a sin a year; whereby forsooth at the end of the world he would just be beginning to clear off the score of his youth, while a fresh score was daily growing against him.

The next passage which Mr Ward quotes, it must be confest, is very startling: "Be thou a sinner and sin boldly, but still more boldly believe and rejoice in Christ. Sufficient is it that through the riches of the glory of God we know the Lamb who taketh away the sins of the world; from Him sin shall not separate us, no, though a thousand thousand times in every day we should *commit fornication or murder.*" Verily it does seem here as though hell were casting up its spray into heaven. Still, after our ample experience of the manner in which words may be misrepresented, and after the thousand thousand proofs afforded by Luther's writings and life, that he did know something of the Gospel, we will not be disheartened. At all events we will try to make out what these awful words can mean, to whom they can have been said, for what purpose. Were they said to Simon de Montfort, when he marcht against the Albigenses? or to Alva, when he entered upon his government in the Netherlands? or to Louis the Fourteenth, when he revoked the edict of Nantes? or to poor Mary, when she mounted the throne after the death of her brother Edward? Were they a dram administered to Charles the Ninth and to Catherine of Medicis on the eve of St Bartholomew? or a *billet-doux* sent to Charles the Second during the progress of his conversion? Or were they a motto written up in the halls of the Inquisition? Or can it be that Luther was once engaged in a friendly correspondence with Munzer? or with Alexander the

Sixth? The only hint Mr Ward in his *Ideal* gives about this passage, is, "Here I may add a quotation I made in the British Critic." On turning however to the place in the British Critic (xxxi. 438), we find that this quotation also is borrowed from Moehler. Mr Ward there says: "As to the natural *tendency* of Luther's principles, the following passage from one of his letters to Melanchthon is worthy of observation." To Melanchthon, of all men that ever lived! not to Munzer; not to Alexander the Sixth; not to Leo the Tenth; not to Clement the Seventh; but to Melanchthon! A strange person truly to choose as the confidant of such a doctrine, as the recipient of such an exhortation! The Tempter, against whom Luther so often battled, must for once have taken complete possession of him, and turned him into an instrument for destroying the soul of his younger friend. Mr Ward proceeds: "Its genuineness, we believe, is unquestionable; though his admirers profess they can give it an innocent meaning; nor must it be read without remembering that it was plainly written in haste and under excitement, nor indeed do we quote it as proof of his *habitual* feeling, but the *tendency* of his doctrine in proportion as his conscience should sleep." He then gives the passage, and adds, "Quoted in Moehler's *Symbolique*, French Translation, and acknowledged genuine by Bauer in his answer to Moehler." Here it is noticeable that these apologetical remarks are omitted, when the passage is quoted in the *Ideal:* there it stands in its naked hateful deformity. Such is the natural advance in recklessness as a person draws nearer to Rome. The nails and cramps which held the vessel of his conscience together, fly out as he approaches the magnetic mountain; and at last he sinks into the deep. Again, though these remarks might lead one to suppose that Mr Ward had referred to the passage in Luther's letter, with the view of ascertaining the correctness of Moehler's charge, this is not the case. He was already too far gone for that. They merely repeat what Moehler himself had said in nearly the same words. Further,—for I must make one more observation on Mr Ward's mode of citing this passage,—he says it is "acknowledged genuine by Bauer in his answer to Moehler." Of course he means, by *Baur*. And thus much is true: Baur does not think of questioning

the genuineness of the passage: indeed no one could, who knows anything of Luther's unmistakable style. But Baur proves that the words quoted by Moehler, when torn from the context, have an offensive, revolting meaning, which clearly cannot belong to them if they are taken along with it; and he enters into an argument of some length to shew what the real meaning must be, and that it is perfectly innocent. What then are we to think of a person, who appeals to Baur as acknowledging the genuineness of the passage,—which he only does tacitly, by not disputing it,—and yet does not mention that Baur proves from the context that the meaning of the words must be far less offensive than, when we look at them without the context, it seems to be; even supposing that he is not quite successful in establishing his own interpretation of them? Can the fraudulent tricks of calumny be carried to a higher pitch? A man kills a ruffian, whom he finds attempting to violate his wife. A friend deposes that he saw the ruffian attempting the violation, at the time when the incenst husband slew him. Then comes the calumniator and says, *Here is a man who has committed murder; and his friend testifies that he saw him commit it.*

But let us do what Mr Ward ought to have done, and has not done: let us turn to Luther's letter to Melanchthon, and try to ascertain the real meaning of these strange words, which the great Reformer utters in the ears of his youthful friend. In so doing I shall avail myself of the help afforded by Baur's note in his Answer to Moehler, pp. 651—655, and by the writer whom I have already quoted, in the *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*, II. 216—219. The letter was written on St Peter's day, 1521, during the second month of Luther's confinement in the Wartburg. We have only a fragment, deficient at the beginning; and it is said by Aurifaber to have been found in Spalatin's Library: it had naturally been sent to him on account of the important questions it discusses. Here, while we disclaim the notion of trying to get out of the scrape by questioning the genuineness of the letter, the style and substance of which prove that it cannot have been written by any one except Luther, let us equally reject the flimsy apology

of its having been written "under excitement." For though he suffered much in bodily health from want of exercise while he was in the Wartburg, yet even in his letters from thence we see that then as ever he was the stouthearted faithful man of God, resolute to do and to suffer all things for the sake of the truth, and grieving, not on account of any personal dangers or restraints, but solely for the calamities of the Church. Nor do these letters really furnish any support to Coleridge's strange fancy, which he broacht in *the Friend* on the ground of some expressions in them,—but which in after years, when he knew more of Luther, he would probably have laid aside,—that there was any genuine similarity of character between Luther, the healthy man of God, and that morbid, dreaming, unprincipled egotist, Rousseau. At all events the letter in question is written with the calmest self-possession, and enters into an interesting argument on several matters which were agitating the minds of his friends, especially on the obligatoriness of the clerical and monastic vows with regard to celibacy; which at that time Luther inclined to deem binding on the regular, but not on the secular clergy. He then speaks on the administration of the Eucharist in one or two kinds. Carlstadt and some of his more violent followers seem to have been already promulgating the opinions which a few months after gave rise to the disturbances at Wittenberg spoken of above, and to have been declaring that to receive the Eucharist under one kind was in itself a positive sin. Luther on the other hand, with that exemplary sobriety of judgement which he displayed through life in all practical matters, contends, as he ever does with regard to outward things, that they should be left to right themselves, that the peace of the Church should not be disturbed by precipitate and violent innovations, and that his friends ought to content themselves with preaching the truth, holding fast to the assurance that, when that was duly recognized, the errours of discipline and practice would fall to the ground. In Carlstadt's opinion Melanchthon seems to have participated. Were his previous letter remaining, it would doubtless explain the difficulties in Luther's answer; but, as all his letters to Luther in the Wartburg are lost, we are

left to make out the tenour of it from Luther's reply. The point he mainly discusses is, whether the receiving in one kind is a sin. "Nihil arguit illos, unam accipientes, *peccasse vel non peccasse.*— Nec consentiunt pia corda privari altera specie: qui vero consentiunt et probant, *eos—peccare quis negabit?* Cum ergo non exigat (Christus) necessario, et hic urgeat tyrannus, *non video quomodo peccent unam accipientes.*—Scriptura nihil definit, *sine qua peccatum pronunciare non possumus.*—In summa, *quia Scriptura non urget hic peccatum esse, peccatum non assero.*" He then expresses his approbation that, at Wittenberg, where they had the power, they had resolved to re-establish Christ's original institution in its integrity, and declares his own purpose never again to celebrate a private mass: "et ego amplius non faciam missam privatam in aeternum." After this he speaks of the calamities which he seems to himself to see impending over Germany. "Obsecro oremus Dominum ut festinet nobis ampliorem Spiritum suum dare. Suspicor enim fore ut cito visitet Dominus Germaniam, sicut meretur ejus incredulitas, impietas, et odium Evangelii. At haec plaga tum nobis imputabitur, quod haeretici Deum provocaverimus, erimusque *opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis:* illi vero apprehendent excusationes in peccatis suis, et justificabunt semet ipsos, ut probet reprobos neque bonitate neque ira bonos fieri: *et scandalisabuntur multi.* Fiat, fiat voluntas Domini. Amen." And now, after this solemn prognostication of the evils hanging over the Church, he turns to Melanchthon, and winds up his letter with the following exhortation. "Si gratiae praedicator es, gratiam non fictam, sed veram praedica: si vera gratia est, verum, non fictum peccatum ferto: Deus non facit salvos ficte peccatores. Esto peccator, et pecca fortiter; sed fortius fide et gaude in Christo, qui victor est peccati, mortis, et mundi. Peccandum est, quam diu sic sumus. Vita haec non est habitatio justitiae; sed exspectamus, ait Petrus, *coelos novos et terram novam, in quibus justitia habitat.* Sufficit, quod agnovimus per divitias gloriae Dei Agnum, qui tollit peccatum mundi: ab hoc non avellet nos peccatum, etiamsi millies, millies uno die fornicemur aut occidamus. Putas, tam parvum esse pretium et redemtionem pro peccatis nostris factam in tanto ac tali Agno? Ora fortiter: es enim fortissimus peccator."

When we read this passage in connexion with the rest of the letter, especially with the solemn prophecy which just precedes it, thus much assuredly is quite plain, that, even if Luther could at other times have given admission to the opinions, which the mutilated words cited and mistranslated by Mr Ward seem to imply, and which he may truly characterize as too bad "even for the devils,"—and could have avowed them to Melanchthon, nay, could have urged Melanchthon to act upon them, could have urged him to continue reveling in the grossest sin, in order that *grace might abound*,—at all events he must have been stark mad to have done so immediately after speaking in such a tone of the evils coming on the Church, that is, on the lovers of truth in it, whereat their enemies would exult and triumph, and many would be offended. Unless some evil spirit had actually taken possession of him, he could not just then have cried to Melanchthon, *Come, brother, let us sin, let us wallow in sin, so that our enemies may indeed have good reason to exult and triumph over us, and that all the lovers of godliness may be offended.* But further, on reading over the whole passage it is manifest that the words, *esto peccator et pecca fortiter*, are dependent upon, or at least closely connected with the sentence which precedes them, and that Luther is not telling Melanchthon what he is to do, but what he is to hold and teach. *Si gratiae praedicator es, gratiam non fictam sed veram praedica: si vera gratia est, verum, non fictum peccatum ferto: Deus non facit salvos ficte peccatores.* If we had Melanchthon's letter, this would probably be quite clear. As it is, the passage quoted above in p. 754 from the Commentary on the Galatians happily comes to our aid, and explains what Luther means by *fictum peccatum* and *ficte peccatores*. We there found him inveying against that miserable ignorance of the pervading sinfulness of human nature, which led people to devise artificial sins, that they might have something to confess and be forgiven for. "Ratio humana vellet libenter Deo offerre et adducere *fictum et simulatum peccatorem*.—Ne penitus mundi sint, *fingunt quaedam peccata*, ut pro illorum venia possint—orare.—Disce hic ex Paulo credere, Christum *non pro fictis aut pictis, sed veris*, non pro parvis, sed maximis,—*peccatis* traditum esse." And

shortly after he adds, "Muniamus igitur cor nostrum his et similibus Scripturae sententiis, ut diabolo accusanti, *Tu es peccator, ergo damnatus,* respondere possimus, Quia tu me peccatorem dicis, ideo volo esse justus et salvus. *Imo damnaberis.* Non. Confugio enim ad Christum, qui semetipsum tradidit pro peccatis meis. Nihil igitur efficies tu Satan, quod proponendo peccati magnitudinem conaris me perterrefacere, et sic adducere in tristitiam, diffidentiam, desperationem, odium, contemtum, et blasphemiam Dei. Imo per hoc, quod me peccatorem dicis, ministras mihi arma contra te, ut tuo proprio gladio te jugulare et conculcare possim, quia Christus propter peccatores mortuus est. Deinde tu ipse mihi praedicas gloriam Dei. Nam commonefacis me paternae dilectionis Dei erga me miserum et perditum peccatorem, qui *sic dilexit mundum, ut Filium suum daret,* etc. Item, quoties objicis me esse peccatorem, toties revocas mihi in memoriam beneficium Christi Redemptoris mei, in cujus humeris, non meis, jacent omnia peccata mea." This passage affords us a clew to all that may be perplexing in the letter to Melanchthon. When we look back to the previous argument about the Eucharist, it seems evident that Melanchthon must have been insisting on the sinfulness of receiving in one kind. This Luther speaks of as a *fictum peccatum;* and says, You who are a preacher of Grace, remember that the Grace you are to preach of is not a makebelieve, but a mighty reality, and that it is not bestowed on us for the forgiveness of artificial peccadilloes, but of those awful cleaving sins, of which every man with an awakened conscience must acknowledge himself guilty. God sent His Son into the world to save real sinners, not *ficte peccatores.* Therefore *esto peccator, et pecca fortiter:* recognize that thou art a sinner; but be of good heart notwithstanding: *do not torment thyself about peccadilloes:* let not the consciousness of thy sins drive thee to despair: believe in Christ, and rejoice in Him, who is the Conqueror of sin and death and the world; and let this faith and joy prevail over the consciousness of thy sins. We needs must sin, so long as we are in our present state. This life is not the habitation of righteousness; but we *look,* St Peter tells us, *for a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.* It is enough that through

the riches of the glory of God we have known *the Lamb who taketh away the sin of the world.* From Him sin shall not separate us, *etiamsi millies, millies uno die fornicemur aut occidamus.* Thinkest thou that the price and redemption offered for our sins by this divine Lamb is so small, that it will not avail to cover your *ficta peccata?* Pray boldly and instantly; for thou art a very great sinner.

That this paraphrase expresses the real meaning of the passage which has been held up to reprobation by Mr Ward, I cannot doubt. In his citation it is scandalously mutilated and mistranslated: but whether the guilt of the mutilation and mistranslation belong wholly to him, or is shared by the French translator, I have not the means of determining. In the third edition of the German *Symbolik*, Moehler begins the Latin quotation with *Si gratiae praedicator es*, and carries it down to *in tanto ac tali Agno:* thus one may divine that the meaning of the passage is not so utterly monstrous; though the portion which he renders into German for the sake of deluding his unlearned readers is only coextensive with Mr Ward's extract. From what Baur says, it would seem as if in Moehler's first edition nothing had been given except this mutilated translation; and it is possible that this may have been the original of the French version. Still the extract just before is professedly taken by Mr Ward from the English translation, which is from the latest German edition: and it is the very passage in a note on which Moehler introduces the extract from the letter to Melanchthon. Hence at all events it was disgraceful carelessness in Mr Ward not to correct his quotation thereby. Again, Luther's words, correctly cited in the *Symbolik*, are *etiamsi millies, millies uno die fornicemur aut occidamus;* whereas Mr Ward renders them, "Though a thousand thousand times *in every day* we should commit fornication and murder." Perhaps this may be imputable to the French translator; for Mr Ward's learning must surely be ample enough to know that *in uno die* does not mean *in every day.* Though it might perhaps be shewn that there are a score of blunders in one page of Mr Ward's *Ideal*, we should not be quite justified in saying that there are a score of blunders *in every page.* And this mistranslation serves

his purpose of blasting Luther's fame, inasmuch as it substitutes a hellish horrour,—the thought that a continuous life of the most atrocious sin can coexist with faith and prayer and Christ's righteousness,—for that which, justly offensive as it may be, is so mainly from its peculiar Lutheran extravagance of expression.

Let me here remind the reader that, in estimating what is individually reprehensible in such expressions, we are bound to look at them in connexion with the tone and style of the age. Now in the age of the Schoolmen, as has been the case in every age when metaphysical speculation has been active, it became a common practice to enunciate paradoxical propositions in a startling form; it might be in mere defiance to the common sense of mankind,—the fondness for being stared at being often no less busy in the student's closet than in the dressingroom of the fop,—or it might be for the sake of exemplifying the fallaciousness of vulgar prejudices, or of shewing how often common opinions, even when sound in themselves, are maintained upon untenable grounds. The very forms too of the scholastic logic, and the manner in which the exercises were conducted, encouraged such a habit. Hence everybody who has heard anything about the Schoolmen, has heard of some of their paradoxical propositions; and the custom of asserting such propositions in scholastic exercises has come down traditionally even to our times. Indeed they have their use with a view to the training of the logical and dialectic faculties. A large collection of such theses is to be found in the first volume of Luther's Latin works; and the singular clearness of his understanding, the distinctness and rapidity with which he ever discerns a central germinal truth, and separates it from its adjuncts and accidents, bear witness to the benefit of this training, when kept in check by such masculine sense and such stern conscientiousness. Some of these propositions however have been pickt out by his enemies for reprobation, especially one which asserts, *Si in fide fieri posset adulterium, peccatum non esset.* Yet this proposition is logically true; though doubtless it would be rank folly, if not worse, to scatter such sayings abroad among

those who are likely to misunderstand and misuse them. But however offensive and mischievous this proposition may seem, when taken insulatedly, if we look at it in the original chain of theses, by which Luther in the year 1520 set forth the great truth, that faith, as the recipient of justification, is exclusive of works, and that unbelief is the prime fontal sin, the source of all other sins, the meaning of the paradox is quite plain; and we see how he was led to assert it in this naked form, while contending against the dismal confusion which prevailed with regard to the relation between faith and works. That relation is strikingly declared in the following antithetical paradoxes: *Fides nisi sit sine ullis, etiam minimis operibus, non justificat, imo non est fides. Impossibile est fidem esse sine assiduis, multis, et magnis operibus.* Hence it is plain what is the purpose of the thesis selected for reprobation, and how it is to be answered, by the denial, not of the consequence, but of the premiss; for if the premiss be granted, the consequence must follow. Logically it is analogous to such common sayings, as *If the sky falls, we shall catch larks*, which serve a like purpose of sharpening the faculty of making distinctions: and though it would be justly shocking to use such a moral paradox for this comparatively trivial purpose, Luther's saying is justified by the occasion which called it forth, and the company amid which it stands, which sufficiently guards it against misapprehension. It is true, the logical and dialectic faculties have no immunity from abuse, any more than the other talents committed to man. To make our moral convictions the subject of analysis, to question them as if they might be erroneous, though for the sake of establishing them more securely, must needs brush off the dew of reverence which hangs on the mind at dawn: it may foster indifference to positive truth: it may encourage the conceited to fancy that, by acquiring the power of playing tricks with words, they also acquire a right of playing tricks with realities, and are elevated thereby far above the reach of those the sum of whose knowledge is that *Yea* is *Yea*, and that *Nay* is *Nay*. Nor need we go back to Plato and Aristophanes, in order to see how dialectic subtilties may be

perverted to the undermining of all moral distinctions. The casuistry of later ages has afforded too many grievous proofs that the intellect in Christian countries may be as corrupt and corruptive as ever it was among the heathens. The point however which I am urging here, is that the familiarity with such speculations will naturally breed a habit of asserting broad absolute propositions, without the limitations arising from their combination with the other elements of human nature, and of putting impossible cases with the view of distinguishing the essential principle from all its accidental accompaniments. Now in the passage of Luther which we are considering, the real offensiveness lies in the monstrous exaggeration of the language. The indignation bestowed upon him might indeed have been bestowed most deservedly upon the truly atrocious and blasphemous proposition, whereby the venders of Indulgences, whom he assailed, tried to lure purchasers for their trumpery, *Venias papales tantas esse, ut solvere possint hominem, etiamsi quis per impossibile Dei Genitricem violasset.* Such a proposition is indeed an abomination in the sight of God and of man: yet this doctrine, which Mr Ward might well call *too bad for the devils*, the flagitious hierarchy encouraged; or at least they would not repress and condemn their emissaries for proclaiming it, even when called upon and earnestly implored to do so. Luther's proposition on the other hand is fundamentally true: his words render it probable that he was thinking of David's crimes: the addition of *millies millies*, as everybody acquainted with his writings will recognize at once, is a mere Lutherism. Most readers will remember his answer to Spalatin with regard to the advice of his friends who would have dissuaded him from venturing to Worms, that *even if there were as many devils in Worms as there were tiles on the housetops, still he would go thither.* So again, in his grand letter to the Elector from the Wartburg, where he declares his resolution of returning to Wittenberg, he says he will not be withheld by fear of Duke George. *This I know full well of myself, if affairs at Leipsic were in the same case as now at Wittenberg, I would ride thither, even though (your Electoral Grace must forgive my foolish speech) it were to*

rain pure Duke Georges for nine days, and each one of them were nine times more furious than this. These instances are notorious: a multitude of similar ones might be cited from Luther's writings, especially from those belonging to this critical period of his life, when all his powers were stretcht beyond themselves by the stress of the conflict. To our nicer ears such expressions may seem in bad taste. Be it so. When a Titan is walking about among the pygmies, the earth seems to rock beneath his tread. Mont Blanc would be out of keeping in the Regent's Park; and what would be the outcry if it were to toss its head and shake off an avalanche or two. Such however is the dulness of the elementary powers, they have not apprehended the distinction between force and violence. In like manner, when the adamantine bondage in which men's hearts and souls and minds had been held for centuries, was to be burst, it was almost inevitable that the power which was to burst it should not measure its movements by the rules of polisht life. Erasmus did so; Melanchthon did so; but a thousand Erasmuses would not have effected the Reformation: nor would a thousand Melanchthons, without Luther to go before them and to animate them.

Should any doubt remain as to the correctness of the foregoing explanation, it must be removed by the following extract from the beautiful letter, (No 375 in De Wette's Collection,) written a few months after to Hartmuth of Kronberg, who had been deprived of his domains in consequence of his attachment to the cause of the Reformation. The train of thought is the very same. After speaking of the disasters and scandal brought on the cause by the disturbances at Wittenberg, Luther says, he thinks that these things may have happened in part as a punishment to himself, "for this reason, because at Worms, to oblige some good friends, that I might not be deemed too stiffneckt, I quencht my spirit, and did not deliver my confession before the tyrant more harshly and severely; although the unbelieving heathens have since reviled me for the insolence of my answers. They judge as heathens (such they are) must judge, who have never felt the power of the Spirit or of faith. I have often repented of my humility and respectful

conduct. But, be this as it may, whether I sinned or acted rightly, let us nevertheless be undaunted and undismayed. For as we do not vaunt ourselves on our good deeds, neither do we despond at our sins. We thank God that our faith stands higher than good deeds or sins. For the Father of all mercy has given to us to believe, not in a wooden, but in a living Christ, who is Lord over sin and innocence, and who can raise and preserve us, *even though we were to fall into a thousand and again a thousand sins every hour:* of this I have no doubt. And even though Satan try us still more fiercely and cruelly, he shall not make us faint, unless he find a way to pluck down Christ from the right hand of God. Because Christ continues sitting there, we too shall still be lords and masters over sin, death, the devil, and all things: nothing shall hinder us." It may be well to remark that *the thousand and thousand sins every hour* here spoken of must not be appealed to in defense of Mr Ward's translating *uno die* by *every day*. For the context shews the nature of the sins referred to, that they are sins of ignorance and of infirmity; so that this passage merely bears witness to Luther's intense feeling of clinging, pervading sinfulness. Here I will add one more extract to shew how habitually Luther's imagination contemplated its objects in large masses and swarms, a habit naturally fostered by the consciousness that he had long been standing almost single, and at certain critical moments altogether so, against the world. Only while in common cases it is fear that multiplies its enemies, with him it was courage: their number itself seemed to make him still bolder; for he felt he was protected by Him who is One, and who yet is mightier than all the myriad myriads of the universe. The passage comes from a Sermon preacht during the plague at Wittenberg in 1539, calling upon the citizens not to run away, and is printed by Walch, vol. x. p. 2349, "This is not a time to fly; but we must do what Christ bids us in Matthew xxv. 35: *I was an hungred*, &c. You know that I never fled in the plague, but staid through it with my whole house and family. Yet I might have fled with a good conscience, especially having the Prince Elector's command. Not so. He who has grown to his wife, brothers, children, sisters, neighbours,

let him stay, and help and comfort in the common danger: we all owe each other a death. Thus am I now your parson and makeshift, am tied to my pulpit, *from which a hundred pestilences shall not drive me away;* but I shall remain to visit the sick with my priests. If we die in this work of love, well for us: *our last hour will be better for us than a thousand years of life.* On the other hand, if you fly from your distresses, *the time will come when you would rather have died a thousand times over.*"

Here I am constrained, though with pain and reluctance, to remark that a writer of a very different stamp from Mr Ward has committed the same sin of citing the same mutilated words with the purpose of holding up Luther to condemnation. Yes, sin it is, and sin it ought to be called, so long as the ninth commandment keeps its place in the Decalogue, to take up slander hastily, without examination, and to repeat it and circulate it through the world, and that too against a man whose memory has been an object of sacred reverence to millions for ten generations. In fact, the higher the character borne by him who does so, the more such conduct ought to be reprobated. That which in Mr Ward may seem of a piece with his ordinary procedure, is doubly painful in such a man as Dr Mill, a grave man, a thoughtful man, deliberate and weighty in most of his judgements, and one of the very few in our days who uphold the reputation of English divines for theological learning. Yet, wide as his learning is, and in some departments profound and accurate, it is unfortunately by no means so in the region against which he has been induced by the present state of theology to direct his polemical batteries. The intelligent reader of Dr Mill's attacks on modern German philosophy has frequent occasion to regret that the assailant is not more intimately acquainted with the authors he is assailing, and will think it would have been better that he who professes to teach the English public what great reason they have for abhorring Hegel and Schelling, should at least have read some fair portion of the works he so strongly condemns; whereas it is quite clear that, when he went forth to war against those celebrated philosophers, he had not read a word of Hegel, beyond a few

extracts in other writers, and very little of Schelling; nor does he even seem to have known that for the last twelve years Schelling has been strongly contending against Hegel, and has made, or at all events professes to make, the idea of personality and of a personal God the central principle of his system. When we remember however what is the ordinary practice among Englishmen who give vent to their bile and their self-satisfaction in abusing German philosophy and theology, it may not be thought surprising that even such a man as Dr Mill should deem himself warranted in passing sentence without searching into the merits of the case. But it does seem strange that he should account it right to act on the same plan toward Luther; unless indeed he holds that the sins of the children are to be visited on the father, and that Luther is to be brought to summary punishment on account of the extravagances of modern Rationalism and Pantheism. At all events, from whatsoever cause, he seems to delight in seizing an occasion of snarling at Luther, or rather at scraps of Luther, and opinions entertained by Luther, which he has happened to meet with in the course of his miscellaneous reading. Thus, having learnt from Coleridge's *Tabletalk* that Luther had conjectured that the Epistle to the Hebrews may have been written by Apollos, he dismisses this conjecture with a contemptuous mark of admiration in a note on his *Praelectio Theologica;* though surely this is not the way for a divine to treat an opinion which the two recent learned editors of that Epistle, Bleek and Tholuck, have confirmed, after an elaborate investigation, by the sanction of their voices, extolling it as an instance of Luther's remarkable "critical tact." Thus again, in note Z to his *Sermons on the Temptation*, he extracts a fine passage from Chillingworth's Sermon on Rom. viii. 34, where that masterly logician, after speaking of the enemies that have no power over the Christian, adds, "Yet for all St Paul's exactness there remains one enemy behind, and that is a sore one of prime note; and truly I wonder how the Apostle could miss him: and that is sin. I would to God St Paul had taken notice of him; for this one enemy is able to do us more harm than all the rest put together; nay, but for sin, all

the rest almost were our very good friends. Had we best supply St Paul's incogitancy, and even adventure to put him in the catalogue too? Well, let those that have a mind to do it, do it: truly I dare not. And but that I know Martin Luther was a bold-spirited man, I should wonder how he durst so confidently have adventured upon it. In his book entitled *Captivitatis Babylonicae*, cap. *de Baptismo*, near the beginning he hath these words: *Vides quam dives sit homo Christianus sive baptizatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere suam salutem quantiscunque peccatis, nisi nolit credere.*—Only let us do thus much for St Paul's credit, to believe it was not merely inconsiderateness in him to leave out sin in this catalogue; that there was some ground of reason for it. For though it may come to pass, by the mercy and goodness of God, that even sin itself shall not pluck us out of his hand, yet it would be something a strange preposterous doctrine for a preacher of the New Covenant to proclaim that we shall undoubtedly obtain the promises of the Covenant, though we never so much break the conditions." After what has been said in explanation of this extract from Luther, it will not, I trust, need further apology. Still I will take leave to remark that, while Chillingworth's calm and grave tone in speaking of it shines off much to his advantage when contrasted with that of Luther's modern assailants, his argument in the last sentence is built on that erroneous notion of the evangelical dispensation as a Covenant, on which I have had to say a few words above, pp. 455, 456. Besides we here find that same reluctance and inability to recognize the Son of God as the friend of publicans and sinners, which characterize the whole body of Arminian Theology, and whereby that Theology relapst Romeward, after the grand assertion of that truth at the Reformation. Moreover, with all Chillingworth's acuteness, we here see how,—in this respect also like the other Arminian divines, though as a logician far superior to most of them,—he used the truths at the surface as the materials of his logical processes, instead of digging down to those at the centre. For what is the confidence which St Paul entertains that no power whatsoever will be able to separate us from the love of God manifested in Jesus Christ? It must

either be that no enemy whatsoever will be able to draw us into any sort of sin; in which case he would be contradicting the whole tenour of his own doctrine, as well as the strong declaration in St John's first Epistle, I. 8, 10, and would raise the justified Christian beyond the need of using the fifth petition in the Lord's Prayer. Or else it must mean that, although they whom God has chosen and justified will still fall continually into sin, while they abide in our present state of infirmity, yet the grace of the Spirit shall so strengthen them, that, notwithstanding the number and power of their enemies, these shall not prevail over them, so as finally to separate them from the love of God, and to nullify the propitiation of their Heavenly Intercessor. But if this be the true interpretation of that passage in St Paul, though Sin is not expressly enumerated among the enemies that shall not separate us from God, it is implied throughout that, as he says in another place, Sin shall not have dominion over us. In other words, the passage of Luther which Chillingworth finds fault with, if we bate a little of its overstrong expressions, will be found to be in perfect unison with that of St Paul.

Dr Mill however, after his quotation from Chillingworth, adds, "The same author who wrote the words quoted, and in whose Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians similar sentiments may be found, gave utterance also to the following, in a letter to Melanchthon: 'Sufficit quod agnovimus, per divitias gloriae Dei, Agnum qui tollit peccata mundi: ab hoc *non avellet nos peccatum, etiamsi millies millies uno die fornicemur aut occidamus.*' Greater outrage against the grace of Christ can scarcely be conceived, than the maintenance of such propositions under the idea of magnifying it." What an erroneous impression of Luther's meaning these words, standing by themselves, convey, has been sufficiently shewn. Not that Dr Mill intended to mislead his readers: doubtless he took the quotation from some one else, probably from Moehler. But at all events, when such a man is beguiled, in whatever way, into committing such an act of injustice against Luther, it is a lamentable instance of that torpour of the literary conscience in England, of which I complained above. Verily every

teacher in England ought to make it one of his first businesses to write these golden words from Niebuhr's Letter to a Student of Philology on the minds and hearts of his pupils. "Above all things, in every branch of literature and science, ought we to preserve our truth so pure, as utterly to shun all false show,—so as never to assert anything, however slight, for certain, of which we are not thoroughly convinced,—so as to take the utmost pains, when we are expressing a conjecture, to make the degree of our belief apparent. If we do not, where it is possible, ourselves point out defects which we perceive, and which others are not likely to discover,—if, when we lay down our pen, we cannot say, in the presence of God, *I have written nothing knowingly, which, after a severe examination, I do not believe to be true; in nothing have I deceived my reader, either with regard to myself or others; nor have I set my most odious adversary in any other light than I would answer for at my last hour*,—if we cannot do this, learning and literature make us unprincipled and depraved."

Niebuhr adds, "Here I am conscious that I demand nothing from others, of which a higher spirit, reading my soul, could reproach me with ever having done the reverse:" and the most diligent and minute examination of his writings has taught me that he was thoroughly warranted in saying so. How many English writers in our days may rightfully say the same, I know not, except my fellowlabourer in that translation of his Roman History, which we both felt to be scarcely less valuable as a moral than as an intellectual discipline. That several of our most celebrated writers have no notion of this sort of veracity, we have seen: at all events no such notion can ever have crost Mr Ward's mind, or that of his second witness, whom we have still to cross-examine. He is one just after Mr Ward's own heart. Such a string of charges as he brings against Luther has rarely been seen. After a number of other very grave counts in the indictment, he goes so far as to accuse him of "publicly preaching incontinence, adultery, incest even, as not only allowable, but, if practised under the prudential regulations which he himself lays down, unobjectionable, and even praiseworthy." Not a tittle of evidence indeed is adduced

in proof of these tremendous accusations; and though many of the others are asserted to be stated in Luther's own words, hardly a single reference is given for them. This would discredit the evidence in the judgement of any conscientious person, or at all events would make him wait till he had ascertained the correctness of the statements, before he defiled his pen by repeating them. Such scruples however do not trouble Mr Ward: the more virulent the abuse, the more eagerly he catches it up and propagates it. This witness, as cited by Mr Ward, appears in an amphibious character, as the writer of an Article in the Edinburgh Review (No CXXI), on the Admission of Dissenters to our Universities, and as the author of a pamphlet on the Schism in the Church of Scotland. The pamphlet bears the name of Sir William Hamilton; and Mr Ward says of the Article in the Review, that "it can be no discourtesy to attribute it to its universally acknowledged author, Sir W. Hamilton." Since the Pamphleteer refers to the Article as his own (in p. 59), in order to correct a misstatement in it, Mr Ward is clearly warranted in ascribing it to him. Else it would be a very doubtful honour. The Article is one of a series attacking the English Universities, especially that of Oxford; which series certainly exhibited much learning and considerable logical power, but was characterized, as is truly said in a Note to the *Lectures on the Question whether the Church or the State has the Power to educate the Nation*, (p. 311), "by extreme and even ludicrous ferocity:" and one of the series is there not incorrectly described "as having for its immediate object the establishment of these two propositions, first, that all who took the side opposite to that espoused by the Reviewer were villains; and secondly, that all who took the same side with him were fools:" while, as might be expected from so renowned a logician, "the ultimate object was of course to prove the sinfulness and inexpediency of bigotry, and inculcate charity and good will." In truth it is much such an Article as might be expected to have come from Polyphemus after the loss of his eye, or from Ajax in his madness. The blows are as violent, and dealt out with almost equal discrimination. Nevertheless Mr Ward says, "Sir W. Hamilton's authority is a sufficient

voucher for the accuracy of the quotations, but unfortunately he does not specify his references." To this I would reply, that no authority whatsoever, not even that of Aristides or the Duke of Wellington, ought to be taken as a voucher for such a vague mass of scurrilous slander. Truth is definite and distinct, above all is scrupulously so, when constrained to speak evil. It is the calumniator who casts his charges pellmell into a witch's caldron. What weight then can any one with the slightest sense of justice attach to the unsupported assertions of a writer who has shewn himself capable of being hurried along by such blind fury? and Mr Ward, be it remembered, must have been personally enabled to appreciate the correctness of accusations branding the whole governing body of the University of Oxford for many generations with the foulest crimes and the most groveling motives. What can be the worth of such testimony, when imputing the public preaching of these abominations to a man whose name has been revered above all other human names for three centuries by the most truth-seeking and truth-loving part of the most truth-seeking and truth-loving nation upon earth, a nation inferior to none in the purity of its domestic morals, notwithstanding the forein importations whereby during a part of those three centuries the higher classes have been grievously tainted? Surely it may be termed a moral impossibility, that Luther should "publicly have preacht incontinence, adultery, incest," and yet that all the learning of Protestant Germany, which explores the hidden things of every nation and age, should never have found it out,—nay, that all the sharp-eyed malignity of his Romish enemies should never have brought forward the evidence of these facts, in such a mode as to convince and confound their opponents. Nor is it less a moral impossibility, that, if these accusations could have been establisht on conclusive evidence, the moral sense of Protestant Germany would not have been revolted thereby, and, bitter as the pain might have been, have torn its love and reverence for Luther out of its bleeding heart. Still, in defiance of this twofold moral impossibility, Mr Ward is pleased, through a sort of fraternal affection for a writer so nearly akin to him in the calmness and sobriety requisite

for the exercise of judicial functions, to say that the writer's name "is a sufficient voucher for the accuracy of his quotations," that is, of course, not merely for their literal, verbal accuracy, but for the correctness of the meaning which they needs must, and are evidently designed to convey.

Yet the very mode in which the charges against Luther are lugged into the Review, ought to have discredited them; inasmuch as the worst part of them is no way connected with the writer's theme, but seems foisted in to give vent to some personal antipathy or animosity. In contending against an argument which had been used for retaining the tests in our Universities, on the ground that the abolition of them might open the way for a laxity of opinion, such as has prevailed in those of Germany, the Reviewer asserts, "We can easily shew—that there is hardly an obnoxious doctrine to be found among the modern Lutherans, which has not its warrant and example in the writings of Luther himself." This is a bold assertion; and the more one knows of Luther, and of that which is objectionable in modern German theology and philosophy, the more audacious it seems: nor does its audacity diminish, when we examine the proofs by which the Reviewer supports it. To bear out his argument, as well as his assertion, the extravagances of opinion alledged against Luther ought to have been of the same kind as those complained of in the modern German Universities. When it is urged that the teaching in the German Universities is destructive of the divine authority of Christianity, that it degrades Jesus into a mere man, a teacher of morality, that it divests Him of His superhuman powers, that it substitutes some form of natural religion, deism, or even pantheism or atheism, for the revelation and incarnation of a personal God, it is utterly wide of the mark to answer, *Why, Luther did the same thing: he carried the doctrine of predestination and absolute decrees to a wild and shocking extreme;* more especially if we consider that in so doing he was building wholly on what he believed to be the only legitimate sense of the express declarations in Scripture, and that he was reviving the doctrine of Augustin in opposition to the Pelagianism of the age. Or how is the argument illustrated by the

statement that Luther basely compromised the truth in allowing the Landgrave of Hesse to marry a second wife during the life of the first? However disgraceful or criminal his conduct on that occasion may have been, it was his own individual act; nay, the worse it was, the more it was his own, and the further removed from the controversy about tests. A logician like the Reviewer, who is so fond of displaying his logical dexterity, would not have tript thus, unless some blind passion had driven him headlong. He must have been cherishing some secret aversion to Luther; and being irritated by finding him spoken of with high praise by the opponent whom he was refuting, he took fire and resolved to give vent to his spleen. So he gathers together what he calls "a hasty anthology of some of Luther's opinions," picking out every thorn and briar, every nettle and thistle, everything poisonous and deadly, that he fancies he can find in him. And hasty assuredly it is, even to a pitch of rashness and recklessness and slovenliness: but the very confession of hastiness ought to have convinced Mr Ward, that the name of a writer who can bring such grave charges against a great and holy man, or at least a man so reputed to be such, hastily, could never be a sufficient voucher for the correctness of his statements.

This hasty *anthology*, as the Reviewer terms it, by a litotes like that which gave the Furies the name of the Eumenides, is divided into three classes, *Speculative Theology*, *Practical Theology*, and *Biblical Criticism*. Under the first head his hasty researches have only enabled him to cite the following sentences in which the doctrine of God's absolute decrees is asserted, in what seems a very offensive manner. "God pleaseth you when he crowns the unworthy; he ought not to displease you when he damns the innocent. All things take place by the eternal and invariable will of God, who blasts and shatters in pieces the freedom of the will. God creates in us the evil, in like manner as the good. The high perfection of faith, is to believe that God is just notwithstanding that, by his will, he renders us necessarily damnable, and seemeth to find pleasure in the torments of the miserable." Much of this sounds very horrible; but never is the utmost exactitude of greater

importance than in arguments on these awful subjects. As a slight obstacle on a railway will drive a rapid train out of its course, and may occasion its destruction, so a few little words more or less in such speculations will turn truth into blasphemous falsehood. Now in the sentences just transcribed we immediately perceive one expression which Luther cannot have written in the sense the Reviewer means it to bear. He cannot have spoken of God as *damning the innocent*, directly and absolutely: for he could not regard any man as *innocent* before God's judgement-seat. The Reviewer, as usual, gives us no reference; but we may guess that the quotation comes from the Treatise *De Servo Arbitrio*, the object of which is to reassert a most important and profound truth, a truth grievously obscured in those days by the practical Pelagianism of the Church: and the assertion of this truth was a great service to Christian theology and philosophy, notwithstanding the occasional harshnesses and exaggerations of expression. As the sentences just quoted stand in the Review, they seem to form one continuous passage. But when we look through the Treatise *De Servo Arbitrio*, we discover to our surprise that they are culled out from various parts of it, with long intervals between them, and that they are monstrously garbled and misrepresented. I dare say the Reviewer himself does not know this; and he may perhaps be thankful to see the originals of his quotation. Well! if he will look into the third volume of the Jena edition, p. 207 a, he will find Luther arguing thus against an objection urged by Erasmus in his *Diatribe de Libero Arbitrio* on the score of justice: "Vides ergo Diatriben cum suis in hac causa non judicare secundum aequitatem, sed secundum affectum commodi sui. Si enim aequitatem spectaret, aeque expostularet cum Deo, dum indignos coronat, atque expostulat cum eo, dum immeritos damnat. Aeque etiam laudaret et praedicaret Deum, dum damnat immeritos, atque facit, dum indignos salvat. Utrobique enim par iniquitas, si sensum nostrum spectes; nisi non fuerit aeque iniquum si Cain ob homicidium laudes regemque facias, atque si Habel innocentem in carcerem conjicias aut occidas. Cum igitur ratio Deum laudet indignos salvantem, arguat vero immeritos damnantem,

convincitur non laudare Deum ut Deum, sed ut suo commodo servientem: hoc est, seipsam et quae sua sunt in Deo quaerit et laudat, non Deum aut quae Dei sunt. At *si placet tibi Deus indignos coronans, non debet etiam displicere immeritos damnans.*" Here the sentence which the Reviewer sets at the head of Luther's offensive sayings, and which, as so placed, can only be understood absolutely, nay, which he plainly meant to be understood absolutely,—nay, which, as we shall see, he himself understood absolutely,—comes in as one in a chain of strictly logical propositions, in reply to a particular argument used by Erasmus. Luther is not declaring his own belief, but merely reducing his opponent's argument *ad absurdum*. Turn we back eighty-four folio pages to 165 a, and we come to the following sentences. "Est itaque hoc imprimis necessarium et salutare Christiano nosse, quod Deus nihil praescit contingenter, sed quod *omnia incommutabili, et aeterna, infallibilique voluntate et praevidet et proponit et facit. Hoc fulmine sternitur et conteritur penitus Liberum Arbitrium.*" If the reader compares this with the Reviewer's second sentence, he will perceive what is the meaning of a "literal translation." Luther says that "the foreknowledge of God is a thunderbolt by which *Liberum Arbitrium* is crusht and destroyed." The Reviewer's *literal translation* most profanely represents God as "*blasting and shattering in pieces the freedom of the will.*" But this mistranslation too, we shall see, is not imputable wholly to him. The precise original of the next sentence, "God creates in us the evil, in like manner as the good," I have not met with: perhaps there is none, none at all events that the Reviewer knows of; but there are a number of passages that "blast and shatter in pieces" such an accusation; for instance in 199 a: "Quando Deus omnia in omnibus movet et agit, necessario movet etiam et agit in Satana et impio. Agit autem in illis taliter, quales illi sunt, et quales invenit; hoc est, cum illi sint aversi et mali, et rapiantur motu illo divinae omnipotentiae, non nisi aversa et mala faciunt. Tanquam si eques agat equum tripedem vel bipedem, agit quidem taliter, qualis equus est; hoc est, equus male incedit. Sed quid faciat eques? Equum talem simul agit cum equis sanis, illo male, istis

bene: aliter non potest, nisi equus sanetur. Hic vides Deum, *cum in malis et per malos operatur, mala quidem fieri, Deum tamen non posse male facere, licet mala per malos faciat, quia ipse bonus male facere non potest,* malis tamen instrumentis utitur.—Omnipotentia Dei facit ut impius non possit motum et actionem Dei evadere.—Corruptio vero seu aversio sui a Deo facit ut bene moveri et rapi non possit. Deus suam omnipotentiam non potest omittere propter illius aversionem, impius vero suam aversionem non potest mutare. Ita fit ut perpetuo et necessario peccet et erret, donec Spiritu Dei corrigatur.—Non igitur quispiam cogitet, Deum, cum dicitur *indurare,* aut malum in nobis operari (indurare enim est malum facere) sic facere, quasi de novo in nobis malum creet; ac si fingas malignum cauponem, qui, ipse malus, in vas non malum fundat aut temperet venenum, ipso vase nihil faciente.—Sic enim fingere videntur hominem per sese bonum, aut non malum, pati a Deo malum opus, dum audiunt a nobis dici *Deum in nobis operari bona et mala*—(can this be the original of the Reviewer's sentence, "*God creates in us the evil, in like manner as the good?*" the Reviewer himself, we shall see, cannot tell us whether it is or not:) nosque mera necessitate passiva subjici Deo operanti.—Sed ita cogitet,—in nobis, id est, per nos Deum operari mala, non culpa Dei, sed vitio nostro, qui cum simus natura mali, Deus vero bonus, nos actione sua pro natura omnipotentiae suae rapiens, aliter facere non possit, quam quod ipse bonus, malo instrumento malum faciat, licet hoc malo pro sua sapientia utatur bene ad gloriam suam et salutem nostram." Let none despise this explanation. Who has given a better? and Luther himself, just before, says, "Oportuit verbis Dei contentos esse, et simpliciter credere quod dicunt, cum sint opera Dei prorsus inenarrabilia. Tamen in obsequium Rationis, id est, stultitiae humanae, libet ineptire et stultescere, et balbutiendo tentare si qua possimus eam movere." For the last sentence in the Reviewer's quartette we must again go back fifty-six folio pages to 171 a; and there we read, "*Hic est fidei summus gradus,* credere illum esse clementem, qui tam paucos salvat, tam multos damnat, *credere justum, qui sua voluntate nos necessario damnabiles facit, ut videatur, referente Erasmo, delectari cruciatibus*

miserorum, et odio potius quam amore dignus." The meaning of this passage, as is clear from the context, is: "This is the highest pitch of faith, to believe in the mercy of God, although few are saved, and so many condemned, to believe in the justice of God, who by His will creates us, though by the necessity of our fallen nature we become inevitably subject to condemnation, without the special help of His Spirit; so that, *as Erasmus states it*, He seems to find pleasure in the torments of the wretched, and to be deserving of hatred rather than love." The argument throughout the whole Treatise is, that God does not create the evil in us, but that He creates us, though our fallen nature is evil, and though, until that fallen nature is renewed, we are unable to resist sin, and thereby become liable to condemnation. How grossly all this is misrepresented in the Reviewer's "literal translation," is plain. In the last clause the words *referente Erasmo*, which shew that it was a conclusion drawn, not by Luther himself, but by Erasmus, are wholly left out. Still in one sense the Reviewer is not so guilty as he appears. For strange though it may be deemed, it unquestionably is the fact, as I have already hinted more than once, that he had never set eyes on the original Latin of any one of these four sentences. The garbling, the mistranslation, the misrepresentation are not the Reviewer's sin, but Bossuet's, in the second Book of whose *Histoire des Variations* the four sentences stand, almost consecutively, though not in the same order, in one page, § XVII. As a thief is sometimes detected through some flaw in his shoe or boot, which happens to coincide with the foot-prints about the spot where the robbery was committed, so here we may feel confident that the Reviewer, who verily needs an expert policeman to track him, took his quotations from Bossuet, because, after the Chinese fashion, they copy Bossuet's faults. For Bossuet too, in the second sentence, gives, "Toutes choses arrivent par une immuable, éternelle, et inévitable volonté de Dieu, *qui foudroie et met en pièces tout le libre arbitre*;" and Bossuet also, according to his wont, perverts the whole of the last sentence, omitting the very words which the Reviewer omits, not only the clause about God's mercy, but also the two words

referente Erasmo, the absence of which completely changes the character of the last clause, shifting its offensiveness from Erasmus to Luther; and Bossuet in like manner mistranslates "*qui sua voluntate nos necessario damnabiles facit,*" by "*quoiqu'il nous rende nécessairement damnables par sa volonté.*" But though Bossuet may thus relieve the Reviewer from a part of his guilt, still, when we remember that in the sentence immediately before these propositions, which he quotes as exemplifying Luther's paradoxes in *Speculative Theology,* he promises that his "hasty anthology of Luther's opinions" shall be "*in his own words, literally translated,*"—and when we find it thus demonstrated that the first four sentences which he produces, on a subject on which the utmost precision is, above all, indispensable, as a metaphysician must be especially aware, are not translated from Luther, but from the translation of a Frenchman, a person therefore nationally inaccurate, and Luther's bitter and fierce enemy,—and that he can never have seen Luther's words, that he had no notion whatever of their meaning and logical connexion,—we will leave him to characterize his own conduct, if he can find appropriate terms for it in that rich vocabulary which he has poured out in his attacks on the University of Oxford. On the other hand what a testimony is it to the soundness of Luther's doctrines, that this knot of garbled sentences thus twisted and strained from their meaning are all that so unscrupulous an enemy has been able to scrape together against him under the head of Speculative Theology!

As the second head will require some discussion, and is closely connected with the supplementary charges brought against Luther in the Pamphlet, we will proceed next to the third, that of *Biblical Criticism.* Under this head the Reviewer has strung together divers sayings, which he ascribes to Luther, and which, as here represented, appear derogatory to certain portions of the Bible. From other parts of the Article it is plain that the Reviewer himself feels no repugnance to the freest exercise of criticism on the books collected in the Sacred Volume: therefore these sayings, as quoted by him, are not designed to inspire the same odium, for the sake of which they are reprinted by Mr Ward.

But, with a view to common readers, it may be well to remark, that, even if some of Luther's expressions with regard to certain parts of the Bible appear to be objectionable, at all events to him, far more than to any other man, are we indebted for the elevation of the Scriptures to that power and ubiquity which they now possess, for their supreme authority in the Church, and for their abiding presence as the guardian and guide of every household, the comforter of every sick bed, in the cottage as well as the palace. In fact the very freedom of Biblical Criticism, that practice of trying and proving every part of the Scriptures by the severest tests, fearlessly and unshrinkingly, which the Protestant Churches have derived from the Reformation, is itself a proof of their reverence for the Bible. Because we know it to be of gold, we feel assured that it will only come out the purer, though it be tried seven times, yea, seventy times seven, in the fire. We do not,—so far at least as we have imbibed the true spirit of the Reformation, we do not regard the Bible as a collection of mysterious oracles to be received in unquestioning silence literally and undiscriminatingly, as all equally sacred, all equally precious and momentous. We do not wrap it up in wool, and lay it in a dark unapproachable sanctuary. We know that it is the volume of God's word, and that therefore it has light in itself, yea, that it is full of light, and that this its light it is to manifest by holding its course openly in the eyes of all mankind, like that of the sun through the sky. Did we deem it a candle or a lamp, we should screen it from the winds, and should fear it would burn out: but we cannot fear that either winds or clouds will ever blow out or blot out the sun. For this reason, because the Protestant Churches feel this firm assurance that the Bible contains the Revelation of the Most High God, they are not afraid to let all its parts be tried by the most searching criticism. If they suspected that it might possibly turn out to be a lie, a fiction, a cunningly devised fable, they would keep it out of sight, and debar people from coming too near it, lest the imposture should be detected. But inasmuch as we know and are confident that in the Bible we have the word of God, the declaration of His holy

will and of His infinite mercy and grace,—inasmuch too as we know and are confident that the Spirit of Truth has not forsaken His office of enlightening Christ's Church, but still vouchsafes to direct and preserve the hearts and minds of all such as seek His aid through faith in the Onlybegotten Son of the Father,—therefore we do not shrink from examining the Scriptures, as St Paul throughout requires his readers to examine his writings, by the most piercing light of the purified reason, according to the analogy of the faith. Hence, although there has been much very deplorable and reprehensible in the Biblical Criticism of later times,—although there may be some inconsiderate expressions handed down to us as coming from Luther himself,—the free living study of the Bible as the Book of God, wherein God manifests Himself livingly and with distinction, even as He does in the outward world, more plainly in some parts, and less plainly in others,—wherein too, as in everything that comes within the sphere of humanity, some portions belong to the realm of transitory things, as well as others to that of eternal things,—this free living study of the Bible, without which there can be no vital appropriation and assimilation of its truths, and without which it would still less be able to shape and guide the intellect of mankind, is infinitely preferable to the unreflecting reception of every verse in it, verse by verse, even as we should receive a Koran or a Shaster; just as a living man, notwithstanding all that is frail and perishable about him, ranks immeasurably above a wooden puppet, nay, immeasurably above the finest marble statue. Should any one still feel a scruple, let him read Luther's Letters, and see how the Bible was indeed a living book with him, flesh of his regenerate flesh, and bone of his bone, how it was the light which shone on all his thoughts, and the rock on which he took his stand, with the assurance that, God helping him, all the powers of earth and hell would never be able to drive him away from it.

We must look however at a few of Luther's sayings concerning the Scriptures, which Mr Ward exhibits for reproof, taking them from the Edinburgh Reviewer. Among them, of course, we find the notorious one about the Epistle of St James. All sorts of

persons complain that Luther called it *an Epistle of straw;* and perhaps the loudest in this complaint are those to whom the whole Bible is little else than a book of straw. The expression, so far as I have been able to discover, occurs only in a part of the Preface to the German New Testament publisht in 1522, printed by Walch in Vol. XIV. p. 105, and was omitted in the editions subsequent to 1524. Luther, in pointing out for the instruction of those who were unused to the reading of the Bible, which books in the New Testament are of the greatest importance, says, as many have said before and since, that the Gospel of St John is to be valued far above the other three, and concludes thus: "St John's Gospel, and his first Epistle, the Epistles of St Paul, especially those to the Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and St Peter's first Epistle,—these are the Books which set Christ before you, and teach you everything necessary and salutary for you to know, even though you were never to hear or see any other book or doctrine. Therefore the Epistle of St James is quite an epistle of straw by the side of these; for it has no true evangelical character." Now doubtless, if these Books were to be severed from the rest of Scripture, it would be much as if you were to cut away the roots and trunk of a tree, and to fancy that the upper branches would still continue hanging in the air, putting forth leaves, and bearing fruit. On the other hand it should be observed that the expression applied to the Epistle of St James is not used positively, but relatively, in comparison with those books of the New Testament in which the special doctrines of the Gospel are brought forward more fully and explicitly. It was probably suggested by what St Paul says in 1 Cor. III. 12; and, as I have often had occasion to remark, Luther's words are not to be weighed in a jeweller's scales. Besides we must take into account that, while he is quite right in denying the specially evangelical character of this Epistle, it had been turned by those who exaggerated and perverted its meaning, into the main prop of those very errours concerning faith and justification, which it was his peculiar mission to overthrow. Even in the quietest controversy we well know how difficult it is to measure all our thoughts and words, not to exaggerate what

favours our own side, not to depreciate what supports our adversary. Who then will make a man an offender for a word, uttered in the stress of such a conflict, the most awful perhaps ever waged by man, inasmuch as it was not only against an external power which kept the hearts and minds of half Christendom in abject bondage, and answered an argument with a sentence of excommunication and an *auto de fe*, but also in the first instance against the force of his own inveterate habits and prepossessions, nay, of a faith which he had himself long held earnestly and submissively before he detected its fallacy. Nor should it be forgotten that Luther omitted the offensive expression in the later editions of his New Testament.

The Reviewer, it has already been stated, gives no references for his extracts, a practice utterly to be reprobated when they are cited as the grounds of censure. The chief part however of the "hasty anthology" collected under the head of *Biblical Criticism* may be traced to Luther's *Tabletalk;* and when we compare these so-called extracts with the original passages from which they appear to have been taken, we discover more than one reason why it may have been thought expedient that the references should here be left out, though in other parts of the Article they are given carefully. In the first place the importance of the allegations, for whatsoever purpose they may be cited, is much diminisht when they are known to come from the *Tabletalk*. Precious as that book is, both for the body of truths contained in it, and for its vivid portraiture of Luther's character and familiar habits, we are not entitled to regard it as a sufficient authority for Luther's opinions, except so far as it is confirmed by his acknowledged writings: at least we certainly have no right to make it the ground of accusations against him. For in all conversation there is much that is prompted, and, it may be, exaggerated, by casual impulses of the moment, much that, at the time of utterance, is limited by previous or subsequent remarks, and so cannot be rightly understood without them. Besides even the best hearers will often misapprehend and misconceive, the best reporters will often misstate, especially when the report is not committed to writing for hours, it may be days or weeks after.

Some collections of *Tabletalk* are indeed very interesting and delightful; but they should always be read in an indulgent, not in a censorious spirit. The only safe rule is to ascribe whatever we find that is wise or ingenious or instructive, to the speaker, since this is not likely to have been invented by the reporter; while the blunders, the absurdities, the extravagances should be overlookt, from the probability that they may be the scribe's interpolations or perversions, or that they may have had some unrecorded justification at the moment. And these remarks apply with double force to Luther's, which is compiled from the manuscripts of a dozen of his friends. A second reason for the omission of all references might be, that, when it was seen from what a tiny spot in the vast expanse of Luther's writings they were drawn, this would have swept away all appearance of that extensive acquaintance with them which the Reviewer now seems to claim, but which his extreme ignorance of what Luther was proves he cannot have possest. There is also a third reason why it certainly is expedient for the Reviewer that his readers should not have any facilities for referring to the passages he professes to cite; for then any one would easily have detected how grossly several of them are misrepresented. At present, even if we fancy we have found them out, there is always a possibility that the same words may occur somewhere else, without the context, through the omission of which they convey a totally different meaning from what Luther intended to express by them.

For instance, when our eyes run through the Reviewer's anthology, one of the most startling sentences is this: "*The book of Esther I toss into the Elbe.*" If a person familiar with Luther's style lights upon this sentence, he will recognize the great Reformer's unmistakable mark in the words, *I toss into the Elbe;* and it will be a pang to him to find Luther applying such rude words to any book, even the least important, in the Holy Scriptures. But he did not. The Reviewer asserts that he gives us Luther's "own words literally translated:" Mr Ward asserts that the Reviewer's name is "a sufficient voucher for the accuracy of his quotations:" and yet Luther never said anything of the

sort about the book of Esther. The original of this "literal translation" is plainly the following sentence in Luther's *Tabletalk, Das dritte Buch Esther werfe ich in die Elbe: The third book of Esther I toss into the Elbe.* Why the Reviewer left out the word *third* in his "literal translation," it is for him to explain. Were one to follow the example he sets in imputing the vilest motives to all persons in authority in the University of Oxford, one should call this a fraudulent imposition. Was he puzzled to make out what could be meant by the *third book of Esther?* and did he intend tacitly to correct the text? When words are made the ground of an accusation, they should be examined with scrupulous care; and if it appear requisite to alter them, this should be expressly stated. Here the next sentence plainly shews that a totally different correction is needed. "*In the fourth book, in that which Esther dreamt, there are pretty, and also some good sayings, as, Wine is strong, the king stronger, women still stronger, but truth the strongest of all.*" I quote from Walch's edition, Vol. XXII. 2079, and have no means of examining older copies of the *Tischreden;* but the old English translation speaks of *the third book of Hester.* So that the errour, gross as it is, seems to have belonged to the original text. For there can be no question that Luther had been talking, not of a non-existent third and fourth book of *Esther*, but of the books of *Ezra* or *Esdras;* though there is still much confusion in the report of his words, since the argument about strength does not stand in the fourth book, but in the third, the first of the apocryphal ones; those of Ezra and Nehemiah being numbered as the first two. Thus Luther's words are nothing but a Lutheran mode of saying what Jerome actually did, when he cast these apocryphal books out of his Version, as he says in his Preface to the book of Ezra: "Nec quemquam moveat quod unus a nobis editus liber est; nec apocryphorum tertii et quarti somniis delectetur; quia et apud Hebraeos Ezrae Neemiaeque sermones in unum volumen coarctantur, et quae non habentur apud illos, nec de viginti quatuor senibus sunt, *procul abjicienda.*" Nor can anything well go beyond Jerome's contemptuous expressions about the same books in his pamphlet against Vigilantius. Assuredly too the next sentence quoted by the

Reviewer,—"I am so an enemy to the book of Esther that I would it did not exist; for it Judaizes too much, and hath in it a great deal of heathenish naughtiness,"—though here again the English Translation agrees with Walch in applying Luther's words to the Book of Esther, was in fact spoken of the apocryphal books of *Esdras*. For the whole passage in the *Tabletalk* is as follows: "When the Doctor was correcting the translation of the second Book of the Maccabees, he said, *I dislike this book and that of Esther so much, that I wish they did not exist; for they Judaize too much, and have much heathenish extravagance.* Then Master Forster said, *The Jews esteem the book of Esther more than any of the prophets.*" The combination of the book with that of the Maccabees,—which the Reviewer ought not to have omitted,—as well as Forster's remark, leaves no doubt that Luther spoke of the book of Esdras. These blunders shew how unsafe it is to build any conclusions on the authority of the *Tabletalk*.

What the Reviewer meant by his next extract,—"Isaiah hath borrowed his art and knowledge from the Psalter,"—or what Mr Ward meant by repeating it,—what either of them can have deemed reprehensible in it, one cannot well conceive. Even from the English words an intelligent reader would make out, that Luther was only speaking of Isaiah's style and composition: and this is still plainer when we see them in connexion with what goes before. "Neither Cicero nor Virgil, nor Demosthenes was such an orator, or so eloquent as David.—Moses and David are also the two greatest prophets. What Isaiah has, he takes from David; and so do the other prophets." What is there more censurable in this than in saying that Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, or that St Paul profited by the instructions of Gamaliel?

Again, the sentence about the book of *Proverbs* is so broken off as to be wholly deceptive: "The Proverbs of Solomon have been collected by others." When such a sentence is cited as an example of licentious criticism on the Scriptures, of such criticism as proves Luther to have furnisht warrants and precedents for all that is most "obnoxious" in modern Rationalism, we cannot but

suppose that it implies a doubt concerning the authenticity of the *Proverbs*. An honest writer would not have detacht it from what follows: "The Proverbs of Solomon were collected by others, and caught up from his mouth and written down when he uttered them at table or elsewhere; and in them the king's majesty and wisdom shine and are seen."

On the book of Jonah the Reviewer makes Luther say, "The history of Jonah is so monstrous, that it is absolutely incredible." Verily the misrepresentation in these words is so monstrous as to be almost incredible. True, Luther is represented in the *Tabletalk* as saying those words; and he goes on thus (p. 2096): "yea, it sounds like a lie, and more extravagant than any fable of the poets; and if it did not stand in the Bible, I should laugh at it as a lie. For if one thinks about him, how he was three days in the great belly of the fish, where in three hours he might have been digested and turned into the substance of the fish: here he might have died a hundred times, under the earth, in the sea, in the fish, &c. Is not this to live in the midst of death? so that beside this miracle that in the Red Sea is nothing. And how oddly it turns out. After he is delivered and saved, he begins to rage and to grumble and to vex himself for the sake of a little thing, namely, a herb. It is a great mystery: I am ashamed of my interpretation of this prophet, that I have treated the main action and purpose of the miracle so weakly." So that the greatness of the miracle, instead of making Luther doubt its truth, as the Reviewer by his shamefully garbled quotation accuses him of doing, is merely magnified by Luther to shew the fulness of his faith in it. After this one should hardly be surprised to find the Reviewer accusing the Decalogue of inculcating all manner of crimes, because it says in one Commandment, *Thou shalt commit adultery*, and in another, *Thou shalt steal*. At all events, when one examines the whole of his indictment against Luther, the first count of it in the Review, and the second in the Pamphlet, one might be led to fancy that he must have been in the habit of reading the ninth, *Thou shalt bear false witness against thy neighbour*. With regard however to Luther's saying about the prophet Jonah, the Reviewer

has an accomplice in his perversion of it in the author of a recent work on *German Protestantism*, which is also entitled *A Brief History of German Theology from the Reformation to the Present Time*, and which for shallowness and presumption is well worthy to rank with most of the other English diatribes against German theology and philosophy. It has the same aptness for choosing the evil, and refusing the good: indeed the author only looks for the evil; and even if he were willing to do justice to the good, his prejudices would prevent his recognizing it. Yet he pronounces summary judgement on a long series of theological and philosophical systems, while it is plain that he has never set himself to study any one of them; nor has he the slightest sympathy with that mysterious instinct which constrains the masters of thought to wear out their lives in seeking after the hidden life and truth and unity in all things. One of the objects of this worthless book is to make out that Luther was the father of Rationalism; though, if he was so, it could only have been as Noah was the father of Ham, and Adam of Cain. In every field, whether of the world or of the Church, however diligent and careful the husbandman may be in sowing good seed only, the tares and other weeds will spring up along with the wheat. But in trying to draw out his pedigree, the author substitutes an arbitrary definition of Rationalism for the received one; a proceeding far from justifiable, inasmuch as he thereby attracts the odium attacht to the word in its ordinary sense to that which he substitutes in lieu of it; although in no sense can Luther be shewn to be the father of Rationalism, unless in that in which St Paul might be termed its first father, and Augustin and Chrysostom as well as Origen, Anselm and Aquinas as well as Erigena, belong to the family. With the view of establishing Luther's paternity, the author, in pp. 26—28, has collected divers sayings concerning some of the books of Scripture, in proof that "he did not scruple to give utterance to very liberal opinions upon any particular portion of the Bible which did not exactly accord with the theological system which his own judgement had led him to construct." Of these sayings several are taken from the *Tabletalk*; and among them is the

following: "The history of the prophet Jonah is so strange, that it is totally incredible; nay, it sounds more fabulous and inconsistent than any legend of the poets; and if it were not in the Bible, I should laugh at it as a lie." When one considers the purpose for which these words are quoted, and the company they stand amongst, it is plain the author intended them to imply that Luther doubted the truth of the book of Jonah. Yet as his title-page bears the name of an English clergyman, and as the profest object of his book is to give a history of German theology, tracing its errours up to Luther, one might have expected from him, what it might be exorbitant to demand from an Edinburgh Reviewer, that, before he charged Luther with the contemptuous rejection of a prophetical book, he would have lookt about to ascertain whether this could possibly be the fact. He might then have found out that Luther in 1526 publisht an Exposition of the book of Jonah, which indeed is referred to in this very passage of the *Tabletalk*, and that in the Preface to this Exposition he says he had been led to choose this book from the disastrous condition of the Church, "because it is an excellent, singular, comfortable example of faith, and sets a great and mighty miracle of God's goodness before the world. For who can do otherwise than trust in God heartily, and boldly defy all the devils, the world, and all raging tyrants, and take pride in God's goodness, when he considers this example how God's power and grace were able so easily to preserve Jonah in the midst of the deep sea, and in the midst of the whale also, that is, not in one kind, but in many kinds of death, forsaken and unknown by all men, by all creatures, and to restore him, as if it cost no trouble, nay, to do this with a word. As though He would say to us, *Lo, this I do with a word: what, think ye, can I do with My Spirit and power?*"

The Reviewer's other extracts from Luther's Biblical Criticisms, as well as those collected by the Historian of German Theology, may be dismist without notice; for we have a more difficult question awaiting us. Under the head of *Practical Theology*, in the Reviewer's "hasty anthology," we find the following paragraph. "We [Luther, Melanchthon, Bucer, Melander, Corvinus, Adam,

Leningus, Winteferte] cannot advise that the license of marrying more wives than one be publicly introduced, and as it were ratified by Law. If anything were allowed to get into print on this head, your Highness [Philip Landgrave of Hesse, champion of the Reformation, who, having lost, as he pleads, conceit of his wife, being touched with scruples of conscience at his adultery, which however he admits, he '*does not wish to abstain from*,' and 'knowing' (as he tells themselves) of Luther and Melanchthon having exhorted the king of England not to divorce his first queen, but to marry a second over and above,—had applied to the leading doctors of the Reformation for license to have a second wife]—your Highness easily comprehends that it would be understood and received as a precept, whence much scandal and many difficulties would arise.—Your Highness should be pleased to consider the excessive scandal; that the enemies of the Gospel would exclaim that we are like the Anabaptists who have adopted the practice of polygamy, and that the Evangelicals, as the Turks, allow themselves the license of a plurality of wives. . . . But in certain cases there is room for dispensation. If any one (for example) detained captive in a forein country, should there take to himself a second wife for the good of his body and health, &c.—in these cases we do not know by what reason a man could be condemned who marries an additional wife with the advice of his pastor, not with the purpose of introducing a new law, but of satisfying his own necessity.—In fine, if your Highness be fully and finally resolved to marry yet another wife, we judge that this ought to be done secretly, as has been said above, in speaking of the dispensation, so that it be known only to your Highness, to the lady, and to a few faithful persons obliged to silence, under the seal of confession; hence no attacks or scandal of any moment would ensue. For there is nothing unusual in princes keeping concubines; and although the lower orders may not perceive the excuses of the thing, the more intelligent know how to make allowance." In a note to this passage the Reviewer, after some remarks on the circumstances of the marriage, and its effects, states that monogamy was publicly condemned by Henke, a German Professor of Theology, at

the end of the last century, and adds: "However detestable this doctrine, the bold avowal of the Rationalist is honorable, when contrasted with the skulking compromise of all professed principle, by men calling themselves *The Evangelicals*. Renouncing the Pope, they arrogate the power of the keys to an extent never pretended to by any successor of St Peter; and proclaiming themselves to the world as the apostles of a purified faith, they can secretly, trembling only at discovery, authorize in name of the Gospel, a dispensation of the moral law. Compared with Luther or Cranmer, how respectable is the character of Knox!"

I have given this extract thus fully, that the reader may know the whole heinousness of the offense with which Luther is charged. For the Reviewer does not mince matters. If he has to deal out reproof and reproach, he does so with overflowing measure, and after the number of lashes ordained by justice superadds a few out of love at the end, like the closing *bravura* of a popular singer. In this instance too at all events his indignation has run away with him; and he scatters words which betray that he knows nothing about Luther, or that, if he ever did know anything, it must have been obliterated from his mind. For no one acquainted with the story of Luther's life and with his letters could have taxt him with want of courage in his dealings with princes. The Reviewer's injudicious comparison shall not provoke me to speak ill of so great and good a man as Knox: but assuredly Knox's behaviour to Mary will not shew to advantage when contrasted with Luther's toward his sovereins. For Luther's, from first to last, was governed by the two Christian principles of submitting and shewing honour to the powers placed over us as being ordained by God, and of obeying God rather than man, whenever their commands clash. Indeed it would not be easy to find any man who has adhered so stedfastly to the first principle under circumstances which so often constrained him to act upon the second. His earliest remaining letter to the Elector, Frederic the Wise, written in the latter part of the year 1517, just after the publication of the Theses, and before his name became notorious, is a beautiful example of respectful frankness and

sincerity. After thanking the Elector for the promise of a piece of cloth, and interceding earnestly for Staupitz, who was under some disgrace, he adds: "Also, most gracious Lord, that I may shew my faithfulness to your Princely Grace, and may deserve my court-dress, I have heard how that your Grace, after the expiration of this tax, means to impose another, and perhaps a heavier. If your Grace will not despise a poor beggar's prayer, I entreat that for God's sake you would not let it come to this: for it grieves my heart, and that of many who favour your Grace, that even this tax in these last days has robbed your Grace of so much good report, good name, and favour. God has indeed gifted your Grace with a high understanding, so that you see further in these matters than I, or perhaps all your Grace's subjects: but it may well be, yea, God will so have it, that a great understanding may at times be taught by a small understanding, to the end that no one may trust in himself, but only in God our Lord, whom I pray to grant your Grace health for our good, and for your Grace's everlasting happiness. Amen." The spirit which breathes in this letter is the same which manifested itself three years after in Luther's quiet firmness and simple immovable conscientiousness at Worms; and all his letters to the three Electors, who governed Saxony during that momentous period, exhibit a like combination of the two often seemingly incongruous principles which are to regulate the conduct of the Christian toward his temporal rulers. Never, for example, did heroic faith find a nobler utterance than in the letters to Frederic the Wise from the Wartburg. Therefore, even if it should prove that, in the affair with the Landgrave of Hesse, Luther did for once yield an unjustifiable compliance to the wishes of a prince, still it is unjust to condemn him summarily for one transgression, when during thirty years he acted in every other instance with uniform magnanimity under the most trying circumstances. What will become of the Reviewer's character for learning, for knowledge, for reasoning, for justice, for veracity, if we try him by the same rule, and pronounce sentence on all his writings, nay, on his whole moral worth, from the evidence contained in his remarks upon Luther?

But that transgression is so monstrous! Luther sacrificed such a sacred principle, the very foundation of all domestic morality, to gratify a libertine prince! and he did it so basely, so cringingly, so skulkingly! Such is the opinion which Luther's enemies make no scruple in proclaiming; and even his lovers and admirers, many of them, hang down their heads, when mention is made of the Landgrave's double marriage. Thus, in the friendly Article on Luther which appeared in the 138th Number of *the Edinburgh Review*, the writer,—a totally different person from his collaborator whom we have been dealing with,—after stating that Bayle has sufficiently vindicated Luther's moral character, says, "One unhappy exception is to be made. It is impossible to read without pain the names of Luther, Melanchthon, and Bucer, amongst the subscribers to the address to the Landgrave of Hesse, on the subject of his intended polygamy. Those great but fallible men remind his Highness of the distinction between universal laws, and such as admit of dispensation in particular cases. They cannot publicly sanction polygamy. But his Highness is of a peculiar constitution, and is exhorted seriously to examine all the considerations laid before him; yet, if he is absolutely resolved to marry a second time, it is their opinion that he should do so as secretly as possible! Fearful is the energy with which 'the Eagle of Meaux' pounces on this fatal errour, tearing to pieces the flimsy pretexts alleged in defense of such an evasion of the Christian code. The charge admits of no defense. To the inference drawn from it against the Reformer's doctrine, every Protestant has a conclusive answer. Whether in faith or in practice, he acknowledges no infallible Head but one." Now, after what we have seen of this terrible "Eagle of Meaux," we will not utterly despond, however he may flap his wings, and whet his beak, and strike with his claws. Furious as his assaults were, he often dasht against a rock, which repelled him and scarcely felt a scar. Nor on the other hand would we rely for the vindication of Luther altogether upon Bayle, who, keensighted as he was on the surface of things, and clever above all men in saying *No*, and in pulling down the tower of Babel, had no fellowfeeling with that which was the central spring of

Luther's whole life, that without the discernment of which it is quite impossible to understand him. With this latter Reviewer's last remark however I fully concur. It is strange to find the Romanists assailing the Reformation by impugning the moral character of its teachers, without thinking what a tremendous retaliation they are inviting. But, if we did not know it from other sources, Luther himself has taught us a thousand times over, that in no human being are we to look for anything like an exemption from evil, and that the Reformation does not rest on the character of Luther, but on the word of God, who is wont to accomplish His purposes by choosing the weak and base things of this world to be His instruments, lest man should glory in anything except the Lord. Still, for the sake of truth and justice, if for nothing else, it is worth while to ascertain, so far as we may, what was the real amount of Luther's sin in this matter of the Landgrave's marriage: and though, at the very worst, we may find comfort in his own remark concerning David's grievous crimes, that "God suffered him so to fall, lest he should grow proud" (*Tischreden* 2102), we may allowably rejoice if it turn out that Luther's conduct was not quite so heinous as his enemies represent it, or as many even of his friends acknowledge it to have been.

Here we have a twofold inquiry: first, what was it that Luther did? and secondly, wherein did his sin lie? With regard to the first question, after the specimens we have seen of the hostile Reviewer's felicity in garbling his quotations, we want something fuller and more precise than his statement, which on its face bears the marks of being made up, like an advocate's, of the most offensive matter he could pick out. As to the second question, it is notorious that the subjective character, or sinfulness, of an act is something different, often very different, from its objective character, or criminality. The latter is measured by an outward, the former by an inward standard. The criminality of an act we determine by its repugnance to right reason as expressing itself in public law; while its sinfulness is determined by its repugnance to that voice of reason which utters itself as law in the conscience

of the agent. These two characters of the act may often be nearly coincident; but in weighing the moral worth or pravity of the agent, it is requisite to distinguish between them; for often they will differ widely: and this is especially necessary in estimating the acts of former ages; which we are apt to try, not by their standard of right, but by our own. Now in the hostile Review the sinfulness of Luther's act is plainly laid down as consisting in this, that it was "a skulking compromise of all profest principle," in which he "arrogated the power of the Keys to an extent never pretended to by any successor of St Peter," and "secretly authorized a dispensation of the moral law." And the heinousness of this act is enhanced from its being done by one who "called himself an Evangelical," who had "renounced the Pope," and "proclaimed himself to the world as the apostle of a purified faith," and who did it "in name of the Gospel, trembling only at discovery." This is black enough: the arch Accuser himself could not well have shewn more ingenuity in wringing the uttermost drop of poison out of an act. If this analysis of it be at all correct, we must allow Luther to stand in the pillory, exposed to the pelting insults of his revilers, and must resign ourselves to the mysterious dispensation, whereby one of God's chosen instruments for the establishment of evangelical truth was allowed to fall, like David, down to the brink of hell. Fortunately however the bringer of this heinous charge has himself retracted it, substituting another drawn up in a somewhat mitigated form. Some nine years after the publication of the attack on Luther in *The Edinburgh Review*, during the heat of the divisions in the Scotch Church, Sir William Hamilton of Preston publisht a pamphlet which has already been mentioned, calling upon the Ministers of the Convocation, "not to be Schismatics, not to be Martyrs, by mistake." Herein, with the view of warning them of the mischiefs of an ill-directed enthusiasm, and to inculcate the importance of calmness and moderation and mildness, of which his own writings, as they shew no spark of enthusiasm, must needs exhibit an exemplary pattern, he tells them that Luther and Melanchthon, whom in the course of the preceding nine years he has discovered to be "great

and good" men, notwithstanding the foul wickedness he had previously laid to their charge, were led by their overwrought zeal to preach the most abominable doctrines. Among other things, he says, "Polygamy awaited only the permission of the civil ruler to be promulgated as an article of the Reformation; and had this permission not been significantly refused, (whilst, at the same time, the epidemic in Wittemberg was homœopathically alleviated, at least, by the similar but more violent access in Munster,) it would not have been the fault of the fathers of the Reformation if Christian liberty has remained less ample than Mahommedan license. As it was, polygamy was never abandoned by either Luther or Melanchthon as a religious speculation; both, in more than a single instance, accorded the formal sanction of their authority to its practice—by those who were above the law; and had the civil prudence of the imprudent Henry VIII. not restrained him, sensual despot as he was, from carrying their spontaneous counsel into effect, a plurality of wives might now have been a privilege as religiously contended for in England as in Turkey." On this passage for the present I will merely remark that "the epidemic in Wittemberg" began in the autumn of 1521, and was allayed, as we have seen above, by Luther's return in the month of March 1522, and that "the similar but more violent access in Munster," whereby, according to the Reviewer, it was "homœopathically alleviated," began in the autumn of 1533, more than eleven years after the other had been subdued. This, I believe, is a solitary instance in the history of the world, in which coming events have cast their shadow so long before, with a power of healing like that exercised by St Peter's. Verily, Mr Ward for once is quite right: Sir W. Hamilton's authority is a sufficient voucher for the accuracy of all his statements, more especially in matters connected with the Reformation. However, at all events, Sir W. Hamilton is a great logician; and so he bethought himself that his new attack upon Luther was in direct contradiction to his former one in the Review; for that, if Luther held polygamy "as a religious speculation," and would have "promulgated it as an article of the Reformation," provided he could have obtained "the

permission of the civil ruler," he cannot have been "compromising all profest principle," when he gave his assent to the Landgrave's double marriage. Accordingly, when a sufficient time had elapst for a master in logic to work through the process for detecting this contradiction, in a postscript to the third edition of Sir W. Hamilton's pamphlet, he made this benign admission in behalf of Luther and Melanchthon. "So far was there from being any disgraceful compromise of principle in the sanction accorded by them to the bigamy of the Landgrave of Hesse, they only, in that case, carried their speculative doctrine (held, by the way, also by Milton) into practice; although the prudence they had by that time acquired, rendered them, on worldly grounds, averse from their sanction being made publicly known. I am the more anxious to correct this general mistake touching the motives of these illustrious men, because I was myself, on a former occasion, led to join in the injustice: (*Edinb. Rev.* vol. LX. p. 226)." Thus the violent attack on Luther in the Review is homœopathically alleviated some nine years afterward by a scarcely less violent one in the Pamphlet. For the case is not much mended. If Luther really held the doctrine of polygamy, and desired to introduce the practice, his anxiety to keep the matter secret, "on worldly grounds," through "the prudence he had by this time acquired," leaves a strong taint of cowardly meanness on his character, in addition to the shame he deserves for holding and inculcating a principle so adverse to the purity of the Gospel, and to the moral wellbeing of mankind. So that this is a sorry apology for Luther. After Alecto has half suckt out his blood, she tosses him to Megaera to strangle him. Let us see whether a careful examination of the documents which remain will not yield something better than this homœopathic alleviation. At all events, as these two contradictory statements destroy each other, there is a chance that a more favorable representation may emerge from their mutual fratricide.

Here it will be necessary to insert the answer to the Landgrave's application at length: else we cannot judge of its real purport and purpose. "Since your princely Grace has through Master Bucer

laid before us a certain longstanding trouble of your conscience,—although it is difficult for us to answer it in such haste, we would not let Bucer ride off without a letter. And first, we are heartily rejoiced and thank God that He has helpt your Grace out of your dangerous sickness; and we pray that He will strengthen and preserve your Grace in soul and body to His praise. For, as your Grace sees, the poor miserable Church of Christ is small and forsaken, and verily needs pious lords and princes; as we doubt not God will preserve some, although every kind of temptation befall. With regard to the question, of which Master Bucer spoke with us, firstly, this is our opinion. Your Grace knows and understands this yourself, that it is a very different thing to make a general law, and in a particular case to use a dispensation, out of weighty reasons, and yet according to divine permission; for against God no dispensation has force. Now we cannot advise that it be openly introduced, and thus made a law, that each be allowed to have more than one wife. But should anything of this get into print, your Grace may conceive that this would be understood and adopted as a general law, whence much scandal and trouble would ensue. Therefore this is by no means to be adopted; and we pray your Grace to consider how grievous it would be, if it were charged upon any one that he had introduced this law in the German nation, whence endless trouble in all marriages might be feared. As to what may be said against this, that what is right before God should be altogether allowed, this is true in a measure. If God has commanded it, or it is a necessary thing, it is true; but if it is not commanded, nor necessary, other circumstances should be taken into account. Thus with regard to this question: God instituted marriage so that it was to be the union of two persons alone, and not of more, unless nature had been corrupted. This is the meaning of the saying, *They two shall be one flesh.* And this at first was so retained: but Lamech introduced the example of having more than one wife at once, which is recorded of him in Scripture as an innovation contrary to the first rule. Thenceforward it became customary among the unbelievers, till at length Abraham and his descendants took more than one wife.

And it is true that afterward this was allowed in the law of Moses, as the text says, Deut. XXI. 15, *If a man have two wives, etc.* For God gave way somewhat to the weakness of nature. But since it was according to the first beginning and the creation, that a man should not have more than one wife, this law is praiseworthy, and has thus been adopted in the Church: nor should another law be made and set up against it. For Christ repeats this saying in Matt. XIX. 5, *And they twain shall be one flesh*, and reminds us how marriage was to be at first, antecedently to man's infirmity. That in certain cases however a dispensation may be used,—as if a person taken captive in a forein land should marry there, and on gaining his freedom should bring his wife with him, —or if long continued sickness should supply a cause, as has been held at times with regard to lepers,—if in such cases a man takes another wife with the counsel of his Pastor, not to introduce a law, but as a matter of necessity, such a man we could not condemn. Since then it is one thing to introduce a law, and another to use a dispensation, we humbly entreat your Grace to consider, first, that care should in every way be taken that this matter be not brought publicly before the world, as a law which everybody may follow. Next, since it is to be no law, but merely a dispensation, let your Grace also consider the scandal, namely, that the enemies of the Gospel would cry out that we are like the Anabaptists, who take several wives at once, and that the Evangelicals seek the liberty of taking as many wives as they please, according to the practice in Turkey. Again, what Princes do, gets abroad much further than what is done by private persons. Again, if private persons hear of such an example in their lords, they desire that the like should be allowed to them; as we see how easily a practice spreads. Again, your Grace has an unruly nobility, many of whom, as in all countries, on account of the great revenues which they derive from the Chapters, are violently opposed to the Gospel. Thus we know ourselves that very unfriendly speeches have been heard from divers young squires. Now how such squires and the countryfolks will behave toward your Grace in this matter, if a public proceeding be adopted, may easily be conceived. Again, your Grace,

through God's grace, has a very illustrious name, even among forein kings and potentates, and is feared on account thereof, which credit would be impaired hereby. Seeing then that so many scandals are combined, we humbly entreat your Grace to consider this matter well and diligently. This however is also true, that we by all means entreat and exhort your Grace to avoid fornication and adultery; and in truth we have long had great sorrow from hearing that your Grace is laden with such distress, which may be visited with punishments from God and other dangers; and we entreat your Grace not to esteem such matters out of wedlock a light sin, as the world tosses such things to the wind, and despises them. But God has often fearfully punisht unchastity: for it is recorded as a cause of the Deluge, that the rulers practist adultery. Again, the punishment of David is a solemn example; and Paul often says, *God is not mocked: adulterers shall not enter into the kingdom of God.* For faith must be followed by obedience, so that one must not act against one's conscience, nor against God's commandment. *If our conscience condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God:* and *if through the Spirit we mortify the deeds of the body, we shall live; but if we live after the flesh,* that is, against our conscience, *we shall die.* This we say, because it is to be considered that God will not trifle with such sins, as many people now grow bold to entertain such heathenish thoughts. And we have heard with pleasure that your Grace has seriously mourned on account thereof, and feels sorrow and repentance for them. These great and weighty questions press for your Grace's attention, pertaining to the whole world. Moreover your Grace is of a slender and far from a strong constitution, and sleeps little; wherefore your Grace should reasonably spare your body, as many others are forced to do. And we read of the illustrious Prince Scanderbeg, who wrought many noble deeds against the two Turkish emperors, Amurath and Mahomet, and protected and preserved Greece as long as he lived. He, they say, specially exhorted his soldiers to chastity, and said that nothing takes away a brave man's spirit like unchastity. Again, even if your Grace had another wife, and did not seriously resist the evil practice and inclination, it would not avail

your Grace. It behoves man in his outward walk to bridle his members, as Paul says: *Yield your members as instruments of righteousness.* Therefore let your Grace, in consideration of all these causes, the offense, the other cares and labours, and the weakness of body, weigh this matter well. Be also pleased to consider that God has given your Grace fair young Princes and Princesses with this Consort, and be content with her, as many others must have patience under their marriage, to avoid offense. For that we should excite or urge your Grace to an offensive innovation, is far from our mind. For your country and others might reproach us on account thereof, which would be intolerable to us, because we are commanded in God's word to regulate marriage and all human matters according to their first divine institution, and, so far as possible, to keep them therein, and to avert whatever may offend any one. Such too is now the way of the world, that people like to throw all the blame upon the preachers, if anything unpleasant falls out; and men's hearts, among high and low, are unsteady; and all sorts of things are to be feared. But if your Grace do not quit your unchaste life, for that you write that this is not possible, we would rather that your Grace stood in better case before God, and lived with a good conscience, for your Grace's happiness and the good of your country and people. If however your Grace should at length resolve to take another wife, we think that this should be kept secret, as was said above of the dispensation; namely, that your Grace, and the Lady, with some confidential persons, should know your Grace's mind and conscience through confession. From this no particular rumour or scandal would arise; for it is not unusual for princes to have concubines; and although all the people would not know what the circumstances were, the intelligent would be able to guess them, and would be better pleased with such a quiet way of life, than with adultery and other wild and licentious courses. Nor are we to heed everything that people say, provided our consciences stand right. Thus far, and this we deem right. For that which is permitted concerning marriage in the law of Moses, is not forbidden in the Gospel, which does not change the rule of outward life, but brings

in eternal righteousness and eternal life. and kindles a true obedience to God, and would set our corrupt nature straight again. Thus your Grace has not only our testimony in case of necessity, but also our advice, which we beseech your Grace to weigh, as an illustrious, wise Christian Prince; and we pray that God may lead and direct your Grace to His praise and to your Grace's happiness."

In translating this document,—the concluding paragraph of which is omitted, as not bearing on our immediate question,—I have followed the text given by Bretschneider in the recent valuable edition of Melanchthon, vol. III. 856. The Reviewer seems to have taken his extracts from the Latin translation printed by Bossuet, as an appendix to the 6th book of the *Histoire des Variations*. When we compare them with the whole body from which they are torn, they who admire ingenuity, in whatsoever cause it may be displayed, will be struck with the dexterity shewn in garbling the opinion of the divines, so as to render it as offensive as possible. The main part of it, wherein they perform their duty of spiritual advisers honestly and faithfully, telling the Landgrave of the evils likely to arise from his conduct, and of the divine wrath which he was provoking by his sinful life, is wholly left out; so that it seems as if they had had no thought of their pastoral responsibility, but readily consented to do just what the Landgrave wisht, and were solely deterred by fear of the shame it might bring on themselves and on their cause. Readers familiar with Luther's writings may indeed complain that he has spoken with so little of his ordinary force on this occasion: but the style of the opinion clearly shews that it was not written by him, but by Melanchthon, who usually drew up the papers wherein they had to express their joint thoughts; because Luther felt, as he says in his letter to the Elector approving of the manner in which the Confession of Augsburg had been drawn up, he "could not tread so softly and gently." Besides we learn from Bretschneider that the original document in the Hessian Archives is in Melanchthon's handwriting.

Moreover, when we examine the whole opinion connectedly, we are compelled to reject the excuse, which Sir W. Hamilton so

kindly proposes, in order to rescue Luther from the fangs of the Edinburgh Reviewer. For from first to last it is plain that the license, which the divines declare themselves unable to condemn, is meant by them to be regarded as a dispensation, and not as authorizing or sanctioning polygamy: and this is the main reason why they are so earnest in requiring that the second marriage, if entered upon, should be kept secret, lest it should be lookt upon as the introduction of a general practice. Polygamy, as a general practice, they altogether condemn; because they conceive that our Lord's words in the passage referred to reestablish the primary paradisiacal institution of monogamy. At the same time, while they see that polygamy, though contrary to the original institution, is sanctioned in the Old Testament, both by the practice of the Patriarchs, and by the express recognition of it in the book of Deuteronomy, they do not find any passage in the New Testament directly and absolutely forbidding it. Here we should bear in mind what their rule, especially Luther's, was. When the word of God seemed to him clear and express, then everything else was to bow to it: heaven and earth might pass away, but no tittle of what God had said. On the other hand, where no express Scripture could be produced, he held that all human laws and ordinances, and everything enjoined by man's understanding on considerations of expediency, however wide that expediency might be, is so far flexible and variable, that it may be made to bend to imperious circumstances in particular cases.

Thus the document itself forces us to decline Sir W. Hamilton's plea, that Luther was merely giving his sanction in a single instance to that which he desired at heart to establish generally, the patriarchal practice of polygamy. Still many may be apt to believe that, when a writer of any character makes so broad and positive an assertion, he must have some good ground for it; and this credulity may not have been altogether overthrown by the evidence we have seen touching our present witness. The German Reformers may have been shuffling, and have been glad to allow of bigamy as an exception in this case, with the view of introducing it gradually as a custom. Men so desperately wicked, as

Sir W. Hamilton makes them out to be, even while he calls them "great and good" and "illustrious," would not stick at any fraud. But in the course of the painful controversy which arose when the Landgrave's double marriage became notorious, Bucer was unhappily misled into publishing a pamphlet in defense of polygamy, under the assumed name of Hulderic Neobulus; by which Luther was so incenst that he resolved to reply to it. Among Melanchthon's letters are two to the Landgrave, one dated the 5th of April 1542, the other the 28th of March 1543, from which it appears that the Landgrave had been alarmed by the report of Luther's purpose. Melanchthon tells him that Luther had intended to write, but had desisted in consequence of an earnest request from the good Elector, John Frederic, who was very loth that anything should be done to prolong these vexatious and scandalous discussions. Still, though Luther did not answer Bucer's pamphlet at length, he could not be restrained from pronouncing his judgement on it, in words markt with even more than his usual vehemence, and which shew that the Landgrave had good reason to dread the outpouring of his indignation. Whether Luther himself publisht them, does not appear certain; but they are manifestly genuine: they are alluded to in Melanchthon's second letter to the Landgrave, and are given by Seckendorf (Lib. III. p. 281), in the course of an excellent and conclusive discussion on the whole affair. "*He who desires my judgement upon this book, let him hear. Thus says Dr Martin Luther on this book of Neobulus: He who follows this rogue and book, and thereupon takes more than one wife, and means that this should be a matter of right, may the devil bless his bath in the bottom of hell! Amen. This, God be praised! I well know how to maintain; and though it snowed pure Neobulos, Nebulos, Hulderics, along with pure devils, a whole year through, people shall not make me a right out of this. This I will prevent: much less shall they make me a right, that a man may separate himself from his wife rightfully, when she has not already separated herself by open adultery, which this rogue would also like to teach.*" Moreover the fragment of Luther's projected reply to Neobulus has been printed by Walch, Vol. XXI.

1577—1585. Herein he says, in answer to an argument drawn from the example of the patriarchs and of the Jewish kings, "We have already shewn in a number of books that the law of Moses does not concern us, and is no longer law, and that we are not to look at the examples in the history of the saints, much less of the kings, but at God's commandments, and at their faith." He proceeds to give divers reasons in proof that, even among the Jews, polygamy was never sanctioned as a general institution, but was merely a *Verhängniss*, a dispensation, allowed in certain cases under peculiar circumstances.

After such a volcanic hyper-Lutheran outburst, Sir W. Hamilton himself will hardly dare to reassert, that "polygamy was never abandoned by Luther as a religious speculation:" and surely it is very unlikely that he who condemned an apology for polygamy with this unmeasured indignation, should have been conscious of having ever maintained the doctrine he thus reprobated. Nevertheless the virulence of renegades is proverbial; and Sir W. Hamilton, in the above-mentioned Postscript to the third edition of his Pamphlet, after saying that his statements concerning Luther and Melanchthon had excited much notice, adds: "I cannot here enter on an articulate manifestation of the correctness of these statements; but I now say, what I may take a more suitable opportunity of proving, that there is nothing there advanced not critically accurate. In particular, I may add, in reference to the sources, 1. that I do not found merely or principally upon passages known to Bossuet, Bayle, &c.; and, through them, to persons of ordinary information. These, I admit, would not justify *all* I have asserted in regard to the character of the doctrine *preached* by Luther. 2. I do not found my statement of the general opinion of Luther and Melanchthon in favour of polygamy, on their special allowance of a second wife to Philip the Magnanimous, or on any expressions contained in their Consilium on that occasion. On the contrary, that Consilium, and the circumstances under which it was given, may be, indeed always have been, adduced to show that in the case of the Landgrave they made a sacrifice of eternal principle to temporary expedience. The reverse of this I am able to

prove, in a chronological series of testimonies by them to the religious legality of polygamy, as a general institution, consecutively downwards from their earliest commentaries on the Scriptures and other purely abstract treatises." This was publisht in 1843; but the "articulate manifestation" here spoken of has not, so far as I have been able to learn, yet made its appearance. Probably it never will; there being no materials out of which to compile it; though, after the specimens we have seen of the Reviewer's talent for misrepresentation, one cannot feel sure that he will not extort evidence in favour of polygamy out of words which were used with the purpose of condemning it. In a trustworthy writer such professions would infer that he had a substantial body of authorities in reserve to back his statements: but though Sir W. Hamilton makes a parade of an extensive and intimate acquaintance with the German Reformers, we have discovered little hitherto except indications of gross ignorance of them. Nor can we suppress all feeling of surprise when we find him speaking somewhat slightingly of those who derive their knowledge from Bossuet, Bayle, &c., as "persons of ordinary information," seeing how he has been convicted of having drawn his whole knowledge of Luther's errours in *Speculative Theology* from a single page of Bossuet, which he has copied with a servile and slovenly adherence to all its blunders, though without any acknowledgement, and that too immediately after professing to give Luther's opinions "in his own words literally translated." Besides it is pretty clear that what the Reviewer has alledged against Luther under the head of *Practical Theology*, is in like manner taken from Bossuet, without further examination, as well as without acknowledgement. After such an exhibition of the extent of the Reviewer's information, be it "ordinary" or extraordinary, concerning Luther, we may allowably suspect that his "chronological series of testimonies by the two Reformers to the religious legality of polygamy, as a general institution, consecutively downwards from their earliest commentaries on the Scriptures and other purely abstract treatises," if he were to bring it forward, would dwindle down to an equality with one of those infinite series, the amount of which is summed up by zero;

such being the fertile imagination which our author shares with a renowned knight of earlier times, that he has only to utter the magical word, and a score of buckram men spring up, in defiance of the ancient maxim, that out of nothing nothing can come. Indeed there is an expression in the sentence just quoted, which, unless I misunderstand it, involves a fair portion of ignorance, and, if one were not dealing with a master in logic, one might also add, confusion. The "chronological series of testimonies" we are told, is to be gathered, "*consecutively downwards from their earliest commentaries on the Scriptures.*" Now the only pertinent sense of these words is if we suppose that, by what the author calls their "earliest commentaries," he meant *their Commentaries on the earliest Books of the Scriptures*, and that he was thinking especially of Luther's Commentary on the Book of Genesis. For in this he is naturally led to speak on the original institution of marriage, on the first introduction of polygamy, and on its practice by the patriarchs. But the *Commentary on Genesis*, as everybody acquainted with Luther's writings is aware, is not one of his earliest, but one of his latest works. Indeed it was the chief work of the last ten years of his life. The lectures, out of which it is made up, were begun in 1536, and were not concluded till the 17th of November 1545, just three months before his death, and end with that touching passage: "This is the dear book of Genesis. Our Lord God grant that others after me may handle it better. I can do no more; I am weak; pray to God for me, that He may give me a good, happy last hour." On the other hand Luther's "earliest commentaries" are on the Epistle to the Galatians and on the first twentytwo Psalms; Melanchthon's, on the Epistle to the Romans and the Gospel of St John; and it is very unlikely that these should contain any paradoxes about polygamy.

That Sir W. Hamilton's "articulate manifestation" will remain for ever inarticulate, I am led to conclude, in the first place, because Luther's numerous enemies, who, though slow to learn from him, and blind to all his wisdom and goodness, have been lynx-eyed in detecting whatever might be used in kindling odium against him, have never been able to make out a charge of his

having recommended polygamy. Besides, as more than once before in the course of this Note, I feel warranted in replying that the accusation brought against Luther is false, because his opinion on the subject has often been exprest, and effectually disproves it. I restrict my assertion to Luther, not being sufficiently acquainted with the writings of Melanchthon to speak with equal confidence of him; and I have no wish to encroach on the prerogative of Luther's enemies of pronouncing peremptory judgement on matters of which they are ignorant. Not however that I conceive there is the slightest ground for believing that the accusation against Melanchthon could be substantiated a whit more than against Luther. What Luther's view with regard to polygamy was, we learn from several explicit passages in his writings; for instance from the following remarks on Sarah's giving Hagar to Abraham to be his wife (*Comment. in Gen.* xvi. 3). "Porro ex hoc facto non est constituendum exemplum, quasi nobis eadem liceat facere. Circumstantiae enim considerandae sunt. Nobis non est facta promissio seminis, sicut Abrahae, et, ut maxime habeas sterile conjugium, nihil inde periculi est, etiamsi tota tua progenies, ita volente Domino, occidat. Abraham autem non solum habebat promissionem seminis, sed constabat quoque Saram esse sterilem. Hae circumstantiae apud te non habent locum. Igitur singulare hoc horum conjugum factum neutiquam in exemplum est trahendum, praesertim in Novo Testamento. Nam Vetus Testamentum polygamiam etiam liberorum causa permisit; et exstat in Mose (5 Mos. xxii. 29) lex, si quis vitiaverit ancillam, ut eam retineat uxorem; sed ista caeremonialia seu legalia cessarunt: et Abrahae casus longe alius est, quam ille, qui apud Mosen exstat." Again the same principles are inculcated in the Commentary on xxx. 1, with reference to Jacob's four wives. "Non est quod dicat aliquis, *Fecit hoc Jacob, ergo mihi quoque licebit.* Sicut de Monetario (Munzer) dictum est hortante rusticos ut ad exemplum Josuae et Simsonis principes trucidarent. Sed memineris tibi manendum esse in hac regula, *Unusquisque suam uxorem habeat.*—Haec itaque traduntur, non in exemplum, sed ut abstineamus ab exemplo et imitatione. Admiremur ea, sed non imitemur. Alia enim sunt

quae imitari, alia quae admirari debemus. Spera, crede, invoca, sicut Lea; non autem quatuor uxores ducas, sicut Jacob. Id enim ad solum Jacob pertinet, et ad eos quos voluit Deus exemptos esse a regula. Nos in fide, patientia, et spe in Patribus proposita exerceamur, et ab heroicis illis exemplis abstineamus." In the Commentary on Deuteronomy, an earlier work, publisht in 1525, it is remarkt in several places that polygamy was allowed to the Jews, with the sanction of the Law; but I have found no expressions which can be construed to imply that a similar licence is in any respect conceded as rightful to Christians. That Luther's opinions at this period coincided with those which he maintained afterward, appears from his letter to Metzsch, written in December 1526. "To your first question, whether a man may have more than one woman to wife, my answer is this. Unbelievers may do what they please; but Christian freedom is to be regulated according to love, so that everything should be determined with a view to our neighbour's good, where no necessity or sin against faith or conscience prevents us. Now however every one seeks that freedom, which will serve and profit himself, without regard to his neighbour's benefit or edification; although St Paul says, *All things are lawful to me, but all things are not expedient: Only use not your liberty for an occasion to the flesh.*—Again, though the ancients had many wives, Christians are not to act after such an example, because there is no necessity, nor edification, nor special word of God, commanding this; and such great scandal and trouble might come from it. Therefore do not esteem the Christian as more free, unless there be some command of God with regard to such freedom." So again in the following March he writes to Clemens Ursinus, in a letter full of that wisdom of faith and love, which is the only true prudence: "Polygamia Judaeis et gentibus concessa olim non potest fideliter apud Christianos probari, ac tuta conscientia tentari, nisi extrema foret necessitas, ut altera conjuge separata per lepram aut simile. Ideo carnalibus dices, si volent esse Christiani, debent fidem colere, et carnem cogere, non frena laxare; si volent esse gentes, faciant quod volent suo periculo." This too is the line of argument which

he takes in a previous course of Sermons on the Book of Genesis, publisht in 1527, where, in speaking of the polygamy of Abraham and Jacob, he vindicates them from the censure of the Manicheans and other disparagers of marriage. At the same time he declares again and again that their example is not to be regarded as a precedent which we may follow by adopting polygamy as an institution, though it may be deemed a sanction for having recourse to such a remedy in extreme cases. And when the Landgrave appealed to certain expressions in those Sermons as justifying his conduct, Luther replied, "Nil juvabit Landgravium concio mea in Genesin: nam et antea et postea diversis vicibus docui reducendam non esse legem Mosaicam, etsi clam in casu necessitatis, vel etiam publice, si magistratus jubeat, pro exemplo uti illa liceat. Quamvis igitur afflictae alicujus conscientiae ex necessitate arcanum consilium darem, ut Mosis lege vel exemplo agat, non tamen jus manifestum aut exemplum statuerem, sed respondissem ut confessionarius, qui nihil agit publice, sed in arcano pro necessitate conscientiarum." See Seckendorf, III. p. 280; who also gives a letter from the Elector to the Landgrave, explaining Luther's previous expressions in the same manner. "Aliud est scribere et docere quid in hoc vel illo casu Deo et Scripturae non adversetur; aliud vero factum contra jura publica et morem universalem palam audere et defendere.—Cum Lutherus scribit, *se bigamiam non suadere*, eo ipso indicat se nolle ut publice introducatur; et scopus concionis ejus is potissimum tunc fuit, ut patriarchas a variis interpretum censuris defenderet, non vero ut Christianos ad licentiam provocaret."

The same principles guided both Luther and Melanchthon in the opinions they delivered with regard to Henry the Eighth's divorce. Here again the Pamphleteer shews that he is a full match for the Reviewer in the art of misrepresentation. "Had not the civil prudence (he says) of the imprudent Henry VIII restrained him from carrying their (Luther's and Melanchthon's) spontaneous counsel into effect, a plurality of wives might now have been a privilege as religiously contended for in England as in Turkey." In the Postscript he adds that this statement is not founded "on the

vague expressions contained in Luther's letter to Barnes," but on Melanchthon's "*Consultatio de Digamia Regis Angliae.*" Yet, if Luther is to be charged, as the author charges him, with the guilt of this "spontaneous counsel," the evidence must be sought in what he himself advised, seeing that he delivered his opinion fully, and not in what Melanchthon may have said in a document, where, by using the first person singular, he shews that he alone is responsible for it. Now Luther's letter to Barnes, the agent sent to collect the opinions of the Protestant divines, is in so noble a spirit, one can hardly understand how any man with a heart in his bosom can have read it without admiration; and it shines forth especially when contrasted with the paltry compromises of truth, which bribery and other sinister motives drew from so many Universities. He takes the true religious and philosophical ground, that the Levitical restrictions of consanguinity, which were contravened by express ordinances even among the Jews, are no way binding on Christians, except so far as they are re-enacted by the ecclesiastical and civil law of the land; that the authority which enacts such regulations may dispense with them; but that to dissolve a marriage celebrated in mutual good faith, which had subsisted for so many years, and from which issue had sprung, was a direct violation of the divine precept, which forbids divorce save in the case of adultery. "Esto sane, peccarit Rex ducendo fratris mortui uxorem: tamen longe atrocius et majus peccatum erit ductam repudiare, et conjugium dissolvere tam crudeliter, ut tam Rex, quam ipsa Regina et Reginula perpetuo opprobrio incestae habeantur, cum re vera nulla subsit causa, cur eas hoc horribili crimine infamare velit, et super hoc etiam conjugium dissolvere. Quae duo peccata maxima tanta sunt, ut unius minoris peccati, praesertim praeteriti et jam remissi, ac vere jam non peccati, nulla sit prorsus ratio habenda." Holding this opinion of the divorce, he deprecates it with all his energy. "Optarem—sententiam meam profuturam Regi et Reginae, ne seducerentur—a sophistis in tam nefarium et sceleratum divortium, quo facto perpetuam calamitatem conscientiae sunt passuri.—Atque si adversarii Regem omnino ceperint, tentent nostri omni studio ut saltem Reginam servent, ne ullo modo

consentiat in divortium, sed potius moriatur, quam ream conscientiam faciat tanti criminis coram Deo, firmissimeque credat sese esse veram legitimamque Reginam Angliae ab ipso Deo sic factam et probatam.—Si enim Regem servare non possunt, (quod Deus avertat), servent saltem unam Reginae animam, ut ipsa, si divortium prohiberi non potest, ferat hoc magnum malum maximae injuriae sicut crucem suam, sed nequaquam approbet aut consentiat. Ego qui aliud non possum, oratione versa ad Deum, ut Christus hoc divortium impediat,—aut, si impedire non voluerit, ut Reginae saltem fortem fidem et constantem certamque conscientiam donet, sese esse ac fore Reginam Angliae legitimam et veram, invitis portis mundi et inferni." Such being the feelings with which Luther contemplates the divorce, it will not surprise us that he should have said, " Antequam tale repudium probarem, potius Regi permitterem alteram Reginam quoque ducere, et exemplo Patrum et Regum duas simul uxores seu reginas habere." There are two ancient copies indeed of the letter to Barnes, both of them publisht by De Wette; and among other differences between them, these last words do not occur in that which on the whole seems the most authentic. But I will not urge this objection. In the Landgrave's application it is stated that something of the sort had been said in the answer to Henry VIII: and though this might refer solely to Melanchthon's *Consilium*, yet, knowing what we do of Luther's opinion on the allowableness of bigamy in cases of extreme urgency, we may easily suppose him to have said thus much in this case, even if this mode of evading the difficulty had not already been mooted and talkt of by others. But when, after reading Sir W. Hamilton's accusation, we turn to Luther's writings, and find that this is the sole ground for it, so far as Luther is concerned, what must be our indignation against such reckless slander! The purport of Melanchthon's *Consilium*, which is drawn up with characteristic ability, is the very same. It is properly entitled, *De Divortio Henrici VIII.* not *De Digamia:* the latter title gives an erroneous impression of its object. Taking the same ground with Luther, though treading more gently, Melanchthon refutes the arguments alledged in favour of the divorce; and then adds: " Quid autem si utilitas publica

propter successionem haeredis suadet conjugium novum, ut accidit in casu regis Angliae, ubi publica utilitas totius regni suadet novum conjugium? Hic respondeo: si vult rex successioni prospicere, quanto satius est id facere sine infamia prioris conjugii. Ac potest id fieri sine ullo periculo conscientiae cujuscunque aut famae per polygamiam. Etsi enim non velim concedere polygamiam vulgo, —dixi enim supra nos non ferre leges,—tamen in hoc casu propter magnam utilitatem regni, fortassis etiam propter conscientiam Regis, ita pronuncio: tutissimum esse Regi, si ducat secundam uxorem, priore non abjecta; quia certum est polygamiam non esse prohibitam jure divino; nec res est omnino inusitata. Habuerunt multas conjuges Abraham, David, et alii sancti viri, unde apparet polygamiam non esse contra jus divinum. Ac leguntur exempla recentia. Nam Valentinus imperator legem tulit, ut liceret duas conjuges habere simul, duxitque ipse Justinam, priore conjuge Severa non abjecta.—Et Pontifices ante concesserunt aliis, ut Georgio cuidam in Anglia." Thus Melanchthon's *Consilium* also is very far from sanctioning bigamy as a practice, but merely as an exception or dispensation, as he repeats "*vel propter conscientiae periculum, vel propter regni periculum.*" And in a letter to Bucer three months after (No 1016), he says, with reference to this opinion, "Nolumus esse auctores divortii.—Hi qui diversum pronuntiant, terribiliter exaggerant—jus divinum. Nos contra exaggeramus in rebus politicis auctoritatem magistratus, quae profecto non est levis; multaque justa sunt propter magistratus auctoritatem, quae alioqui in dubium vocantur. De hac re si satis doceretur Rex, conscientiae ejus satisfieri posset, ut ego quidem arbitror." Hence we see how Sir W. Hamilton's violence against the Reformers drives him to and fro from one errour to another, without allowing him to stop at the resting-point of truth. Even his excuse of them is only a fresh accusation, and just as illfounded as the first.

But though we must reject the plea that the advice given to the Landgrave is an instance of the predilection which the Reformers on principle entertained for polygamy, the evidence adduced abundantly proves that, in sanctioning a dispensation in what appeared

to them a case of pressing need, they were not acting inconsistently, but in thorough consistency with the principles which they had avowed for years before. To us indeed the notion of such a dispensation will still be very offensive; but we must beware, as I have already remarkt, of transferring the moral views and feelings of our age to Luther's. The canon law recognized the necessity of dispensations, which in matrimonial cases were especially numerous. One of the main objects of the scholastic casuistry was to determine under what limitations they are admissible, as may be seen in our own authors in this branch of practical theology, such as Taylor; and the great importance of casuistry is beginning to be recognized anew by recent writers on ethics. The ignorant prater may cry, that Luther ought to have thrown all such things overboard, along with the other rubbish of Romanism. But it was never Luther's wont to throw things overboard in a lump. His calling, he felt, was to preach Christ, crucified for the sins of mankind, Christ of whose righteousness we become partakers by faith: and whatever in the institutions and practices of the Church was compatible with the exercise of this ministry, he did not assail, unless it was flagrantly immoral. The sale of dispensations, the multiplication of cases for dispensations in order to gain money by the sale of them, he regarded as criminal; and the abolition of such dispensations, where they have been abolisht, the reprobation they lie under, are owing in no small measure to him. But the idea of Law which manifested itself to him convinced him that positive laws can only partially express the requirements of the supreme law of love, for the sake of which they must at times bend: and when he consulted his one infallible authority, he found that his Heavenly Master's chief outward conflict during His earthly ministry was to assert the supremacy of the law of love, which the Pharisees were continually infringing, while they stickled pertinaciously for the slightest positive enactment. Nor is it irrelevant to mention here, that the church at Erfurt, where Luther spent his youth in the convent, contains the monument of the Count of Gleichen, with the two women said to have been his wives. The Count's story has afforded a subject for several works

of fiction: Wordsworth, in his poem on *the Armenian Lady's Love*, represents the second lady as living with him in the relation of a sister. But the tradition was, that the Count, having been taken captive in the Holy Wars, gained his freedom by the help of his master's daughter, whom he married, and that, on his return to Europe, finding his former wife alive, he obtained a dispensation to live with them both. Whatever may be the historical value of this tradition, the frequent sight of the monument, and the story connected with it, could not but familiarize the mind with the notion of bigamy as having been allowed in a case of peculiar emergency; and there seems to be a reference to it in that passage of Melanchthon's opinion, where he speaks of a captive in a forein land. With regard to the other case mentioned, that of bodily infirmity, it is manifest that, even if a license were ever allowable, the strictest care would be indispensable to avert the grossest abuses. That such allegations were at times made in confession, probably in mitigation of penances for fornication, we may infer from the way in which Luther speaks on the subject in two of the Marriage-Sermons mentioned above, those of 1522 and 1525; where, touching on the grounds of divorce, he says; "But how is it if a person has a sick partner unfitted for conjugal duties? may he not take another? On his life, no: but serve God in thy sick partner and nurse her: think that God sends thee a holy thing into thine house in her, that thou mayst gain heaven. Blessed and twice blessed art thou, if thou recognizest this gift and grace, and waitest on thy sick wife for God's sake. Sayst thou, it is dangerous to live thus? No; for if thou wilt sincerely wait on thy sick wife, and recognize that God has sent her to thee, and beseech Him to preserve thee, let Him take care of the rest: assuredly He will give thee grace, that thou shalt not have more to bear than thou canst bear. He is much too faithful to deprive thee of thy wife by sickness, and not also to take away the wantonness of thy flesh, if thou dost indeed wait on her dutifully." It may be that this had been maintained to be a valid ground of separation, among the other extravagances at Wittenberg while Luther was in the Wartburg. The peculiar

case of leprosy however is mentioned as a valid ground for a dispensation in the letter to Clemens Ursinus quoted above in p. 842. In like manner, when consulted by Amsdorf on a matrimonial case, Luther writes, in December 1528, "Valde vellem hoc a magistratu constitui et decerni, ut leproso conjuge alter liber esset, salvo jure alimoniae et promissionis ad vitam. Ego in conscientia definirem liberos ejusmodi, quando et Mosaico jure leprosus civiliter mortuus, et ab oeconomia separandus decernitur. Sed nunc si idem nos judicemus, quis exsequetur? quis tuebitur? cum politia nostra contraria sentiat. Igitur si periculo suo volet ducere, ducet, arbitror, conscientia caeteris paribus. Verum tutelam et defensionem ei nullam promittimus. *Jus occultum concedimus:* jus publicum ipse viderit unde paret, cum id non sit in manu nostra." Here, in the case of certain unknown persons, we find Luther allowing of a secret dispensation, *jus occultum*, the very thing deemed a mark of conscious guilt in that of the Landgrave, whose position naturally led Melanchthon to urge the point more prominently. At the same time the Landgrave's office as a sovereign would be deemed by the Reformers a ground for special indulgence, as we have just seen in Melanchthon's apology for his counsel to Henry the Eighth; not however from any base personal motive, as the Pamphleteer would insinuate; but from divers palpable peculiarities both in his private and public relations, and above all because the instances of polygamy recorded without censure in the Old Testament occur mainly in the lives of the Patriarchs and the Kings.

The Reviewer indeed asserts of the Reformers, that, in their conduct on this occasion, though "renouncing the Pope, they arrogate the power of the Keys to an extent never pretended to by any successor of St Peter." This however is only another instance of his unthinking rashness. He who reads through Melanchthon's Opinion as quoted above will perceive that they arrogate nothing: they do not assume any right of granting a dispensation: but when their counsel is sought, when they are appealed to as spiritual advisers, when a case of conscience is laid before them, what can they do but give such counsel as the emergenc yseems to them to require? They were consulted as confessors; and as

confessors they returned their answer. Will any one say that they ought to have declined giving an answer, for fear of the shame they might incur by it? He who would recommend such cowardly conduct, must be utterly incapable of understanding Luther's heroic faith and love, which would never shrink from any shame to be incurred by endeavouring to relieve the conscience of a brother. And as it is plain on the face of the document that the authors of it were not arrogating any power to themselves, so do we know from other evidence that Luther deeply regretted the necessity, which the condition of the German Church imposed on him, of entertaining and deciding matrimonial causes, and that he was anxious to remove this burthen from the shoulders of the clergy, by the establishment of appropriate tribunals for the investigation of such cases in the consistories, to the end that the ministers of Christ might not be needlessly distracted and hindered in their great work of preaching the Gospel. His feelings on this point are exprest in the following passage of his *Tabletalk*, which I translate from the German (p. 1748), because the old English version often misrenders the original, and frequently omits whole sentences, even such as are requisite to bring out the full meaning of the context. "When Dr Martin Luther was askt, what the ministers were to do, and how they should behave with regard to matrimonial causes, whether they might get rid of such vexation and trouble, he said: I advise by all means that we do not take such a yoke and burthen upon us; first, because we have enough of other matters to do in our office; secondly, because marriage does not pertain to the Church, but is out of it, a temporal, worldly thing; wherefore these questions belong to the magistrate; thirdly, because such cases are innumerable, very high, wide, and deep, and occasion great offense, which would tend to the shame and dishonour of the Gospel. For I know how often in these matters we with our counsel have been put to shame, when we have allowed secret contracts, to prevent great evils, on condition that they should be kept secret, so that they might not become precedents for others to follow. But people deal unfriendly-wise with us, draw us into these miserable affairs;

and, when they turn out ill, the fault must be all ours. Therefore we will leave these matters to the temporal magistrate and the jurists, who will know how to give account for them, and, if they decide them well, will be better thought of. The ministers should merely counsel the conscience out of God's word, where need is: but as to disputes, we will let the jurists and consistories fight them out and settle them. Dr Christian Beyer, the Saxon Chancellor, wanted to impose on us divines, that we should hear, examine, and weigh matrimonial causes, and should refer them to the judgement of the jurists, who were then to pronounce. This I would not do. On the contrary they ought to hear, and to await judgement from us: although Master Philip advised me and Master Cellarius that we should serve the poor distracted Churches in these cases for a season."

A further question may still be askt, whether, even allowing Luther to act in conformity to his own opinion, that a second marriage might be entered into in a case of extreme urgency, without a sinful violation of the divine law, the reasons in the Landgrave's case were adequate. This however is a question on which we have not sufficient data for pronouncing. We have the Landgrave's application for advice indeed, which he sent by Bucer to the Wittenberg divines; and this, I may remark, as printed by Bretschneider (III. 851—856) from the Palatine Manuscript, does not contain the offensive declaration ascribed to him by the Reviewer, that "he did not wish to abstain from his adultery." Not however that these words were fabricated by the Reviewer: he found them in Bossuet's version, where they occur thrice over; and Bossuet naturally lays great stress on them. The copy too publisht by Arcuarius (Beger) in 1679, from which Bossuet's version is taken,* has some expressions which might easily be understood to imply such an assertion,

* This copy publisht by Arcuarius differs in many parts from the Palatine Manuscript; and, as it is written in the first person, there is much probability in Bretschneider's conjecture that it is the original drawn up by the Landgrave himself, which was afterward put into more formal language by Bucer, before he went

but which, if they are genuine, must needs bear a different meaning, since the sole ground of the application was the Landgrave's earnest desire to relinquish his sinful practices: and he was a man who had several fine qualities in his character, though his life, like that of many illustrious princes and captains, was not in accordance with the demands of Christian purity. Among the publisht documents,—for some still remaining have never been printed, though there would seem to be no sufficient reason for still suppressing them,—we also have the Landgravine Christina's consent to her husband's taking a second wife. But, in addition to the written argument, the Landgrave also sent a confession, to be delivered orally by Bucer to the Wittenberg divines; and of this we only know, from divers allusions, that it contained matters unfit for any ear but those of a confessor. Therefore we will not attempt to pry into them. We may safely trust that he, the

to Wittenberg. Here I may remark, that the Reviewer's statement with regard to the documents pertaining to this transaction, that they "were publisht in 1679 by the Elector Palatine Charles Lewis, and are said to have converted, among others, a descendant of Philip, Prince Ernest of Hesse, to the Catholic Church," seems to be grossly incorrect, and to be founded on a misunderstanding of Bossuet's words, that the affair had been disclosed "par les pièces que l'Electeur Palatin, Charles Louis, a fait imprimer, et dont le Prince Ernest de Hesse, un des descendans de Philippe, a manifesté une partie depuis qu'il s'est fait Catholique." That the Landgrave Ernest, having become a Romanist, should readily have allowed the publication of papers, which he thought would throw shame on the Reformers, is intelligible enough; this supposition might occur to any one, as it has to Bayle: but it may be questioned whether he was a sufficiently subtile logician to argue from Luther's conduct in this matter, however reprehensible he may have deemed it, that the Church of Rome was the true one. And though Seckendorf, in speaking of the publication, says of him that "adhuc superstes non indignum me gratia sua reputat," he gives no hint that Prince Ernest's conversion had been in any way connected with his ancestor's double marriage. But according to the Reviewer Prince Ernest is only one, "*among others*," converted by this cause. What wonders come to light, when a master in logic has a fertile imagination! Buckram men spring up without number, ay, even buckram logicians. It is much like what took place when the dragon's teeth were sown. Indeed an allegorizer might interpret the Theban myth by identifying the dragon with the serpent, the father of lies, whose progeny sprout up thickly, and would overrun the world; only happily they destroy one another.

strength of whose faith never allowed him to fear man on any other occasion, would not be swayed by the fear of man into sinning against his conscience on this. In a beautiful letter written in the following month of June, 1540, to Melanchthon, who was grievously opprest by the scandal occasioned, when the Landgrave, in opposition to their counsel, let his second marriage be known, Luther thus reminds him of the principles which had guided them in their opinion. "*Tu scis narrationem fuisse in isto facto, quasi sit casus extremae necessitatis*, quae legem vel non fert, vel saltem moderatur. Quare sis, quaeso per Christum, animo otioso et quieto; et agant illi etiam aliquid, quorum interest, et ferant sua onera, nec gravent nos solos, quos cum sciant esse candidos et fideles, *arguere non possunt ullius criminis, nisi vel misericordiae vel humanissimae facilitatis.*" In this time of trouble Luther's heroic faith shines forth still more brightly from its contrast with Melanchthon's weakness. The latter was quite crusht, and brought to the very verge of death. "Nulla oratione explicare possum (he says to Camerarius in a letter of Sept. 1, 1540), quam horribiles dolores sustinuerim, qui interdum recrudescunt. Sensi καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον (Lutherum) excruciari animo; sed ille suum dolorem repressit, ne meum augeret, meque erigere conatus est summa animi magnitudine, non solum consolando, sed saepe duriter objurgando. Qui nisi ad me venisset, mortuus essem." Luther on the other hand feels strong as ever from his unshaken trust in his Heavenly Supporter. "Quare frustra nos occidimus (he says in the letter just quoted to Melanchthon), aut tristitia impedimus cognitionem victoris illius omnium mortium et tristitiarum? Qui enim vicit Diabolum, et judicavit principem hujus mundi, nonne et cum eo judicavit et vicit hoc scandalum? Nam si etiam hoc praesens candalum desinat, dabit deinde alias, et forte majores turbas scandalorum, quas, si vivimus, in eodem tamen victore vincemus, et ridebimus quoque. Nihil estmalorum vel inferni de quo ille non dixerit et voluerit sese intelligi, *Ego vici mundum, confidite.*—Valeat Satan; propter ipsum nec moereamus, nec tristemur: in Christo autem Domino laetemur et exultemus; ipse deducet in nihilum omnes

inimicos nostros. Nondum sumus in Davidis exemplo, cujus causa longe desperatior fuit, nec tamen cecidit; nec ista causa cadet. Cur ergo te maceras, cum finalis causa stet certe, id est, victoria Christi, etsi formalis et media nonnihil deformetur isto scandalo.—Nos, qui te sincere amamus, diligenter et efficaciter orabimus. Vale in Christo, et noli timere nec solicitari. Omnem solicitudinem in eum projicias, qui vult esse pro nobis solicitus, idque credi jussit et exigit.—Stabit illud: *Ego vici mundum: et vos vivetis quia Ego vivo.* Iterum vale, et sis laetus et quietus, oro, sicut petimus, imo sicut praecipit Dominus." This is the man whom the Reviewer audaciously charges with a "skulking compromise of all professed principle," and with violating the Gospel, "trembling only at discovery."

The reluctance to have the matter known, it is plain, was unmixt with any personal consideration in Luther; though it was otherwise with Melanchthon, whose utter abashment on this occasion shews how thoroughly Luther understood his character, when he said to him years before, *Pecca fortiter.* It was just after this last letter of Luther's, that Melanchthon, as he tells Camerarius in the words just cited, was at the very point of death, and was restored to life in an almost miraculous manner, as it seemed, by the intensely fervent prayers, and the energetic friendly comfort and friendly rebukes of Luther. When Luther, who had been sent for on account of Melanchthon's dangerous illness, arrived, he found, the historian tells us, "that his eyes were sunk, his senses gone, his speech stopt, his hearing closed, his face fallen in and hollow, and, as Luther said, *facies erat Hippocratica.* He knew nobody, ate and drank nothing. When Luther saw him thus disfigured, he was frightened above measure, and said to his companions, *God forfend! how has the devil defaced this Organon!* He then turned forthwith to the window, and prayed fervently to God. *Then,* said Luther, *Our Lord God could not but hear me; for I threw my sack before His door, and wearied His ears with all His promises of hearing prayers, which I could repeat out of Holy Writ; so that He could not but hear me if I were ever to trust in His promises.* Hereupon he graspt Philip by the hand:

Bono animo esto, Philippe; non morieris. Although God has reason to slay, yet He willeth not the death of a sinner, but that he should be converted and live. He has pleasure in life, not in death. If God called and received the very greatest sinners that ever were upon earth, Adam and Eve, again into favour, much less will He reject thee, my Philip, or let thee perish in sin and despair. Therefore give no place to the spirit of sorrow, and be not thine own murderer; but trust in the Lord, who can slay and make alive again, can wound and bind up, can smite and heal again. For Luther well knew the burthen of his heart and conscience. Being thus taken hold of and addrest, Philip began to draw breath again, but could not say anything for a good while. Then he turned his face straight upon Luther, and began to beg him for God's sake not to detain him any longer; that he was now on a good journey; that he should let him go; that nothing better could befall him. *By no means, Philip,* said Luther; *thou must serve our Lord God yet longer.* Thus Philip by degrees became more cheerful, and let Luther order him something to eat; and Luther brought it himself to him, but Philip refused it. Then Luther forced him with these threats, saying: *Hark Philip, thou must eat, or I excommunicate thee.* With these words he was overpowered, so that he ate a very little; and thus by degrees he gained strength again." See the account cited by Bretschneider in his Edition of Melanchthon, IV. p. xvii. I enter into these details of Luther's conduct connected with this affair, because it has often been represented as utterly disgraceful and destructive of his moral character; whereas on this, as on every other occasion, the best vindication of him is the truth. The more one knows of him, the grander he becomes, the more too he wins not merely reverence, but love.

Hence we may perceive that the reasons which made the Reformers insist so strongly upon secrecy, as an indispensable condition, were those which they themselves give out, first, lest the act should be regarded as a precedent, and secondly, the scandal which its publication was sure to occasion. Yet this by no means implies that the act itself was wrong. Jeremy Taylor, in his *Rule*

of Conscience (B. II. C. ii. R. 3), speaking on a cognate matter, says, of an act which he deems permissible, that, "if that which is not of good report be done, and offered to the report of all them who can condemn the folly and impurity, but cannot judge of the necessity or the cause, the fact, by becoming scandalous, is criminal." In fact the same rule holds with regard to all those acts which marriage sanctifies, but which, if exposed to public view, would bestialize human nature. This is the ground which Luther himself takes in a letter to the Landgrave written in July 1540, parts of which have been publisht by Bretschneider in the *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, II. i. 286—288, and are reprinted by Marheineke in his *History of the German Reformation*, IV. p. 31—34. "I have received your princely Grace's letter, which in some measure, methinks, has been written in an irritated mind, such as I am not conscious of having deserved. For it seems to me that your Grace regards this affair, as though we had acted for our own sakes, and not for your Grace's faithful, loyal service, to save your Grace from future distress. Therefore I will here declare to your Grace from the bottom of my heart, it is not for my own sake that I entreat and warn you so earnestly against the publication of the opinion. Your Grace should be fully convinced of this, and not fancy that it was for my sake. Even if all the devils were resolved to publish the counsel, I should know, through God's grace, how to make answer, so that they shall have no hold upon me. For I have the advantage that your Grace, and all the devils themselves, must testify and confess, first, that it is a secret counsel; next, that I entreated with all earnestness that it might not be publisht; thirdly, if it come to the worst, yet I am sure that it is not publisht through me. So long as I have these three arguments, I would not advise the devil himself to set my pen stirring. God will help me. Through God's grace I know how to distinguish what may be conceded out of grace in a stress of conscience before God, and what, without this necessity before God, is not right in our outward conduct upon earth; and I should be sorry that your Grace should enter into a pen-fight with me. Your Grace has enough of other things to do, and so have I. But this is

the state of the case, that, since we are of the same Confession, I cannot and will not, so far as lies in my power, let your Grace fall into danger and distress; and I acknowledge myself bound as a Christian to give my neighbour my best counsel and service. For though your Grace publish the opinion, it does not affect me; but your Grace's objects are not gained and accomplisht thereby; only your Grace will pull down a heavier load on your own neck, so that we shall not be able henceforward to help your Grace again, however gladly we might do and wish it. For this your Grace will not be able to effect, that the world shall recognize this your Grace's secret marriage as an open marriage, even though many hundred Luthers and Philips and others declared it so. People will still say, Luthers and Philips have no power to establish anything against public and wholesome laws, although they are bound to give secret advice under a pressure of conscience." In the preceding April Luther had written to the Elector, that he had burnt the Landgrave's letter, in order that the matter might remain secret, begging him also to keep it secret, and expressing a wish that, since the Landgrave deemed it so important to his soul's health, God might prosper his act. It no way distrest him that the excellent John Frederic should know what had happened: what pained him was that it should become notorious to those who would not have the information requisite for understanding the peculiar nature of the case; and this information he would not consent to give. In June 1540, on hearing that the Landgrave meant to publish his marriage, Luther exprest his strong disapproval in a letter to Eberhard von der Tann, and added: "I shall keep what the Landgrave disclosed to me in the way of confession through Bucer, entirely secret, even to my own shame. It is better, people should say, Luther has played the fool (for much wiser men than I have played the fool; and the saying is, a wise man does not commit a small folly), than that I should publish the reasons which induced me to comply with the Landgrave: for this would bring him much greater shame, and make the scandal far worse."

Such then is the amount of Luther's sin, or rather errour,—for

sin I dare not call it,—in this affair, in which the voice of the world, ever ready to believe evil of great and good men, has so severely condemned him, without investigation of the facts, although the motives imputed to him are wholly repugnant to those which governed his conduct through life. He did not compromise any profest principles, as the Reviewer accuses him of doing: he did not inculcate polygamy, as the Pamphleteer charges him with doing. But inasmuch as he could not discover any direct, absolute prohibition of polygamy in the New Testament, while it was practist by the Patriarchs, and recognized in the Law, he did not deem himself warranted in condemning it absolutely, when there appeared in special cases to be a strong necessity, either with a view to some great national object, or for the relief of a troubled conscience. Here it behoves us to bear in mind on the one hand, what importance Luther attacht, as all his writings witness, to this high ministerial office of relieving troubled consciences: and it may mitigate our condemnation of his errour,—which after all was an errour on the right side, its purpose being to substitute a hallowed union for unhallowed licence,—if we remember that Gerson had said openly a century before, expressing the common opinion of his age, that it was better for a priest to be guilty of fornication than to marry. Such was the moral degradation of the Church under the Egyptian bondage of ordinances, that even so wise and good a man could deem it expedient to sacrifice the sacred principles of right and purity, the sense of duty, and the peace of the soul, for the sake of upholding the arbitrary enactment of a tyrannical hierarchy. Indeed the clamour which has been raised against Luther for this one act by the Romish apologists is perhaps, among all cases of the beam crying out against the mote, the grossest and the most hypocritical. Nor should we forget what difficulties have in all ages encompast the settlement of special matrimonial cases. They may perhaps be less now in England than in any other country, notwithstanding the grievous scandals which attend them; and there is always a prejudice inclining men to suppose that their own condition is the normal one for the whole human race. But if we compare the laws of marriage which prevail in

the various branches of Christendom, and know anything of their moral effects as manifested in family life, we shall perceive how hard it is to lay down any one inviolable form. What the obscurity and uncertainty of the law was in Luther's time, we may estimate from the conflicting answers which were returned to the questions mooted with reference to Henry the Eighth's divorce. On the other hand we should try to realize what the Bible was to Luther, the source of all wisdom, the treasurehouse of all truth, the primordial code of all law, the store-room from which, with the help of the Spirit, he was to bring forth every needful weapon to fight against and to overcome the world and the devil; how, if the Bible had been put in the one scale, and all the books of all the great thinkers of the heathen and Christian world had been piled up in the other, they would not have availed in his judgement to sway the balance so much as a hair's breadth. It was not much the practice of his age,—least of all was it Luther's,—to estimate the lawfulness and propriety of an act by reference to its general consequences. He did indeed bethink himself of the evil that would ensue, if the dispensation were regarded as a precedent; and therefore did he insist on its being kept secret. But he did not duly consider how impossible it was that such a step taken by a man of so impetuous a character should be kept secret; nor how terrible the evils would be if every pastor were to deem himself authorized to give similar counsel; nor how perilous it is to take the covering of secrecy for any acts, except such as are sanctioned by the laws of God and man, while the moral feeling of society throws a veil over them. Perhaps he acted overhastily in a matter of such difficulty and moment: for in a letter of the 9th of December 1539, Melanchthon speaks of Bucer as just arrived; and the answer is dated on the 12th. But however severely we may blame Luther for these errours of judgement, for his allowing himself to be influenced in such a matter by *misericordia* and *humanissima facilitas*, still, when the secret is disclosed, when the scandal gets wind, how does the heroic grandeur of his character, the might of his invincible faith rise out of the trial! The rain descended, and the floods came, and

the winds blew, and beat upon his house: but it stood fast, because it was founded upon a Rock. And so, God willing, it shall still, in despite of all its blustering revilers and undermining detracters. Nay, what man of right mind would not infinitely rather bear the burthen of all Luther's wrong on this occasion, than that of the unblushing falsehood, the trampling upon truth, the abject prostration of the conscience implied in Bossuet's sentence upon it? "Tout ce que la Réforme avoit de plus renommé en Allemagne consentit à cette iniquité: Dieu les livroit visiblement au sens réprouvé; et ceux qui crioient contre les abus, pour rendre l'Eglise odieuse, *en commettent de plus étranges et en plus grand nombre* dès les premiers temps de leur Réforme, *qu'ils n'en ont pu ramasser ou inventer dans la suite de tant de siècles, où ils reprochent à l'Eglise sa corruption.*" *Ou inventer!* With what a wanton defiance of truth are these words thrown in! When a lie is of infinite magnitude, no matter how much more one stuffs into it. In reading Bossuet's fierce invective on occasion of the Landgrave's double marriage,—the first volley of it in the *Histoire des Variations*, the second more furious still in the Fourth *Avertissement* in answer to Jurieu, and the third in the reply to Basnage,—if we call to mind what was the state of the French court during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and what at so many periods in the preceding eight centuries had been the moral condition of Rome, it would almost seem as though a preacher had come out of Sodom to rail against Abraham for taking Hagar to his bed. With good reason might Seckendorf reply (Lib. III. p. 277), that the French writers on this question "prudentius cautiusque fecissent, si camerinam hanc non movissent: habent enim domi, si tanta lubido est Principum mores in censuram vocare, unde magna compleant volumina; nec minora de dispensatione Pontificum vel sacerdotum, qua flagitia non arcana solum, sed et publica, vel concedere vel dissimulare solent ex causis quas Deo et conscientiae minime probabunt."

Indeed, if anything were surprising among the numberless παράλογα of literature, one should marvel at the inordinate reputation which the *Histoire des Variations* has acquired, not

merely with the members of a Church glad to make the most of any prop for a rotten cause, but among Protestants of learning and discernment. One main source of its celebrity may lie in that spirit of detraction which exercises such a baneful power in all classes of mankind, ever since Cain slew his brother on account of his righteousness,—in the eagerness with which all listen to evil-speaking and slander, with little diminution of their pleasure even though it be strongly seasoned with lying,—in that want of sympathy with heroic and enthusiastic spirits, which is so prevalent among men of the world, and the great body of men of letters, and their consequent satisfaction at seeing what towers beyond their ken cast down to the ground. Able as the *Histoire des Variations* unquestionably is, if regarded as the statement and pleading of an unprincipled and unscrupulous advocate, it is anything but a great work. For no work can be great, unless it be written with a paramount love of truth: this is the moral element of all genius; and without it the finest talents are worth little more than a conjuror's sleight of hand. Bossuet in this book never seems even to have set himself the problem of speaking the truth, as a thing to be desired and aimed at. He pretends to seat himself in the chair of judgement, but without a thought of doing justice to the persons he summons before him. He does not examine to ascertain whether they are guilty or not: his mind is made up beforehand that they are guilty; and his only care is to scrape together whatever may seem to prove this, that he may have a specious plea for condemning them. Never once, I believe, from the first page to the last, did he try heartily to make out what the real fact was. He is determined to say all possible evil of the Reformers, to shew that they went wrong at every step, in every deed, in every word, and in every thought, to prove that they are all darkness, with scarcely a gleam of light. Hence his representation of Luther is no more like him than an image made up of the black lines in a spectrum would be like the sun. Bossuet picks out all the bad he can find, and leaves out all the good: but, as even this procedure would poorly serve his purpose, the main part of his picture consists of sentences torn from their

context, which by some forcible wrench, some process of garbling, by being deprived of certain limiting or counterbalancing clauses, by being made positive instead of hypothetical, or by means of the other tricks, of which we have seen such sad instances in the course of this note, are rendered very offensive. With regard to the Landgrave's marriage, his treatment of Luther is more like the ferocity of a tiger, tearing his prey limb from limb, and gloating over it before he devours it, than the spirit which becomes a Christian bishop.

Let me give one instance of the mode in which he perverts the truth. It may serve as a sample of the whole work. In the Latin translation of the Landgrave's brief, which Bossuet gives as an appendix to his sixth Book, he is represented as saying, "Quidquid me jusserint quod christianum et rectum sit, sive monasteriorum bona, seu alia concernat, ibi me promptum reperient." In the Palatine Manuscript, as publisht by Bretschneider, there is nothing answering to these words, though an equivalent German sentence is found in the text given by Arcuarius. Hence, if Bretschneider's conjecture be correct, we may conclude that Bucer omitted this passage from a fear that Luther and Melanchthon might regard it with jealousy, as an attempt to biass their decision by the introduction of extraneous motives. Still the meaning of the passage in the Latin version is quite plain: the Landgrave promises that whatever they may require, consistently with the principles of Christianity and justice, whether it relate to the goods of the monasteries or to other matters, they shall find him ready to comply with their wishes. And no one acquainted with the history of the times, who was not blinded by ill-will, would be obtuse enough to misunderstand that the Landgrave engaged hereby to take care that the property of the dissolved monasteries should be applied, as the Reformers wisht, to religious purposes. Luther was well aware from the first that there was a number of rapacious persons, princes and nobles, who would be eager to seize on the property of the dissolved monasteries. Indeed the work of pillage had already been begun in some provinces which retained their allegiance

to Rome, as it was in England about the same time, but with a better object, by Wolsey. In August 1523, when publishing the Rules of the Public Chest at Leissnig, Luther in the Preface expresses his fears that the property of the monasteries would be seized by greedy plunderers, and urges that, after ample provision has been made for the present inmates, it should be employed in works of charity. In November 1526 he wrote a pressing letter to the Elector John, recommending that it should be devoted mainly to the objects of supplying ministers and schools, and, if there were any surplus, to other charitable uses. Again in a letter to Spalatin, of January 1527, he says: "Seria sunt valde de rapina monasteriorum, et crede, macerat res ista me vehementer. Ego scriptis egi jamdudum quod petis. Hoc non contentus irrupi, dum hic erat Princeps, invitis omnibus etiam in cubile Principis, ut solum convenirem super hac re." The Landgrave too had himself written to Luther on the subject in 1526; and it was very natural that he should recur to it in 1539; more especially as it must doubtless have been a matter of discussion at some of the conferences held in the preceding three years. In Bossuet's French translation however the passage assumes a totally different meaning: "De mon côté, je ferai tout ce qu'ils m'ordonneront, selon la religion et la raison; *soit qu'ils me demandent les biens des monastères*, soit qu'ils desirent d'autres choses." When the words are thus rendered, they sound as if the Landgrave meant to offer the Reformers a bribe, a share in the pillage of the monasteries. He who knows anything of them, or even of the Landgrave, will indeed recoil from such a thought. To bribe Luther to give an opinion! one might as reasonably think of bribing the sun to shine tomorrow, by promising him a good breakfast. But such is Bossuet's sordid spirit, and such was the spirit of the persons he was familiar with, he makes the meaning, which he has put into the words by his own mistranslation, the ground of a most spiteful, but aimless sneer. "On voit comme il insinue adroitement les raisons dont il savoit, lui qui les connoissoit si intimement, qu'ils pouvoient être touchés." One would have thought that any man with ordinary delicacy of mind would have been ashamed of

casting out such an imputation; that he would have lookt again and again to ascertain whether it could really be true. But such is Bossuet's coarseness, he repeats the charge more scurrilously in his Reply to Jurieu: "Le prince—pour ne rien oublier, et gagner ces ames vénales par les intérêts les plus bas, leur propose de leur accorder pour prix de leur iniquité tout ce qu'ils lui demanderoient; *soit que ce fut les biens des monastères, ou d'autres choses semblables.*" Here the falsifier has introduced a fresh word, "*semblables*," into his own translation, to strengthen his perversion of the original. And again in his Reply to Basnage he spits out more of the same venom, while refuting a feeble excuse that the Reformers had been compelled to yield. "On leur promit des monastères à piller: que la Réforme en rougisse: le landgrave, *l'homme du monde qui avoit le plus conversé avec ces Réformateurs, et qui les connoissoit le mieux*, (this clause is foisted in as a superfetation of falsehood,) les gagne par ces promesses: et voilà toute la violence qu'il leur fait." If any one is to blush, it is the Church that sets up such an advocate: the advocate himself must be incapable of doing so.

For this malignant calumny, be it observed, there is no sort of ground, except in his own mistranslation. If he had lookt a second time with open eyes at the Latin, he must have perceived that the Landgrave was speaking of the employment of the property for public, not for private ends: the very word *jusserint* implies this; much more the expressions, *quod Christianum et rectum sit.* Indeed Bossuet could not have gone wrong, unless he had set out with the persuasion that the Reformers and their princes were a set of rogues and liars, and with a determination to prove them so. He who metes such measure to his brethren, and to men far greater and holier than himself, has no claim to indulgence; and for this reason I have allowed myself to express the indignation which such conduct deserves. The imputation of sordid motives to one's adversaries is one of the paltriest tricks of controversy, which no rightminded man will avail himself of, without conclusive evidence that it is justified by the general life and character of the person against whom it is brought. But Bossuet,

while he was engaged in his History, must have examined a considerable part of the documents which shew what Luther was and did. He quotes his letters, whenever he fancies they supply him with materials for slander. Where, in what act, in what word, did he find anything to warrant him in suspecting that Luther would have belied his conscience for a bribe? nay, that he was desirous of the riches of this world? Nay, he must have met with abundant evidence that Luther was utterly careless about them, that, so far from seeking, he shunned them. To purify these pages, which have been defiled by Bossuet's insinuations, let me here insert a prayer, which Luther offered up when he was believed to be dying, in July 1527. Bugenhagen, who records it, says: "The Will which he drew up and gave to his wife, then with child, and to his infant son, was as follows: *My most dear God, I thank Thee from my heart that Thou hast willed that I should be poor and a beggar upon earth; therefore I can leave neither house nor fields, estates, money, or property, to my wife and child after me. As Thou hast given them to me, so I restore them to Thee again. Thou rich, faithful God, feed them, teach them, preserve them, as Thou hast hitherto fed, taught, and preserved me, O Father of the orphans and Judge of the widows.*" (Walch, XXI. 163.) The following letter to the Elector John, in August 1529, may serve as one proof out of a multitude that this was not merely a feeling awakened by the solemn anticipation that earth and its gifts were passing away, but that it abode with him in the same strength amid the temptations of practical life. "I have long delayed to thank your Electoral Grace for the clothes and gown your Grace has sent and given to me. But I will humbly beg your Grace not to believe those who say that I am in want. I have unhappily more, especially from your Grace, than I can reconcile to my conscience. As a minister too, it does not behove me to have any superfluity; nor do I desire it. Therefore, when I see your Grace's overkind and gracious favour, I am straightway afraid; for I would not willingly be found here in this life among those to whom Christ says, *Wo to you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation.* Moreover, to speak of this world's

matters, I would not willingly be burthensome to your Grace, knowing that your Grace has so many calls for giving, that your Grace can scarcely have anything over to maintain your own rank; for too much bursts the bag. Therefore, although it would not beseem me to wear the liver-coloured cloth, yet, that I may be thankful to your Grace, I will wear the black coat in honour of your Grace, though it is much too costly for me; and, were it not your Grace's gift, I could never wear such a coat. I beg therefore that your Grace will wait till I myself complain and ask, so that, through this overreadiness on your Grace's part, I may not be shamed out of asking for others, who are much worthier of such favours. For your Grace, without this, does too much for me. Christ will repay it graciously and richly: this I pray from my heart." Yet Luther's largest income is said to have been two hundred florins, about twenty pounds, a year. Such is the man whom Bossuet calls "*venal*," whom he charges with selling his soul for a bribe. This is indeed a peculiarly flagrant example: but he who will take the trouble of examining the statements in the *Histoire des Variations*, will find a number of passages where the truth is distorted by similar misrepresentations; and I doubt whether he will find a single instance of candour in the whole book. It is full time that a work which has been exalted so far beyond its worth for a century and a half, should be cast down to its proper place.

I have dwelt thus long on this matter of the Landgrave's marriage, because Luther's conduct on this occasion is commonly supposed to be the one great blot in his life, and has been deemed utterly indefensible even by many of his friends. Having endeavoured to set this matter in a right light, to shew what he actually did, and by what motives he was determined, I may hasten to the close of this interminable Note. Some of Sir W. Hamilton's charges indeed, and very heinous ones, are still unrefuted. "Luther and Melanchthon (he says), great and good as they both were, would, had they been permitted by the wisdom of the world to carry their theological speculations into practice, have introduced a state of things, which every Christian—will

now confess, would not only have turned the Reformation into a curse, but have subverted all that is most sacred by moral and religious law. Among other points of Papal discipline, the zeal of Luther was roused against ecclesiastical celibacy and monastic vows; and whither did it carry him? Not content to reason against the institution within natural limits and on legitimate grounds, his fervour led him to deny explicitly, and in every relation, the existence of chastity as a physical impossibility; led him publicly to preach (and who ever preached with the energy of Luther!) incontinence, adultery, incest even, as not only allowable, but, if practised under the prudential regulations which he himself lays down, unobjectionable, and even praiseworthy. The epidemic spread; a fearful dissolution of manners throughout the sphere of the Reformer's influence, was for a season the natural result. The ardour of the boisterous Luther infected, among others, even the ascetic and timorous Melanchthon." These words are followed by the passage quoted above in p. 829 about Polygamy. Now, after the cross-examination to which Sir W. Hamilton has been subjected, even Mr Ward will hardly assert any longer that "his name is a sufficient voucher" for the accuracy of anything that he may say. Will Sir W. Hamilton himself assert that it is? Will he vouch for the accuracy of his own quotations? of his own statements? His own! We have seen that many of them are not his own; that, with all his ostentatious pretensions to a familiarity with Luther's writings, he has borrowed extracts, without acknowledgement, from Bossuet, or from some other of Luther's violent enemies, and has not even attempted to ascertain their correctness. In like manner, I believe, the charges brought against Luther in the passage just quoted are not the result of Sir W. Hamilton's own researches; I believe that they are taken in the main from such books as the *Histoire des Variations*, and that too without examination. But at all events, from whatever source they may be drawn, on whatever ground or quicksand they may be erected, I see not why I should hesitate to assert that, so far as they bear upon Luther, they are, one and all, utterly false. If Sir W. Hamilton has not hitherto publisht the

second part of his Address to the Scotch Church, in which he calls upon its members, *Be not Schismatics, be not Martyrs by mistake*, he might perhaps employ his time more profitably both for himself and for the noble company of authors, were he to substitute a pamphlet, illustrated by copious examples out of his own experience, to deter men from retailing the falsehoods they find in others; and the pamphlet might fairly be entitled, *Be not Calumniators, be not Slanderers by mistake.* For such facts his name might safely be regarded as a sufficient voucher; and thus he might regain his lost laurels: while Mr Ward might adorn an appendix to his *Ideal* with long extracts for his own edification, and that of other Romanizers; unless indeed he be of opinion that it pertains to the essence of an Ideal to keep at a respectful distance from the truth.

At all events I trust I may now assume that Luther's character does not need to be vindicated from such heinous charges, brought forward thus vaguely and without a tittle of evidence by such an accuser. A couple of remarks may suffice to dispose of them.

In the first place the whole passage implies a total misconception of Luther's character, and of the influence he exercised, whether generally on his countrymen, or on Melanchthon personally. We have seen how far beyond him Melanchthon went in his counsel to Henry the Eighth. We have seen how Luther from the Wartburg wrote to repress his friend's ardour for precipitate innovations. Several times too in the course of this Note we have been led to remark how averse Luther was to the hasty and violent change of any outward institution,—how he desired that the Reformation of Christianity should advance, like its original establishment, not by the forcible assault and subversion of anything previously existing, but by the winning and transformation of men's minds through the power of divine truth brought home to them by the operation of the Spirit. Mackintosh, when speaking of the Reformation, in his *History of England* (II. 147), has observed that Luther's conduct, at the time of the insurrection of the peasants, "was unexceptionable;" and that "such disorders

are incident to the greatest and most beneficial movements of the human mind." They are the almost inseparable accompaniments of such a movement; but it would be sheer confusion to hold it responsible for them. One of the great merits of Ranke's History is his having set these parts of Luther's character in their true light, so clearly and incontrovertibly, that the empty talk about his violent conduct, which may probably have arisen primarily from the vehemence of his language, and which has been mainly fostered by Bossuet's caricature, will ere long be exploded among the intelligent, as much so as the Livian declamation against the Roman plebeians. In the former extracts from Ranke we found representations of Luther's salutary and tranquillizing working in the earlier part of his public career. At a later period in his History, when the Reformed Churches had already assumed a certain consistency, in the Introduction to the seventh Book, he inserts the following remarks, which may stand here to set their foot on Sir W. Hamilton's misrepresentations. "The Reformers, even in religion, with regard both to ceremonies and to doctrine, notwithstanding their departure from the ordinances of the hierarchy, still kept as close to whatever was traditional, as seemed reconcilable with the original records of their faith, to which they went back. Around them destructive tendencies, which had long been working underground, and were now suddenly set free by the mighty convulsion, came forth in a form peculiarly fascinating for the age, from the confusion of religion with politics, and threatened the civilized world with a universal dissolution and revolution. The Reformers had sufficient calmness and self-possession to resist these tendencies from the very first moment. Throughout we see Luther directing his weapons on both sides,—against the Papacy, which sought to reconquer the world then struggling for its emancipation,—and against the sects of many names, which sprang up beside him, assailing Church and State together. In the region of the spirit, in the province of intellectual conviction, the Protestants contributed the most to their subjugation. Not that they cautiously weighed in each particular case what was practicable, and what not: it was rather their own essential character that led them to

this conduct. They were thoroughly convinced of the correctness of that view of the Scriptures, which lay at the foundation of the theology of the Latin Church; they merely desired to remove those arbitrary decisions and ordinances of the hierarchy, which were repugnant thereto: and how could Luther, to whom the confounding of the spiritual with the temporal element was one of the things most hateful in the Papacy, allow a like confusion to gain ground on the opposite side? In so doing he would have given up himself. In this very respect does the mind truly called to take an active part in the development of the world manifest that its internal nature and the secret necessity of things coincide. The great Reformer, if we may use an expression of our days, was one of the greatest Conservatives that ever lived."

In the next place, to touch on the more specific charges in the last extract from Sir W. Hamilton's pamphlet,—the first, that Luther "denied explicitly, and in every relation, the existence of chastity as a physical impossibility," may easily be proved to be utterly false by the citation of passages in which he "explicitly" asserts the contrary. For instance, in the Sermon *On Married Life*, preacht in 1522, he begins with speaking on Matthew XIX. 12, and, coming to the third class of men there mentioned, says, "these are the high, rich spirits, whose passions are bridled in by God's grace,—who say,—*I will beget children in the kingdom of heaven, that is, spiritual children in the Gospel.*" In the latter part of the same Sermon, after speaking of the benefits of marriage, he says, "Hereby I do not mean to reject virginity, nor to entice people from it to a married life. Let each continue in the state which suits him, and which he feels to be appointed for him by God." The same thing is said in nearly the same words in the Sermons on Genesis publisht in 1527. In the later Commentary on Genesis II. 22, we find the words, *Non autem nego, quin aliqui sint qui sine conjugio possint caste vivere;* words which might seem expressly chosen to give a flat contradiction to Sir W. Hamilton's assertion. A sentence might perhaps be pickt out here or there, which, when taken alone, may appear to assert the contrary; but if we look at it in its original place, we shall find

something in the context to limit it. Sir W. Hamilton may contend that the passages which I have quoted come from writings subsequent to the disturbances at Wittenberg, and that he was speaking of writings anterior, inasmuch as he ascribes these disturbances to their influence. But we have seen above that his knowledge concerning the chronology of the German Reformation is no less accurate than on every other matter pertaining to it. In fact this itself is a fresh proof that he is dealing out his words at random: for in the Marriage Sermon of 1519, the only one prior to those disturbances, Luther, as has already been stated in p. 771, was still under the Romish prejudices in favour of celibacy. On the other hand it is quite true that Luther did often most earnestly contend that vows of celibacy, imposed on any except those who by a peculiarity of physical or moral constitution were qualified for observing them, were contrary to Nature, and to God's holy ordinance, so contrary, that Nature would infallibly assert her rights, and rise up against them: and of this he had the most appalling evidence in the practice of concubinage, which seems to have been almost universal among the clergy, except where far worse profligacy prevailed in its stead. When we find official statements that among fifty priests scarcely one was not a notorious fornicator, — that, among a hundred priests in Bavaria, it had been ascertained upon enquiry, scarcely three or four did not live in open concubinage, or in secret or open marriage,*—how could a righteous man dwelling among them do otherwise than vex his righteous soul with the filthy conversation of the wicked? how could he do otherwise than protest with all the fervour of holy indignation against the unhallowed imposture which was breathing its pestilential vapours into every nook and corner of the Church?

The other charges, that Luther "publicly preached incontinence, adultery, incest even, as not only allowable, but, if practised under the prudential regulations which he himself lays down,

* Harless, in his Journal (VII. 23), cites this statement from the speech of the Bavarian Envoy at the Council of Trent, publisht by Hormayr in his *Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte* for the year 1832.

unobjectionable, and even praiseworthy," cannot be refuted in the same summary manner. I might cite a number of passages against incontinence from his writings: I might shew that he often exprest a wish that adultery were punisht capitally. But I will not waste words upon such accusations proceeding from a witness whose testimony has been proved again and again to be utterly worthless. When a dear friend, whose faith and righteousness have been approved during a long life, under many severe trials, is said to have committed unheard of enormities, without any specification of when, where, how, or what, one is fully warranted in replying that the assertions cannot possibly be true. Therefore I will merely defy Sir W. Hamilton to bring forward evidence in support of these atrocious charges. Should he attempt to do so, and adduce any passages beyond those which have been satisfactorily explained by Harless in the seventh Volume of his Journal, I shall deem myself bound to use my best endeavours to set them on a right footing. At the same time let me remark, that I trust he will not have the assurance to quote certain sayings, which explicitly refer solely to cases of impotence, as substantiating his allegations. Should he shrink from this test, finding that he cannot stand it, what can a generous, nay, what can an honest man do in his place, but come forward with an open recantation and a humble acknowledgement of the wrong he has done to one of the noblest pillars of Christianity, one of the greatest benefactors of mankind?

Herewith I will end this Note of unprecedented bulk. Had I imagined, when I began, that it would have occupied a quarter of its present space, it would have been reserved for a separate work. But the question of Luther's character is intimately connected with the miserable controversies which are disturbing our Church; and though the decision of those controversies ought to turn on wholly different points, the enemies of Protestant truth have always felt they were gaining an advantage, if they could, by whatsoever artifices, detract from the fame of its first and greatest champion. Hence it seemed desirable, not merely for the sake of historical justice, but with a view to checking and dispelling the delusions which have

been so busily propagated of late years concerning the Reformation and its authors, that the charges brought against Luther, such at least as come from assailants of any mark, should be carefully scrutinized, and that their groundlessness should be thoroughly exposed. To do thus much appeared to be due, not only to Luther, but also to our Church, which is so deeply indebted to him, and which will have to rue the day, should she ever cease to revere him. If in doing it I have been too prolix, I must plead that love is wont to be garrulous: how then can it be otherwise, when it has such an object, and sees him so scandalously traduced? Must it not do what it can to replace him on his rightful throne? That the vindication of him attempted in this Note has not been entirely unsuccessful, I may trust without much presumption. Several of the charges have been shewn to rest on no foundation whatever, others to be grossly exaggerated. Indeed to some readers it may seem that they were too futile, too monstrous, to need so elaborate a refutation. Such an objection would be welcome as a token that the Note has not failed in its aim. At the same time let me remark that the persons against whom I have been contending, are not men of no name, gablers and railers out of the rabble of literature, but most of them among our most eminent writers of the day; so that it might have been deemed a rash venture to encounter them, but for the recollection that even Patroclus became a match for the foremost heroes, when he went out to the battle in the armour of Achilles. That armour will assuredly enable us still to gain many a victory over Romanists and Romanizers. Of late years however Luther's enemies have been on the advance in England. Frivolous and fallacious as the charges here examined have been proved to be, they have been caught up eagerly and repeated by many; and it is impossible to estimate by how many they have been swallowed readily, as flattering their previous antipathies, or how many more must have deemed, albeit reluctantly, that what was so confidently asserted, and remained without contradiction, could not but be true. Nor have they been repeated merely by such writers as Mr Marshall, who, in his *Notes on the Episcopal Polity* (p. 387), appeals to Mr Hallam as an authority

for pronouncing Lutheranism to be the parent of Anabaptism, an assertion the total incorrectness of which we have seen above. For this is just of a piece with the rest of a book, which would almost seem to have been made up out of the sweepings of a public library, interlarded with those of a reading-room, quoting all manner of books of all ages, bygone libels, and the ephemerals of the day, and retailing gossip, anecdotes, arguments, statements at third or fourth hand, and by bitter adversaries, without any critical discrimination; its object being the laudable one of proving that, wherever the episcopal form of government has not been retained, Churches have sunk into "nurseries of heresy and unbelief." A writer who can charge Calvin with "a vast number of sayings which savour almost of infidelity" on the unexamined assertions of the Jesuit Maldonatus (p. 406),* has surrendered his understanding so

* A dozen passages of Maldonat's Commentary on St Matthew are referred to as vouchers for this assertion; and it is added that "a host of such evil comments is noticed by the same writer in his remarks upon the other Gospels." Now what purpose of edification, of judgement, or even of the barest information, can be served by persons telling us that Pelagius accused Augustin, or that Augustin, in a score or five score of passages, accused Pelagius of heinous errours? If it be necessary that we should know the errours and faults of great and holy men, and if such knowledge may in some cases be profitable to us in the way of caution and warning, this can only be when we understand what the errour was, and how they were led into it. Let us not build up our judgements on the husks and dregs of the invectives of former generations. Hardly any man that ever lived has spoken the truth of his opponents, has treated them with justice, much less with charity. Why then do we not leave these untruths, these injustices, these uncharitablenesses, to moulder and rot with the other earthly particles of those who uttered them? Blessed must Maldonat's portion be, if he has been allowed to embrace Calvin among the Communion of Saints, and to receive his forgiveness for having sinned against him more than seventy times seven. Let us not revive and prolong the carnal animosities of those who may now be at one in the unity of their common Lord. In the list of passages referred to by Mr Marshall, there is only one where he enables us to judge what the saying imputed to Calvin, "which savours almost of infidelity," was. "In Maldonat's Note on Matth. XXVII. 46, (he tells us), Calvin is quoted as referring our Lord's exclamation on the Cross to 'despair,'—a sentiment, as Maldonat justly says, almost too shocking to be repeated, even for the sake of admonition." Maldonat's words are, "Occludendae hoc loco aures sunt haereticorum blasphemiae,

blindly to blind guides, that I have not thought it requisite to take notice of his allegations against Luther. But Sir W. Hamilton's reputation, however undeserved, for accuracy has gained credence for his statements among men of a different order. Thus it was probably on the strength of those statements that Mr Newman, in his Sermon on *the Theory of Developments*, took upon himself to say that "Protestantism has at various times unexpectedly develop into an allowance or vindication of polygamy" (p. 321). He has since shewn with what singular ingenuity he can develop anything out of anything; and philosophy as well as experience teaches us how close is the conjunction between opposites. But while there is a latent principle of unity between opposites, notwithstanding their apparent remoteness, on the other hand there is often an outward proximity between contraries, such as is implied, for instance, when

quorum magister Calvinus desperationis vocem hanc fuisse dicit, impium errorem impio etiam errore confirmans, oportuisse Christum, in quem ira Dei hominibus debita effundebatur, omnes damnatorum experiri poenas, inter quas una est nullam sperare salutem." Now what does Calvin really say? Let us turn to his admirable Commentary. "Certe hic praecipuus fuit conflictus, et omnibus aliis tormentis durior, quod in suis angustiis adeo levatus non est Patris auxilio vel favore, ut se quodammodo alienum sentiret. Neque enim corpus solum in pretium nostrae cum Deo reconciliationis obtulit, sed in anima etiam pertulit debitas nobis poenas: atque ita vere factus est *Vir dolorum*, sicut Jesaias loquitur (LIII. 3). Et vero nimis insulsi sunt, qui, hac redemptionis parte posthabita, tantum in externo carnis supplicio insistunt: nam, ut pro nobis satisfaceret Christus, reum ad Dei tribunal sisti oportuit. Nihil autem magis horribile quam Deum sentire judicem cujus ira mortes omnes superat. Ergo cum species tentationis Christo objecta est, quasi Deo adverso jam esset exitio devotus, *horrore correptus est, quo centies cuncti mortales fuissent absorpti, ipse autem mirifica Spiritus virtute victor emersit.* Nec vero ficte vel theatrice conqueritur se a Patre relictum.—Sed absurdum videtur, Christo elapsam esse desperationis vocem. Solutio facilis est, *quanquam sensus carnis exitium apprehenderet, fixam tamen stetisse fidem in ejus corde, qua Deum praesentem intuitus est, de cujus absentia conqueritur.* Diximus alibi, quomodo Deitas locum cesserit carnis infirmitati, quatenus salutis nostrae interfuit, ut omnes Redemptoris partes Christus impleret. Discrimen etiam notavimus inter naturae sensum et fidei notitiam: quare nihil obstat quominus Dei alienationem mente conceperit Christus, prout sensus communis dictabat, et simul fide retinuerit Deum sibi esse propitium. Quod satis clare patet ex duobus querimoniae membris. *Nam antequam tentationem exprimat, praefatur se ad Deum*

the Prince of Peace declared that He *came to bring a sword.* Such is the proximity which is often found in this world between those two contraries, Freedom and Licentiousness. When Freedom would manifest and establish itself, the world brings forth Licentiousness to ape it, and to usurp its place. Hence, whenever there has been any freedom of speculation, licentiousness has dogged its heels, and barkt in its train. Thus it may have happened that some Protestant writers at various times may have pleaded in favour of polygamy: this however is no more imputable to Protestantism than all the immoral paradoxes broacht by writers in Romish countries are to the Church of Rome. Assuredly too we may reply that to the Reformation, and in no small measure to Luther, do we owe the true development of the sanctity of marriage and of family life, the conviction that it is not a state essentially partaking of impurity, any more than virginity, that in the sight of God it is equally acceptable, equally pure. The notorious differences which prevail with regard to the sanctity of the marriage-tie between Romish and Protestant countries, is the completest answer to the imputation that Protestantism has any affinity with polygamy. The whole tone too of our literature, except during that dark period after the Restoration when Romish principles were gaining ground, shews a reverence for marriage, which is comparatively rare in the light literature of Romish countries. With us, except during that period, the adulterer has seldom been represented as an object of sympathy and admiration, or the injured husband as an object of ridicule and contempt.

confugere tanquam Deum suum, atque ita clypeo fidei fortiter repellit illam, quae se ex opposito ingerebat, derelictionis speciem. Denique in hoc diro cruciatu illaesa fuit ejus fides, ut se relictum esse deplorans, propinquo tamen Dei auxilio confideret. Quisquis autem reputat, hac lege susceptam fuisse a Christo mediatoris personam, ut reatum nostrum tam in anima quam in corpore subiret, non mirabitur illi certamen fuisse cum mortis doloribus, quasi Deo irato in labyrinthum malorum projectus foret." This is a sample of the trustworthiness of Maldonat's statements as to the opinions of the Reformers. The only way in which such books as the *Notes on the Episcopal Polity* could do any good, would be if the author himself were to gather all the copies, and make a holocaust of them to Truth. This fire might purify him for better works hereafter.

How different is the literature of France, and of Italy! But to return to our subject: that the *Christian Remembrancer* should hail Sir W. Hamilton's pamphlet with delight, might be expected. In the ignorance of our Romanizers concerning the theology of Germany, and the German Reformation, they snap at whatever promises to pamper their desire of decrying them. Still one would hardly have thought that even they would have called that pamphlet "valuable for the exposition of Lutheranism which it contains" (Vol. IX. p. 603): when in fact it contains nothing about *Lutheranism*, but merely the passages quoted above, ascribing certain extravagances to Luther and Melanchthon individually, which, even if they were true, would no more affect *Lutheranism*, than the errours and sins of Christians affect the Creeds of the Church. It is however a matter of surprise and regret that the learned and candid writer of the Article on Mr Ward's book in the *Quarterly Review* should refer to the "recent and remarkable pamphlet of Sir W. Hamilton," citing his monstrous charges against the German Reformers, without even intimating a suspicion that they might perhaps be untrue. When falsehood is thus rampant, and spreading thus rapidly, it is high time to arrest its progress, and to hurl it back into its native abyss.

To some readers it may seem that I have spoken with exaggerated admiration of Luther. No man ever lived whose whole heart and soul and life have been laid bare as his have been to the eyes of mankind. Open as the sky, bold and fearless as the storm, he gave utterance to all his feelings, all his thoughts: he knew nothing of reserve: and the impression he produced on his hearers and friends was such, that they were anxious to treasure up every word that dropt from his pen or from his lips. No man therefore has ever been exposed to so severe a trial: perhaps no man was ever placed in such difficult circumstances, or assailed by such manifold temptations. And how has he come out of the trial? Through the power of faith, under the guardian care of his Heavenly Master, he was enabled to stand through life, and still he stands, and will continue to stand, firmly rooted in the love of all who really know him. A writer quoted by Harless (VII. 2) has

well said, "I have continually been more and more edified, elevated, and strengthened by this man of steel, this sterling soul, in whom certain features of the Christian character are manifested in their fullest perfection. His image, I confess, was for some years obscured before my eyes. I fixt them exclusively on the ebullitions of his powerful nature, unsubdued as yet by the Spirit of the Lord. But when, on a renewed study of his works, the holy faith and energy of his thoroughly German character, the truth of his whole being, his wonderful childliness and simplicity, revealed themselves to my sight in their glory, then I could not but turn to him with entire, pure love, and exclaim, *His weaknesses are only so great, because his virtues are so great.*"

None of God's servants was ever more earnest in disclaiming all honour to himself. "Neque enim, (he says in the Preface to his Commentary on Genesis, in 1544,) ego is sum de quo dici possit, *fecit;* neque is de quo dicere possis, *faciebat.* In ultimo consisto ordine, qui vix dicere audet, *volui facere.* Et utinam essem dignus in hoc ordine ultimo ultimus esse." In like manner, when publishing a collection of his Theses, in 1545, not a year before his death, he says, he allows them to be publisht, "Ne me extollat magnitudo causae, et successus in ea divinitus mihi datus. Nam in his palam ostenditur mea ignominia, id est, infirmitas et ignorantia, quae me in principio coegerunt rem tentare cum summo tremore et pavore — Vides hic, si licet saltem hoc gloriari, ex quanta infirmitate me Dominus provexerit in virtutem, ex quanta ignorantia in scientiam, ex quanto tremore in fortitudinem. — Summa, nos nihil sumus, Christus solus est omnia, qui si avertat faciem suam, nos perimus, et Satan triumphat, etiam si S. Petri et Pauli essemus." Therefore in him has the divine law been fulfilled, that he who loses his life shall find it.

NOTE X: p. 189.

The most probable opinion, and that which has the sanction of the best commentators, is, that the Sermon on the Mount was addrest to the great body of our Lord's disciples,—that is, of those

who were following Him at the time with the view of learning from His instructions, and who may be regarded as the representatives of the whole Church in all ages. Meanwhile the multitudes that were assembled for the sake of being healed of their bodily diseases, would seem to have formed a remoter mass of hearers. If the Sermon in the sixth chapter of St Luke is the same with the Sermon on the Mount, as is also held by the majority of the best commentators, there can be no doubt on the point. For St Luke says that, after our Lord had chosen the twelve, ἐκλεξάμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν (τῶν μαθητῶν),—καταβὰς μετ' αὐτῶν, ἔστη ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ, καὶ ὄχλος μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πλῆθος πολὺ τοῦ λαοῦ,—οἱ ἦλθον ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰαθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν νόσων αὐτῶν.—καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν. And at the end he adds, ἐπειδὴ ἐπλήρωσεν πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ λαοῦ. The force of the former passage is weakened in our Version, where ὄχλος μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ is rendered *the company of his disciples*, instead of *a crowd of his disciples*. Without entering into the argument concerning the identity or diversity of the two Sermons, I will remark that the discrepancy on the face of our Version of St Luke, where it is stated that Jesus *came down,—and stood in the plain*, does not exist in the original. Indeed *stood in the plain* is undoubtedly an erroneous rendering of ἔστη ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ, and would rather have been exprest in Greek by ἔστη ἐν τῇ πεδινῇ, or τῷ πεδίῳ. If the Evangelist had meant to say that Jesus came down *into the plain*, he certainly would not have used the words ἔστη ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ, which rather mean that He stood on a level place, or terrace, such as is often found on the side of a hill, and where there was space for the multitude to sit round about. The Greek words are well rendered by Wiclif *in a feeldi place*, and in the Rheims Version by *a plaine place*. Tyndale and Cranmer hurt the sense by introducing the definite article, *in the plaine felde*.

But even from the account in St Matthew, if we look at it without a prepossession to the contrary, we shall come to a similar conclusion. Let any one read the last three verses of

the fourth chapter,—which, if a sound judgement had been exercised in the division of the chapters, would have stood at the beginning of the fifth,—along with those that follow; and surely his impression will be, that, in consequence of the assembling of such a concourse of people from various parts, our Lord, *seeing the multitudes*, took the opportunity of preaching to them. There is nothing whatever in the words, to intimate that He desired to withdraw from them. On the contrary, humanly speaking, it would seem extraordinary that this very time should have been selected for a private address to the disciples, while the multitudes were left waiting in the plain. In our translation indeed, which, as I have observed before, is continually neglectful of the article, because the translators, it would appear, often used a Latin Version, instead of the Greek original, the expression in v. 1, *He went up into a mountain*, is puzzling. What is meant by going up *into a mountain?* The Greek on the other hand is quite clear: ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος. *Seeing the multitudes, He went up to the mountain*, or the *hill*, that is, we may suppose, for the sake of gaining an elevation from which He could speak so as to be better heard by the great mass of hearers, and would not be interrupted by their pressing upon Him; even as at the beginning of the 13th chapter, we are told, that *He went into a ship*, for a like purpose. And as He *sat down* in the boat, so did He sit down on the side of the hill; and *His disciples came up to Him*, and formed a nearer body of hearers. And then *He opened His mouth, and taught them*,—not merely the disciples, but also the multitudes. The scene is much like that described at the opening of the sixth chapter of St John, where we also find a large multitude following our Lord, and then read that He ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος, *went up to the mountain*, (our Translators here again render the Latin *in montem* by *into a mountain*), *and sat down along with His disciples, and lifting up His eyes saw that a large multitude was coming to Him.* It may be too that *the mountain* was the same, part of the range on the east of the sea of Galilee: for, as Capernaum was near the northern end of the Lake, this notion is not inconsistent with St Matthew's account of our Lord's

going to Capernaum after finishing His Sermon. If so, the difficulty which has been raised about the definite article in τὸ ὄρος would vanish. Nothing is commoner than for the inhabitants of a place to use a generic name as an appellative for any striking object in their neighbourhood, *the mountain, the hill, the river, the lake:* or would any one require a more precise designation, if he were to find it stated by a historian that the Queen of England went to *the City?* Hence it is very natural that the publican of Capernaum and the fisherman on the Lake of Gennesareth should have applied the name τὸ ὄρος to the nearest mountain.*

Moreover, if the words at the beginning of the Sermon in St Matthew were ambiguous, the concluding verses of the seventh chapter ought to settle the question. Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους, ἐξεπλήσσοντο οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ—καὶ καταβάντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους, ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοί· that is, the same *multitudes* who had been listening to His sermon, and who had been astonisht at His doctrine, because He taught them as having authority, and not like the Scribes and Pharisees. Indeed this account of the effect of the sermon on the multitudes is incompatible with the notion of its having been addrest to the Apostles exclusively, or to a small body of the disciples. Hence Lange, who adopts the latter notion, has found himself compelled to argue that the statement at the end is incorrect: *Leben Jesu*, II. 569. Yet he is not one of the rationalizing theologians who think themselves entitled to pare and twist the Gospels about in such manner as

* Too much weight should not be ascribed to such idiomatic expressions as evidence of the genuineness of the writings in which they occur. But some weight they unquestionably ought to have. I am not aware whether it has ever been noticed that, when St Matthew tells us how Jesus, after calling him, *sat down at meat in his house*, he uses the words ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, which are just what a man would say in speaking of his own house; while St Mark and St Luke in the parallel passages have ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Our Translators miss the force of the article in St Matthew, by rendering it *in the house*. The inattention to this usage of the article for designating what we express by the possessive pronoun is a source of many mistakes, and of numberless violations of idiom, in our translations both from the Greek and from the German.

shall make them fit their theories about Christianity. On the contrary he reveres them as the inspired record of the life of the Son of God manifest in the flesh for the redemption and salvation of mankind: and though his work is deficient in philological learning and critical sagacity, it is rich in fine Christian thought. That the view I have been contending for is the natural impression derived from St Matthew's account of the Sermon on the Mount, is evident, among other proofs, from the manner in which it has been frequently represented by painters.

This view coincides pretty nearly with that taken by Chrysostom in the following remarks on v. 2. *Ὅταν δὲ ἀκούσῃς ὅτι ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς, μὴ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτὸν διαλέγεσθαι νόμιζε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ἅπασιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος ἐσήμωζες ἦν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν χαμαὶ συρομένων, τῶν μαθητῶν τὸν χορὸν ὑποστησάμενος, πρὸς ἐκείνους ποιεῖται τοὺς λόγους, ἐν τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαλέξει καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασι τοῖς σφόδρα ἀποδέουσι τῶν λεγομένων ἀνεπαχθῆ γίνεσθαι παρασκευάζων τῆς φιλοσοφίας τὴν διδασκαλίαν. ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς αἰνιττόμενος ἔλεγεν, ὅτι τὸν λόγον ἀπέστρεψε πρὸς αὐτοὺς· καὶ ὁ Ματθαῖος δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δηλῶν ἔγραφεν, ὅτι προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐδίδασκεν. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προσέχειν ἔμελλον προθυμότερον ἢ εἰ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀπετείνατο.* Theophylact, according to his wont, abridges Chrysostom: *Ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς· οὐ τοὺς μαθητὰς μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὄχλον.* In like manner Hilary, in his *Commentary on St Matthew*, says: "Congregatis igitur pluribus turbis, montem conscendit, et docet: in paternae scilicet majestatis positus celsitudine, coelestis vitae praecepta constituit."

From the following words in Origen's Commentary on St John, XIII. § 42,—*Ὁ Σωτὴρ, ὅτε μέλλει τοῖς ἐν πεδίῳ συναχθεῖσι λέγειν τοὺς μακαρισμοὺς, ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς, λέγει κ. τ. λ.*—one would suppose that he also took the same view. But the opposite is plainly exprest in the following sentence of the Latin translation of his lost Commentary on the latter part of St Matthew, § 9: "Quaedam interdum quidem discipulis suis solis dicit, *non etiam turbis*, sicut beatitudines illas

in Evangelio scriptas." And this is also implied, as is evident from the context, in the Greek Commentary on St Matthew, XI. §§ 4, 13, where this question is alluded to. Hence the words τοῖς ἐν πεδίῳ συναχθεῖσι, in the first passage, which are omitted in the Bodleian manuscript, may perhaps be spurious.

Jerome represents our Lord as ascending from the multitudes to draw them after Him. "Dominus ad montana conscendit, ut turbas ad altiora secum trahat. Sed turbae ascendere non valent. Et sequuntur discipuli, quibus et ipsis non stans, sed sedens et contractus loquitur. Non enim intelligere poterant in sua majestate fulgentem." These words shew how far Jerome was from understanding the infinite lowliness of the Gospel, the self-humiliation of Him who became a Servant, who converst even with publicans and sinners, and was obedient unto the death of the Cross. Pharisaism, Philosophy, *conscendit ad montana,* and may now and then have enough of humility and charity to desire to draw the multitude after it. But the way which our Lord took to draw us up to His Father was by coming down to us, and entering into the lowest depths of human suffering and weakness, if so be His divine sympathy might stir us to rise out of our degradation. The beatitudes themselves ought to teach us this lesson.

Augustin, in his Treatise on the Sermon on the Mount, contents himself with giving an allegorical reason for our Lord's going up the mountain. "Si quaeritur quid significet mons, bene intelligitur significare majora praecepta justitiae.—De hac justitia, quae major est, per prophetam dicitur, *Justitia tua sicut montes Dei :* et hoc bene significat, quod ab uno magistro solo docendis tantis rebus idoneo docetur in monte." But in his far more valuable Treatise *De Consensu Evangelistarum* (II. 19) he descends from this allegorical mountain into the plain land of rational enquiry. When comparing the Sermon on the Mount with that in St Luke, he first inclines, from the discrepancy between St Matthew's statement, ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος, and St Luke's, καταβὰς—ἔστη ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ, to suppose that they are different, and suggests that St Matthew's sermon may have been delivered upon the mountain, after the appointment of the Apostles; and that afterward,

having come down to the plain, Jesus delivered the sermon in St Luke, ending them both in the same manner. To get over the objection to this hypothesis, arising out of Matth. VII. 28, he conjectures that *οἱ ὄχλοι* may mean the *ὄχλος μαθητῶν* mentioned by St Luke, out of whose number the Twelve were chosen. But he also proposes another conjecture, which is rightly preferred by Mr Trench in the very pleasing Commentary he has compiled on the Sermon on the Mount out of Augustin's writings. "Quamquam etiam illud possit occurrere, in aliqua excelsiore parte montis primo cum solis discipulis Dominum fuisse, quando ex eis illos duodecim elegit; deinde cum eis descendisse, non de monte, sed de ipsa montis celsitudine in campestrem locum, id est, in aliquam aequalitatem, quae in latere montis erat, et multas turbas capere poterat, atque ibi stetisse donec ad eum turbae congregarentur; ac postea, cum sedisset, accessisse propinquius discipulos ejus, atque ita illis caeterisque turbis praesentibus unum habuisse sermonem, quem Matthaeus Lucasque narrarunt, diverso narrandi modo, sed eadem veritate rerum et sententiarum quas ambo dixerunt."

Aquinas proposes both explanations. "*Ascendit*, ad docendum turbas, scilicet non fugiens. Unde Chrysostomus (Pseudo-Chrysostomus) dicit, quod sicut artifex, quando videt praeparatam materiam, delectatur operari, ita sacerdos delectatur praedicare quando populum videt congregatum. Et ideo *ascendit*: (Ps. XXXIV. 18.) *Confitebor tibi in ecclesia magna.* Vel aliter, *Ascendit*, fugiens scilicet turbas, ut securus discipulos doceret." But he inclines to adopt the latter, and proceeds to allegorize about it after the fashion of his age. He adds, "Et nota quod quando praedicavit turbis, *stetit*, Luc. VI. 17: sed hic, quando discipulis, *sedit*. Ex hoc inolevit consuetudo quod turbis praedicatur stando, religiosis sedendo." To get over the difficulty in the mention of *the multitudes* in VII. 28, he says, "Quaerendum de hoc quod dicit, *Turbae*, quia non erant ibi turbae. Et potest dici quod factus est sermo et turbae et discipulis; sed in monte, sub cacumine montis, erat quaedam planities. Discipuli ergo erant in cacumine cum Christo, sed turbae in planitie. Vel potest dici, quod primo discipulis, et post turbis. Vel potest dici, secutae sunt eum turbae discipulorum."

Cartwright's paraphrase comes nearer to the natural meaning of the words in v. 1. "Christus, turba illa—conspecta et lustrata, ilico montem ascendit, et pro docentium more considentem discipuli ejus accesserunt. Quamobrem Christus,—vocis contentione ut ab omnibus exaudiretur, cum discipulos tum turbam evangelium docuit." Grotius too, though he regards the μαθηταὶ as the only hearers, says they were, "Non Duodecim aut Septuaginta solum, sed omnes qui doctrinam ejus sectabantur. Quare οἱ μαθηταὶ sunt iidem qui et hic et infra, VII. 28, ὄχλοι, et Luc. VI. 17, ὄχλος μαθητῶν dicuntur: atque ita vocem μαθητῶν scimus passim usurpari, ut infra XII. 49. Praecepta quae propria sunt ac peculiaria segregatorum ad praedicationem evangelicam infra sequentur capite demum decimo." Hammond adopts the same view. "There being a great multitude present, He went up into a mountain, as a place of advantage to speak most audibly, and there seating Himself as a prophet or teacher, a company of His constant followers, all that received and obeyed His doctrine (not only the Twelve which were afterward chosen to be His apostles) came close up and communed with Him. And to them He addrest His speech. —Though the Twelve, which were afterwards apostles, be ordinarily known by this title of οἱ μαθηταὶ, *the disciples*, by way of excellence, yet doth it not from thence follow that those Twelve were the only auditors of this sermon, or, if they had been, that the doctrine here preacht belongs only to apostles and their successors in the Church: because those very Twelve were as yet but μαθηταὶ, *learners*, not apostles, till they were sent out to preach (Matt. x. 1), and after to govern and rule the Church in Christ's stead. —From all which it is clear to whom the doctrine and precepts of this sermon belong, as also who are the ὑμεῖς, *ye*, who are said to be the *salt of the earth*, &c., v. 13; not the apostles peculiarly (for as yet there were none such), but all Christians which were then in the world; and so in like manner all that should succeed them in that title, all that enter Christ's school, that profess His doctrine, and so follow Him as obedient disciples." In giving this, which seems to me unquestionably the right interpretation of the 13th verse, Hammond is following Grotius; to whom

he owes far more of what is valuable in his Notes, than the expressions in his Preface would lead one to suppose. On that verse Grotius says: "Nihil satis causae video cur haec ad apostolos restringantur. Nam et *μακαρισμοὶ* communes sunt omnibus; et allocutio quae praecessit commatibus duobus antecedentibus omnes spectat qui pro veritate injurias sustinent. Tum vero clarum est eosdem dici *ἅλας τῆς γῆς*, et commate sequenti *φῶς τοῦ κόσμου*. At *φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ* dicuntur non episcopi tantum, sed omnes vere Christiani, ut apparet Phil. II. 15. Cui simile est illud apud Justinum, *Ὅπερ ἐστιν ἐν σώματι ψυχή, τοῦτ' εἰσὶν ἐν κόσμῳ Χριστιανοί*. Jam vero hoc ipsum quod de *sale* dicitur, Lucas directe dictum ait *πρὸς τοὺς ὄχλους*, XIV. 25, 34. Sensus ergo est, eos, qui ab ipso Christo veram ac salutarem doctrinam percepissent—aliis exemplo esse debere. Salis autem praecipua vis est adversus putredinem.—Ostendit ergo Christus officii esse eorum qui verae sapientiae praecepta hausissent, aliorum sordes expurgare."

Indeed all the internal evidence to be drawn from the Sermon itself seems to me to prove conclusively that it was designed for the whole Christian Church, for every living member of Christ's body. No part of it pertains to the Apostles exclusively, as the great primary preachers of the Gospel, or in any other sense than as they too were called to shew forth the graces of the Christian life. If we compare it with the Sermon addrest especially to them in the 10th chapter of St Matthew, the difference is palpable. In the latter everything relates to the duties, the difficulties, the hardships, the dangers, of their peculiar office; while the Sermon on the Mount belongs to every Christian. It is true that, as a Christian life can have no existence without Christian doctrine, without being rooted in Christian truth, and fed by it,—and as Christian doctrine is a powerless, sapless, savourless, dead thing without a Christian life,—so that there must be an unintermitting reciprocal action of each upon the other,—the precepts which set forth the peculiar functions and obligations of the ministerial calling, do in a certain sense embrace every adult member of the Church: hence the Sermon to the Apostles may be brought home to the hearts and consciences of every Christian; while that

on the Mount may in some respects apply in a twofold manner to the Apostles. In the latter however there are only a few sentences, with regard to which it has ever been maintained that they refer primarily to the apostolic office; and of these the principal are the two verses containing the declaration, *Ye are the salt of the earth*, and *Ye are the light of the world*. To many it has doubtless seemed that these expressions are too grand and lofty to fit the life and power of the great bulk of Christians; and their humility has made them shrink from claiming such expressions for themselves. But so it is with every expression which sets forth the dignity of our Christian calling: it rises far above, not merely the ordinary Christian, but even the highest and ripest. This unseasonable humility, along with the desire of shifting off the responsibility of a high vocation, has ever cooperated on the part of the lay members of the Church in abetting and facilitating the usurpations of the clergy. But we must not shrink from our Christian privileges, any more than from our Christian duties, which in fact are one with them. Every member of Christ's body is called, according to his station, to fulfill his part, as a grain of the salt of the earth, as a ray of the light of the world. Yet there is nothing in this for any one to boast of: for to none does this power and glory belong in himself, or through anything he has of himself, but only so far as he becomes a living member of Christ's body, pure and transparent as salt and light.

That these two grand declarations,—*Ye are the salt of the earth*, and *Ye are the light of the world*,—as they stand in the Sermon on the Mount, were meant to apply, not to the Apostles exclusively, or to their successors in the office of preaching the Gospel, but to the whole Christian Church, and to every individual member of it, in proportion as his life exhibits those graces of the Christian character, which had just been set forth in the beatitudes, appears to me quite clear. Indeed, if we look at these two verses in connexion with those which precede, and with those which follow, and if for the moment we divest ourselves of extraneous associations, no thought would occur to us that the persons to whom our Lord is speaking were called to preach any doctrine, unless by that most

powerful of all sermons, the sermon of a Christian life. In this, as in numberless other passages of Scripture, the obvious meaning of the original has been mist by many interpreters, through the habit of taking single sentences apart from the context, and explaining them, not, as we should explain a sentence in any other book, by a careful consideration of what comes before and after, for the sake of making out the train of thought in the writer's mind, but oftener by a comparison with other passages, not seldom remote and irrelevant ones, in other portions of the Sacred Volume. Now though this practice is fully warrantable, and even indispensable to a great extent, with reference to points of doctrine;—nay, in other books also we continually do the same, when we meet with allusions to customs, institutions, or anything positive in manners, in polity, in philosophy, in mythology or religion;—still, in Scripture, as well as in all other books, the primary help for understanding any sentence, next to the diligent examination of its component words, is a like diligent examination of the context. Now it is solely by the account prefixt to St Luke's Sermon that we are led to connect the Sermon on the Mount in any way with the institution of the Apostles, or with the Apostles at all as distinct from the body of the disciples: and yet St Luke's words clearly prove that his Sermon, spoken in the hearing of the multitudes, is especially addrest, not to the Apostles, but to the ὄχλος μαθητῶν. In St Matthew on the other hand there is not a word implying such a connexion: and though, if the two Sermons are identical, St Matthew might omit the mention of the previous selection of the Twelve, provided the knowledge of this fact was not requisite for the understanding of his Sermon, it would have been a very extraordinary omission,—and in a human historian, could it have occurred in such a one, we should deem it most reprehensible,—to mention two large bodies of persons in the introduction to the Sermon, the multitudes, and the disciples, and to leave out all mention of the very body to whom the whole Sermon was especially addrest. Commentators on Scripture are apt to excuse their own blunders by ascribing that which is offensive or irrational in them to the arbitrary workings of the Spirit. But, with a

protest against such profaneness, let me ask, is it conceivable that St Matthew, himself one of the Twelve, should record a speech of this kind, if peculiarly designed for himself and his eleven brethren, and only intelligible as spoken to them, without a word to intimate that such a body existed? If we look at the previous part of the Sermon in St Matthew, we find, as every one knows, that it opens with the divine enumeration of the graces which belong to the Kingdom of Heaven: and no one, that I am aware, has ever presumed to affirm that these graces are granted exclusively to any particular class or body of Christians: no one has denied that all classes of Christians are called to receive them, and to manifest them in their lives. After these, which are exprest generally, our Lord turns, in the 11th verse, to the disciples, and applies the last beatitude especially to them, in order that, when the time of persecution came, they might bear this assurance in their hearts to strengthen and cheer them. Then, in vv. 13—16, He tells them of their high office and dignity, and of the great work they were appointed to perform, the work of purifying and enlightening the world, so that the thought of their glorious calling might make them ready to brave every danger, to do everything, and to suffer everything, for the accomplishment of the work set before them. At the same time they are taught that they must infallibly attract observation and excite opposition. Still they are to let the light of their good works shine before men, so that men may be moved thereby to glorify their Heavenly Father. After this, our Lord goes on to declare, that the Kingdom of Heaven, the Kingdom of Grace, to which they are called, and at the entrance into which they receive the forgiveness of their sins, is not to be a kingdom of laxity and licence, but the very reverse; that He is not come to set up the rule of self-will and self-indulgence, but to establish the Law in higher power and glory, by bringing out its spiritual depth and breadth of meaning. For then, as ever, the Sermon of Grace would have been imperfect, and might have proved delusive, unless it had been accompanied by a warning against the Antinomian abuse of grace. And of this latter portion also we may confidently affirm, that there is no one precept in it which pertains exclusively

to the Apostles, by virtue of their apostolic office, or to the ministers of the Church as such,—no one precept, with regard to which every thoughtful Christian will not perpetually find that he needs it, and that it is addrest to him. Thus in the whole Sermon there is scarcely a verse, with the exception of the eleventh and the five following, which will admit of being interpreted as relating in any special manner to the Apostles. But if all the rest belongs to the whole Christian Church, so must these six verses likewise. With regard to the first two of them it is plain that they are common to the Apostles with all those who have in any way to endure reproach and persecution for Christ's sake: and though this is more prominently the case in times when, as in the first centuries of the Church, and at the period of the Reformation, the temporal power is in the hands of those who set their faces against the truth, the beatitude of suffering for Christ's sake is one from which no Christian is wholly excluded. Again, the image in the 13th verse, *Ye are the salt of the earth*, seems more appropriate for describing the efficacy of a Christian life, of the Christian graces just enumerated, than that of Christian teaching: and it is of those who ought to shew forth these Christian graces in their lives, and thereby to become the purifying salt of the earth, that our Lord says, that, *if they lose their saltness*, the inward principle of their Christian life, there is nothing whereby it can be replaced; for, while the children of this world can find a prop for their need, in honour, in the opinion of the world, in the laws, in their human affections, the child of God, when he leaves his Father's house, cannot even get husks to feed on. The next declaration, *Ye are the light of the world*, we might be apt at first to understand as expressing the enlightening power of Christian doctrine: but that this also refers to the light which flows from a Christian life, is proved by the 16th verse, where we learn that the light with which Christ's disciples are to shine before the world, is the light of good works. The Church too, by selecting this verse for the opening sentence in the Offertory, bears witness that it belongs to the whole congregation.

The meaning of these declarations, the manner in which the

Church fulfilled her divinely appointed mission, and became the Salt of the Earth and the Light of the World, can hardly be set forth better than by the following extract from Neander's *History* (vol. I. pp. 128–131), where he is speaking of the causes which promoted the propagation of Christianity. After some remarks on the miracles in the first ages, he says, " But as all the particular miracles wrought by Christ were only so many effluxes from the fulness of the Godhead that dwelt in Him, and were merely designed to bring the immediate manifestation of this fulness before men's minds, in like manner all subsequent miracles also were only so many rays which proceeded from the divine power resident in the Gospel, and assisted in bringing the evidence of that power before the religious sense. Without this divine power, and its peculiar adaptation to human nature, and to the special condition of that nature at the time, everything else would have been unavailing: and that which the divine power inherent in the Gospel wrought immediately by itself in the divinely constituted nature of man, which had been alienated from its original source, was always the main thing, the end, for which everything else was merely a preparation. This is what St Paul places above every other demonstration, and above all particular miracles, calling it *the demonstration of the spirit and of power*. And as this divine power manifested its efficacy in man's inner life, it also displayed an attractive force in its outward appearance and activity; which operated more potently than all other things for the conversion of the heathens. To this fact Justin Martyr appeals. After he has quoted our Lord's words, *Let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father in Heaven*, he adds, ' For the Lord willed not that we should recompense evil; but He exhorted us to draw all men out of their shame and vicious desires by patience and mildness. Thus we are able to shew that many amongst us, having been violent and tyrannical, have been changed, being subdued, either by observing the resignation of their neighbours, or the strange calmness of some fellow-traveler when imposed upon, or by becoming acquainted with Christians in the common intercourse of life.'

(Apol. I. § 16). The eminent virtues of the Christians could not but shine out more brightly in contrast with the prevalent vices; their moral severity, which may sometimes have been driven by opposition into exaggeration, by the side of the general corruption; their fervent brotherly love, by the side of the universal, all-severing selfishness, which rendered all men distrustful of each other, so that they could not comprehend the nature of that Christian union, nor sufficiently marvel thereat. *Look*, people said, *how they love one another.* 'This strikes them so (says Tertullian, Apologet. § 39), because they are wont to hate one another. *Look how among the Christians one is ready to die for the other.* This strikes them so, because they are readier to kill one another.' Although this bond of brotherhood excited the suspicions of those who were accustomed to look at everything with inquisitorial jealousy, and though many persecutions of the Christians were occasioned thereby, a wholly different impression must have been produced in all such minds as were not narrowed by these considerations, or given up to fanaticism. They must have askt themselves the question, What can this be, that unites the hearts of men, who are otherwise total strangers, in such a manner to each other? In a period of all-relaxing over-civilization and of abject servility, the life-enkindling enthusiasm, the heroism of faith, with which the Christians despised tortures and death, when bid to do anything against their conscience, struck many so much, as a phenomenon alien to the age, that they reproacht them with a character which, however suited for heroical antiquity, was out of place in their more refined and milder times. Even if the ordinary Roman statesmen, the worshipers of a self-satisfied worldly wisdom, or the cold stoics who everywhere demanded philosophical demonstration, could see nothing but blind fanaticism in the enthusiasm with which the Christians met death to bear witness to their faith, yet the confidence and cheerfulness with which they suffered and died, made an impression on many less hardened or less prejudiced minds, whereby they were impelled to enquire further into the

cause by which men could thus be moved to sacrifice everything. Outward force was unable to effect aught against the inward might of divine truth: it could only make the power of that truth manifest itself more gloriously. Hence Tertullian closes his Apology with these words to the persecutors of the Christians. 'Torture, mangle, condemn, crush us: for your injustice is the proof of our innocence. Therefore does God allow us to suffer these things.—Nor can your cruelty, however ingenious, accomplish your purpose: rather does it allure others to join us. We grow up more numerously every time we are mown down by you: the blood of Christians is our seed. Many of your philosophers exhort men to endure pain and death;—yet their words gain not so many disciples as Christians gain by the doctrine of deeds. That very obstinacy with which you reproach us is a teacher. For who is not stirred by contemplating it to enquire what there is in this matter? who, when he has enquired, does not join us? when he has joined us, does not long to suffer with us?'"

I have dwelt upon this point, because there is a very general agreement among Commentators in applying these two declarations in the Sermon on the Mount primarily to the Apostles, and to the effects which they were to produce by their preaching. Undoubtedly too the declaration, *Ye are the light of the world*, does in an eminent manner belong to the Apostles, both on account of their being eminently rich in those gifts of the Spirit, by which all Christians are to let their light shine before men, and because the words themselves are peculiarly fitted to express the efficacy of Christian doctrine; one of the commonest symbols of the imagination being that of light to denote knowledge, and of darkness to denote ignorance. Hence it was natural that this declaration should be taken as especially designed to signify the work of the Apostles and of their successors in the great office of preaching the Gospel to the nations lying in darkness. Moreover there was a peculiar aptness in the Greek mind to attach an inordinate value to knowledge; and this tendency, which was inherent in it from the first,—inasmuch as the possession of a power is ever

accompanied with a love of exercising it, and a delight in its exercise,—became excessive from the time when the energies of active life decayed or were supprest, so that the one interest in life consisted in speculating about it, the one power left to them was that of spinning theories. This aptness to *seek after wisdom*, as the Apostle terms it, displayed itself very early in the Gnostic views of Christianity, in which Oriental ideas were mostly clothed in Greek forms of thought; and we find frequent evidence of it in the Greek Fathers, as for instance in the passage last quoted from Chrysostom, where our Lord's doctrine is called *φιλοσοφία*. Indeed this exaltation of knowing above doing is one of the chief characteristics of the Greek Fathers, as distinguisht from the Latin, even as it is of the Greek mind throughout, when compared with the Roman.

Still, in the earlier Greek Fathers, we find these declarations rightly understood in their wider sense, with reference to the power of a holy life. Thus Clemens Alexandrinus, in his Treatise on *What rich man can be saved*, § 36, speaks of the *ἐκλεκτότεροι τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν*, — *οὐ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν ἅγιοι, κἂν εἴπῃ τις, αἰσχυνόμενοι, ἐν βάθει γνώμης ἀποκρύπτοντες τὰ ἀνεκλάλητα μυστήρια, καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν εὐγένειαν ὑπερηφανοῦντες ἐν κόσμῳ βλέπεσθαι· οὓς ὁ Λόγος φῶς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἅλας τῆς γῆς καλεῖ*. Again, in the fourth Book of the Stromata, § 11, he says, after speaking of those who were ready to die for Christ: *εἰ ᾔδεσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, πάντες μὲν ἂν ἐπεπήδων τῇ ὁδῷ·* if our enemies knew the truth, all would rush along our way: *ἐκλογὴ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἦν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡ ἡμετέρα πίστις, φῶς οὖσα τοῦ κόσμου, ἐλέγχει τὴν ἀπιστίαν*. Origen, in his Commentaries on St John, VI. § 3, when explaining the meaning of the word *κόσμος*, applies our Lord's declarations to the whole Church. *Οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν δέ τινα κόσμον ἐξειληφέναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μόνην, κόσμον οὖσαν τοῦ κόσμου, ἐπεὶ καὶ φῶς λέγεται τοῦ κόσμου· ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε, φησὶ, τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου.—ἡ δὲ ἑξῆς φωνὴ—τῷ ἐπιμελέστατα ἐρευνῶντι τὰς γραφὰς παραστήσει τὴν διήγησιν· ὑμεῖς γὰρ, φησὶν, ἐστὲ τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς, τάχα τῆς γῆς τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων νοουμένων, ὧν ἅλας εἰσὶν οἱ πεπιστευκότες, αἴτιοι τοῦ τηρεῖσθαι*

τὸν κόσμον διὰ τοῦ πιστεύειν τυγχάνοντες. A similar interpretation of ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου is found in the same Commentary, I. § 24, II. § 20, and in the Latin Commentary on St Matthew, §§ 37 and 49, where he explains Rev. XII. 4, by saying, "Si contigerit eum qui sic vixit, ut audiat *vos estis lux mundi*, et aliquando splenduerint opera ejus bona, hic aliquando constitutus stella, et in coelo habens conversationem, si avulsus fuerit a dracone in terram, hic erit stella a cauda draconis tracta et missa in terram." In his first Homily on the Book of Judges, § 2, *Vos estis lux mundi*, is applied to the Apostles, by way of eminence, but not exclusively.

Eusebius, in his Commentary on the Psalms, interprets XCVII. 3—7, as signifying τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν φωταγωγίαν.—οὐ γὰρ δή που φαμὲν ὅτι τῆς εἰς ὑετοὺς γεγενημένης ἀστραπῆς ἐποιεῖτο μνήμην· ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ θείου καὶ νοητοῦ φωτὸς ἀνάλαμψιν τῷ τῆς ἀστραπῆς κατασημαίνει ὀνόματι· ἡ ἀστραπὰς ὀνομάζων Χριστοῦ τοὺς τὸ θεῖον καὶ εὐαγγελικὸν ἱερουργοῦντας κήρυγμα, τούτεστιν ἀποστόλους καὶ εὐαγγελιστάς, οἳ φωτὸς δίκην τὴν οἰκουμένην κατέλαμψαν, οἷς καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη Χριστὸς, ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. Φῶς μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀληθινὸν αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱὸς καταφωτίζων ἅπασαν κτίσιν λογικήν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ γεγόνασι μέτοχοι τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ φωτὸς, καὶ αὐτοὶ—χρηματίζουσι φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. οὗτοι τοίνυν καθάπερ ἀστραπαὶ γεγόνασι τῇ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν διατρέχοντες πανταχοῦ, καὶ τὸ θεῖον καὶ νοητὸν ταῖς τῶν μυσταγωγουμένων καρδίαις εἰσπέμπονται φῶς.

In Chrysostom's Homily some expressions may seem to lay the main stress on the efficacy of doctrine. He speaks of the graces, as the means whereby the disciples were to be specially fitted for fulfilling their mission: ταυτὰς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπιζητεῖ τὰς ἀρετὰς, αἳ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιμέλειάν εἰσιν ἀναγκαῖαι καὶ χρήσιμοι. ὅ τε γὰρ πρᾶος καὶ ἐπιεικὴς καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ δίκαιος οὐκ εἰς αὐτὸν συγκλείει τὰ κατορθώματα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑτέρων ὠφέλειαν τὰς καλὰς ταύτας ὑπερχεῖσθαι παρασκευάζει πηγάς. ὁ δ' αὖ καθαρὸς τὴν καρδίαν καὶ εἰρηνοποιὸς, καὶ ἐλαυνόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας, πάλιν πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον τὸν βίον καθίσταται. Then he comes to the object of the mission. Ὁρᾷς

πῶς κατὰ μικρὸν δείκνυσι καὶ τῶν προφητῶν ὄντας βελτίους. οὐ γὰρ τῆς Παλαιστίνης διδασκάλους εἶναί φησιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γῆς ἁπάσης.—μὴ τοίνυν θαυμάσητε, φησὶν, εἰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀφεὶς ὑμῖν διαλέγομαι, καὶ πρὸς τοσούτους ἔλκω κινδύνους. The connexion here is ingeniously imagined; still I cannot think that here, or elsewhere in this Sermon, our Lord speaks to the disciples with immediate reference to their future office of teachers, of which St Matthew gives no hint till we come to a later part of his Gospel. Owing to this mistake, the meaning of the latter part of the 13th verse is very inadequately interpreted: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι μυριάκις πίπτοντες δύνανται τυχεῖν συγγνώμης· ὁ δὲ διδάσκαλος, ἐὰν τοῦτο πάθῃ, πάσης ἀπεστέρηται ἀπολογίας, καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην δώσει τιμωρίαν. And Chrysostom is led by the state of the Church in his age to lay great emphasis on the sharp, biting character of salt: τοῦτο γὰρ ἁλὸς ἔργον ἐστὶ, τὸ δάκνειν καὶ λυπεῖν τοὺς χαύνους. So the *light* is first applied to doctrine: καὶ πρότερον ἅλας, καὶ τότε φῶς· ἵνα μάθῃς ἡλικὸν τῶν κατεστυμμένων ῥημάτων τὸ κέρδος, καὶ τῆς σεμνῆς διδασκαλίας τὸ ὄφελος. καὶ γὰρ σφίγγει, καὶ οὐκ ἀφίησι διαρρεῦσαι, καὶ διαβλέψαι ποιεῖ πρὸς ἀρετὴν χειραγωγοῦσα. Yet, even if we take *the light* to be doctrine, these words rather characterize that of the Stoics, than of the Gospel. The next verses however bring him to speak of the light of holiness and good works, which he does with his usual eloquence. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ φήμη φέρουσα πανταχοῦ δήλους αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπίδειξις. καθάπερ γὰρ ὑπόπτεροι γενόμενοι, τῆς ἀκτῖνος σφοδρότερον τὴν γῆν ἐπέδραμον ἅπασαν σπείροντες τῆς εὐσεβείας τὸ φῶς.—τί οὖν; πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἡμᾶς κελεύεις ζῆν καὶ πρὸς φιλοτιμίαν; ἄπαγε, οὐ τοῦτό φημι. Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶπον, σπουδάζετε ὑμεῖς εἰς μέσον φέρειν τὰ κατορθώματα ὑμῶν· οὐδὲ εἶπον, δείξατε αὐτά. ἀλλά, λαμψάτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν. τουτέστι, πολλὴ ἔστω ἡ ἀρετὴ, καὶ δαψιλὲς τὸ πῦρ, καὶ τὸ φῶς ἄφατον. ὅταν γὰρ τοσαύτη ᾖ ἡ ἀρετὴ, ἀδύνατον αὐτὴν λαθεῖν.—οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐπίσημον ἄνθρωπον ποιεῖ,—ὡς ἀρετῆς ἐπίδειξις. ὥσπερ γὰρ αὐτήν τὴν ἀκτῖνα περιβεβλημένος, οὕτως αὐτῆς φαιδρότερος λάμπει, οὐκ εἰς γῆν τὰς μαρμαρυγὰς ἀφιεὶς, ἀλλὰ

καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπερβαίνων τὸν οὐρανόν. Yet this, as is often the case with Chrysostom's rhetoric, has a savour of heathenism.

In Theophylact's Commentary on these four verses, 13—16, though in other respects, as usual, he merely abridges Chrysostom, we find the Apostles introduced, as though this part of the Sermon had been addrest exclusively to them. Πρὸς αὐτοὺς λοιπὸν τοὺς Ἀποστόλους ἀποτείνεται, δεικνὺς ὅτι μάλιστα τῶν διδασκάλων ἴδιον τὸ ὀνειδίζεσθαι. He was probably following Theodoret, whose Commentary on St Matthew is lost, but who, as we have seen above, p. 440, was apt to indulge in rhetorical exaggeration about the privileges of the Apostles, and in whose days that most noxious heresy, whereby the clergy almost usurpt the place of the Church, was making rapid strides. Thus in his Questions on Leviticus, I, he says, ὁ Κύριος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἔφη, ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς. In his Commentary on the 68th Psalm, v. 14, he first says, that the *kings* there spoken of are the Apostles, then, that Salmon is Jerusalem, where they dwelt when they received the Spirit; and then, coming to the mountain in the 15th verse, he adds: οὓς ἐκάλεσε ζῶα, καὶ εὐαγγελιστὰς, καὶ βασιλεῖς, καὶ ὄρος ὀνομάζει. οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κύριος— ἔφη· οὐ δύναται πόλις κρυβῆναι ἐπάνω ὄρους κειμένη. Again, he interprets the mountains in the 87th Psalm to be the Apostles, supporting this fancy by a reference to the same words. In like manner, as the altar in Ezekiel, XLIII. 16, is to be twelve cubits long, and twelve broad, of course these twelve cubits typify the twelve Apostles, though no explanation is offered of what is meant by their being squared. Instead of this we are told that our Lord said to Peter, *On this rock I will build my Church*, καὶ πάλιν, ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. The same interpretation is adopted in the egregious trifling at the end of the third Dialogue on the Trinity, which is publisht along with his works. Here Orthodoxus, arguing with Macedonius, asserts that Baptism is perpetually signified in Scripture by thunder, and in proof thereof adduces Psalm LXXVII. 18: φωνὴ τῆς βροντῆς σοῦ ἐν τῷ τροχῷ· ἐφάνησαν αἱ ἀστραπαί σοῦ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ. εἶδεν, καὶ ἐσαλεύθη ἡ γῆ. τί ἄλλο ἢ τὸ βάπτισμα λέγει

βροντὴν; τὸν δὲ τροχὸν, τὸν κύκλον τοῦ βίου τούτου; καὶ τὰς ἀστραπὰς, τοὺς ἁγιοὺς ἀποστόλους, τοὺς καὶ φάναντας τῇ οἰκουμένῃ τὸ φῶς τῆς βροντῆς; αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀκούσαντες, ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. ἡ δὲ σαλευθεῖσα γῆ εἰς γεωργίαν ἐκ τῆς βροντῆς, καὶ ἐκ τῆς φάνσεως τῶν ἄστρων, τὰ ἔθνη ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγνωσίας εἰς τὴν επίγνωσιν. As the author of the Dialogue plays for both sides, he contrives to get a drawn game; and Macedonius, who might easily have gained a stale mate, replies that he has not been used to such arguments, and must take time to consider them. This trash might indeed be left in its appropriate obscurity, but that the writers of such things are now held out as pillars, and rhetorical babbling a little less gross is imposed on us as oracular, or at least as of importance in the settlement of dogmatical truth.

Tertullian, whose firy spirit was very remote from the Greek tendency to exaggerate the value of speculative knowledge, seems, in his attack upon the Gnostics (c. IX.), to regard these verses as addrest peculiarly to the Apostles. After quoting the 10th verse, he says, "Hoc quidem absolute ad omnes; dehinc proprie ad Apostolos ipsos, *Beati eritis etc.*" But he immediately after asserts the necessity of a more general application. "Quanquam etsi omnem hanc persecutionem conditionabilem in solos tunc Apostolos destinasset, utique per illos, cum toto sacramento, cum propagine nominis, cum traduce Spiritus Sancti, in nos quoque spectasset etiam persecutionis obeundae disciplina, ut in haereditarios discipulos et apostolici seminis frutices. Nam et rursus ad Apostolos dirigit: *Ecce ego mitto vos tanquam oves in medio luporum, etc.* Cum autem subjicit, *Tradet autem frater fratrem, et pater filium in mortem, et insurgent filii in parentes, et mortificabunt eos,* manifeste iniquitatem istam in caeteros pronunciavit, quam in Apostolis non invenimus. Nemo enim eorum aut fratrem aut patrem passus est traditorem, quod plerique jam nostri. Dehinc ad Apostolos revocat: *Et eritis odio omnibus propter nomen meum.* Quanto magis nos, quos a parentibus quoque tradi oportet? Ita ipsa hac permistione, nunc ad Apostolos, nunc ad omnes disponendo, eundem in universos nominis exitum effundit, in quibus consederit

nomen cum odii sui lege." Indeed if the use of the second person in the 11th verse limited that verse to the Apostles, the same limitation must be extended to all the subsequent verses, in which our Lord in like manner uses the second person, addressing the body of the disciples, the representatives of the whole Church through all ages, that is, to nearly all the Sermon on the Mount. No one however, that I am aware of, has dared thus to narrow the purpose of this blessed Sermon. At all events Tertullian applies many of the precepts in it rightly to all Christians; and he gives the same wide meaning to the 14th, 15th, and 16th verses in his Treatise *De Cultu Feminarum*, c. XIII. "Quid est, *luceant opera vestra.* Aut quid nos Dominus *lumen terrae* vocavit? quid *civitati supra montem constitutae* comparavit, si non relucemus inter tenebrosos, et exstamus inter demersos? Si lucernam tuam sub modium abstruseris, in tenebris relictae a multis incurseris necesse est. Haec sunt quae nos luminaria mundi faciunt, bona scilicet nostra. Bonum autem, dumtaxat verum et plenum, non amat tenebras, sed gaudet videri, et ipsa denotatione sui exultat. Pudicitiae Christianae satis non est esse, verum et videri. Tanta enim debet esse plenitudo ejus, ut emanet ab animo in habitum, et eructet a conscientia in superficiem."

Augustin, in his Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, explaining the terms *sal terrae* and *lumen mundi*, says, "Neque superius ista *terra* accipienda est quam pedibus corporeis calcamus, sed homines qui in terra habitant, vel etiam peccatores, quorum condiendis et extinguendis putoribus *apostolicum salem* Dominus misit. Et hic *mundum* non coelum et terram, sed homines qui sunt in mundo vel diligunt mundum, oportet intelligi, *quibus illuminandis Apostoli missi sunt.*" In like manner he cites these words as having been spoken to the Apostles in his 23rd Sermon on the 119th Psalm, and in his 289th Sermon § 6. But in other places he applies them more generally, as in Sermon IV. § 6, "Sic omnes sancti illuminati sunt, ut viderent, et ut quod videbant praedicarent: ideo illis dictum est, *Vos estis lumen mundi.*" Again, in Sermon CCCXXXVIII. § 1: "Christianis enim dicitur in Deum credentibus, bene operantibus, spem vitae aeternae pro

bonis operibus expectantibus, *Vos estis lumen mundi.* Et universae ubique diffusae Ecclesiae dicitur, *Non potest civitas abscondi supra montem constituta.*" And in the 16th Book against Faustus, § 17, "Ita ipse Dominus, *Non potest civitas abscondi supra montem constituta*; se scilicet *montem*, fideles autem suos in sui nominis gloria fundatos asserens *civitatem.*"

Hilary in his Commentary assigns the two expressions to the Apostles. "Apostoli sunt rerum coelestium praedicatores, et aeternitatis velut satores, immortalitatem omnibus corporibus, quibus eorum sermo adspersus fuerit, conserentes.—Merito igitur *sal terrae* nuncupati sunt, per virtutem doctrinae saliendi modo aeternitati corpora reservantes.—Mundus extra cognitionem Dei positus obscurabatur ignorantiae tenebris; cui per Apostolos scientiae *lumen* invehitur, et cognitio Dei claret." On the other hand he gives a peculiar explanation of *the city set on a hill*: "Civitatem carnem quam assumserat nuncupat: quia ut civitas ex varietate ac multitudine consistit habitantium, ita in eo, per naturam suscepti corporis, quaedam universi generis humani congregatio continetur. Atque ita et ille ex nostra in se congregatione fit civitas, et nos per consortium carnis suae sumus civitatis habitatio. Abscondi ergo jam non potest: quia in altitudine positus celsitudinis Dei, admiratione operum suorum et contemplandus et intelligendus omnibus efferatur." And he interprets the bushel, under which the candle is not to be put, of the Synagogue; "quae susceptos fructus intra se tantum receptans, certum modum dimensae observantiae continebat; nunc tamen fructu omni, adveniente se, vacua sit, non tamen adhuc potens luminis occulendi. Atque ideo jam lucerna Christi non recondenda sub modio est, neque operimento occultanda Synagogae: sed in ligni passione suspensa lumen aeternum est in Ecclesia habitantibus praebitura. Pari etiam fulgere Apostolos monet lumine, ut admiratione operis eorum Deo laus impertiatur." Again, in his treatise on the 67th Psalm, which he interprets as though it were "sermo vel Prophetarum, vel Apostolorum, quorum alii venturum in corpore unigenitum Deum, alii venisse docuerunt," he says of the Apostles: "sunt enim et ipsi secundum Evangelium *lumen mundi* (Dominus autem ipse *lux vera* est) a

luce illuminati, ut lumen essent Apostoli et Prophetae." But in the treatise on the 66th Psalm he applies the 16th verse, *Let your light so shine before men,* to every member of the Church, without noticing, it would seem, that the 14th verse must be coextensive with the 16th, which explains in what manner the high office assigned in the former is to be fulfilled.

Jerome, in his Commentary on the 13th verse, says, "*Sal appellantur Apostoli,* quia per illos universum hominum conditur genus," and explains the latter half of the verse sorrily by "Si Doctor erraverit, a quo alio Doctore emendabitur?" Nor is he less inadequate on the next two verses: "Docet fiduciam praedicandi, ne Apostoli abscondantur ob metum, et sint similes lucernae sub modio, sed tota libertate se prodant, ut quod audierunt in cubiculis, praedicent in tectis." The true idea of the Christian Church was waning away in his days, though he himself upholds it by asserting that baptism is *sacerdotium laici,* whereby every baptized person becomes a member of the *royal priesthood.* But in the interesting tract which contains this grand assertion of the truth, the *Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi,* the follower of that fierce bigot, who broke the peace of the Church from his determination not to receive the penitent Arian bishops, is introduced as maintaining doctrines concerning the priesthood and the hierarchy almost as extravagant as those which prevailed in the ages of Hildebrand and Innocent. "Nonne legisti de Episcopis dictum? *Vos estis sal terrae. Si autem sal infatuatum fuerit, in quo salietur? ad nihilum est utile, nisi ut projiciatur foras, et conculcetur ab hominibus.* Sed et illud, *quod pro populo peccatore sacerdos Deum exoret, ac pro sacerdote nullus sit alius, qui deprecetur.* Quae quidem duo Scripturarum capitula in sententiam concurrunt unam. Nam ut sal omnem cibum condit, nec est aliquid per se tam suave, quod absque eo gustum demulceat, ita mundi totius et propriae Ecclesiae condimentum Episcopus est; qui si infatuatus fuerit, sive per negationem, sive per haeresim, sive per libidinem, et, ut semel dicam, per universa peccata, a quo alio poterit condiri, quum ipse fuerit omnium condimentum? Sacerdos quippe pro laico offert oblationem suam, imponit manum subjecto, reditum

Sancti Spiritus invocat, atque ita eum qui traditus fuerat Satanae in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus fieret, indicta in populum oratione altario reconciliat.—Et in Evangelio Dominus, *Lucerna*, inquit, *corporis est oculus*, id est, Ecclesiae lumen est Episcopus. *Si autem oculus tuus simplex est, totum corpus tuum lucidum erit.* Sacerdote enim fidem veram praedicante, ex omnium corde tenebrae discutiuntur. Et causam reddit: *Neque enim lucerna accenditur et ponitur subter modium, sed super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt.* Hoc est, ideo Deus scientiae suae igniculum in Episcopo succendit, ut non sibi tantum luceat, sed omnibus prosit. Et in consequenti, *Si*, inquit, *oculus tuus nequam fuerit, omne corpus tenebrosum est. Si autem lumen quod in te est tenebrae sunt, ipsae tenebrae quantae erunt?* Et recte. Nam quum ideo Episcopus in Ecclesia constituatur, ut populum coerceat ab errore, quantus erit error in populo, quum errat ipse qui docet? Quomodo potest peccata dimittere, qui ipse peccator est? quomodo sanctum sacrilegus faciet? unde ad me lumen introiet, quum oculus meus caecus sit?"

As some readers may be at a loss to discover the second text cited at the beginning of this last extract, I will remark that in one of the old Latin Versions, probably the Itala, the first part of the 25th verse in the second Chapter of the first Book of Samuel was rendered *Si peccaverit populus, orabit pro eo sacerdos; si autem peccaverit sacerdos, quis orabit pro eo.* Jerome's version, following the Septuagint, gives, *Si peccaverit, homo in hominem, rogabunt pro eo Dominum. Si autem in Deum peccaverit, quis orabit pro eo.* Great stress was laid on these words, according to the former version of them, by the Donatists. We find Augustin citing them as alledged by the Donatists, in his second Sermon on the 36th Psalm, § 20, and in his second Book against Petilian, § 241. There is much beauty and power in his reply to the argument founded upon them, "Ita vos miseris plebibus venditatis,—ut vos sine peccato esse credant, et peccata sua vestris orationibus purganda committant. Magni homines vos, excelsi, coelestes, divini, nec jam homines, sed angeli, qui pro plebibus oratis, et pro vobis plebes orare non vultis! Tune justior Paulo, tu perfectior

tanto Apostolo, qui eorum quos docebat orationibus se commendabat? *Orationi*, inquit, *instate,—orantes simul et pro nobis, ut Deus aperiat nobis ostium verbi* (Colos. IV. 3). Ecce oratur pro Apostolo, quod fieri non vis pro Episcopo. Videsne quam sit ista diabolica superbia?" And then he explains the verse quoted thus. "Praeparabat Deus animos hominum per prophetam, ut talem desiderarent sacerdotem pro quo nullus posset orare. Ipse figurabatur temporibus primi populi et primi templi, ubi omnia figurae nostrae fuerunt. Ideo solus summus sacerdos intrabat in sancta sanctorum, ut oraret pro populo, qui cum sacerdote in ipsa interiora sancta non introibat; sicut ille Sacerdos intravit in secreta coelorum, in illa veriora sancta sanctorum, adhuc nobis hic positis pro quibus interpellat. Ideo dixit Propheta,—*Si saccrdos peccaverit, quis orabit pro eo?* id est, Talem desiderate Sacerdotem, qui peccare non possit, ne indigeat orari pro se. Et ideo pro Apostolis oratur a populis: pro illo autem Sacerdote, Apostolorum Magistro et Domino, non oratur." This is true and good. At the same time it is noticeable, as one among a thousand proofs of the uncritical, illogical habits of thought which prevailed among the Fathers, that Augustin makes no allusion to the two arguments which we should now urge as the conclusive refutation of the inference drawn from the words put into Eli's mouth; first, that Eli never uttered those words, and that they originate merely in a mistranslation; and secondly, that, even if they were correctly translated, they would refer solely to the state of things under the Mosaic dispensation, and not to that under the Christian. Our first question would be, Are the words rightly translated? our second, Do they bear upon the point at issue? Yet I know not whether one is warranted in claiming such an improvement in the processes of reasoning for our age, seeing how often tenets and practices of great moment are still maintained on the strength of a single text, and how mostly the very text, on which the whole structure is erected, is found on a careful examination to have been totally misunderstood.

It may perhaps be owing to the imperfect manner in which Gregory's Exposition of the First Book of Samuel has been

preserved, — at all events it is a striking instance how tenaciously tradition retains and propagates an errour, even when the fallacy on which it was founded has been cut away from under it, — that, though he adopts the Vulgate version of this verse, *Si peccaverit vir in virum, pacari ei potest Deus: si autem in Deum peccaverit, quis orabit pro eo?* he keeps the interpretation, the only ground of which lay in the other translation, and connects it, as the Luciferian in Jerome does, with our Lord's declaration about the salt that loses its savour. On the words, *Si autem in Deum peccaverit, quis orabit pro eo?* he says, "Idcirco dictum potest intelligi, quia sacerdotes arguuntur. Vir enim in virum peccat, cum ille delinquit, cujus culpa corrigenda ad hominis superioris judicium respicit. Quia igitur peccata subditi populi, quae ad sacerdotes respiciunt, ipsorum sacerdotum precibus delentur, cum sacerdos in culpa labitur, superior persona non est, cujus precibus expietur. Quod et ipsa Veritas per se insinuat, dicens; *Si sal evanuerit, in quo salietur?* Dicat ergo, *Quis orabit pro eo?* Quasi dicat, quis ei intercessor remanet, cum ille se transgrediendo praecipitat, qui ad intercedendum pro aliis ordinatus est?" Again, on xv. 8, he says "Quod si carnis bella describimus, magnos esse lapsus regios invenimus. Unde et Dominus in Evangelio dicit, *Si sal evanuerit, in quo salietur?* Reges vero Ecclesiae, ejus sunt praedicatores." On II. 30, "Deum Pastor glorificat, qui exemplo bonorum operum ad imitationem fidelium coruscat, qui de sublimitate regiminis ingenti lumine radiat magnae conversationis, qui ad speculum sacrorum ordinum reproborum ministrorum personas non accipit, sed eos ad formam subjecti gregis eligit, quos omnis qui imitationem respicit, quia verum in eis lumen sequitur, non offendit. Quibus nimirum per semetipsam Veritas loquitur, dicens, *Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant vestra bona opera, et glorificent Patrem vestrum qui in coelis est.* Glorificantes se Dominus glorificat; quia quod electi Pastores sanctae Ecclesiae exterius portant de gloria culminis, hoc intus accipiunt ex gratia divinae bonitatis, et honorem, quo sublimes sunt in oculis hominum, digno studio in interiori ab internae majestatis largitate promerentur." Thus

too on III. 19: "In terram verbum praedicatoris cadit, cum ex reproba praedicatoris conscientia vilescit. Unde et Veritatis voce dicitur, *Ad nihilum valet ultra, nisi ut mittamus foras, et conculcetur ab hominibus.*" In all these passages our Lord's two declarations seem to be applied exclusively to the clergy. At the same time, as one should expect from so great and holy a man as Gregory, if he claims a high dignity for his order, it is only to bring forward and urge its high and solemn responsibility. The tone in which he does this, and that of the whole book, is a strong argument that it must be genuine, that it must have proceeded from a man eminent in sanctity, and no less so in station and authority. Still it is noticeable that, while our Lord's two sayings seem restricted to the clergy in all these places, on the other hand in Gregory's unquestioned writings they are generally applied in their true sense to all the saints of the earth: for instance in the Commentary on Job VIII. 17, XIII. 14, XXIX. 15. On XXVIII. 18, he says, "Omnes supernae patriae electi, sancti quidem et justi sunt, sed participatione sapientiae, non comparatione. Quid enim sunt homines Deo comparati? Lumen autem Sapientia: lumen et servi Sapientiae vocari solent. Sed illa Lumen illuminans, isti lumen illuminatum; sicut scriptum est, *Erat Lux vera quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in mundum.* Istis autem tantummodo dicitur, *Vos estis lux mundi.*" Again, in a grand passage on XL. 10: "Ipse (Deus) speciosis induitur vestibus, quia sanctorum angelorum choros—in usum sui decoris assumsit, et velut quamdam vestem gloriosam sibi Ecclesiam exhibet non habentem rugam aut maculam. Unde ei per Prophetam dicitur (Ps. CIV. 2), *Confessionem et decorem induisti, amictus lumine sicut vestimento.* Hic quippe confessionem induit, illic decorem: quia quos hic per poenitentiam confitentes fecerit, illic fulgentes per decorem justitiae ostendet. *Luce* ergo *sicut vestimento amictus est;* quia sanctis omnibus, quibus dictum est, *Vos estis lux mundi,* in illa aeterna gloria vestietur." On XXXIX. 7, he gives a happy interpretation, derived from Augustin, of *putting a candle under a bushel.* "In *modio* enim commodum temporale, in *lucerna* autem lux praedicationis accipitur. *Lucernam* ergo *sub modio ponere*

est propter temporale commodum gratiam praedicationis abscondere.—Et bene illic additur,*sed super candelabrum*. In candelabro enim status corporis designatur, cui lucerna superponitur, dum eidem corpori cura praedicationis antefertur."

In the Commentary of Thomas Aquinas we often find a good deal of ingenuity in devising all imaginable explanations; though not seldom they are merely scraped together without much research or discrimination. According to the common fashion of the Schoolmen, which his influence perhaps tended mainly to establish amongst them, he, as it were, boxes the dialectic compass, but has no magnet in it wherewith to determine his course. He amuses himself in making out everything that the words can possibly mean, but never asks himself what they do mean, dealing with them, after the schoolmen's way of dealing with all things, as mere objects of speculation, instead of laying hold on them and interrogating them as realities. Referring our Lord's declarations to the Apostles, he says, The Apostles are called *salt, ratione virtutis*, first, *quia habet virtutem saporativam*, and thus "sermo apostolicus mentes insipidas condiebat: Col. IV. 6. *Let your speech be alway with grace, seasoned with salt.*" Secondly, because "*vim habet arefactivam*, whence Augustin says, *Sal sterilem terram facit:* thus the Apostles, destroying the kingdom of sin, stifled the germs of vices: Wisd. III. 13. *Blessed is the barren that is undefiled, that hath not known the sinful bed: she shall have fruit in the visitation of souls.*" Thirdly, because "*habet virtutem restrictivam;* whence Augustin says, *Sal carnes desiccat:* thus they represt carnal lusts. 1 Pet. II. 11. *I beseech you, abstain from fleshly lusts.*" Fourthly, because "*habet virtutem mundificativam;* whence Augustin says, *Sal a vermibus et putredine servat:* thus the preaching of God's word keeps away the putrefaction of vices: Rom. VI. 12. *Let not sin reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey the lusts thereof.*" Fifthly, because *habet virtutem sanativam*, as Elisha healed the water at Jericho by casting in salt: thus by the salt of heavenly wisdom, infused into the hearts of the Apostles, the waters, that is, the nations, were healed: Ps. CVII. 20. *He sent His word and healed*

them. Again the Apostles are likened to salt "*ratione originis ;* for salt is made from the water of the sea, and the heat of fire or the sun; and the Apostles were made from the water of tribulation, and the heat of love: Ps. LXVI. 12: *We went through fire and water.* Lam. I. 13. *From above hath He sent fire into my bones.*" Moreover they are likened to salt "*ratione consuetudinis,* because it was used in every sacrifice: Lev. II. 13. *Every oblation shalt thou season with salt.* Thus their conversation was honest, both in secret and openly, both before God and before man: Rom. XII. 17. *Provide things honest in the sight of all men.*" Anything idler, one might justly say sillier, in the way of an explanation cannot well be conceived, than this *strenua inertia* of the great Doctor, who was very fond of spinning a cobweb in every nook and corner of his library, and of his brain. Hence it is not to be wondered at that, when men began to regain a sense of reality, when they made the great discovery that a dog is a dog, and that, being so, it cannot be a cat, nor a horse, nor a lion, nor an eagle, nor a crocodile, they swept all these cobwebs away, notwithstanding the ingenuity often displayed in their texture, or that many valuable thoughts, which were wrapt up in them, were involved in their destruction. That these valuable thoughts should be rescued from oblivion, is certainly desirable: but we have cobwebs enough of our own, and do not need an importation of those of the middle ages. Least of all will it help us on the road to truth, to be told that we are to worship these cobwebs; for that they are woven of sunbeams and ether. They will not even avail to stanch our intellectual wounds: nor will they really arrest any who have an inward impulse driving them into scepticism. At least, as is said in the old comparison, when they are likened to laws, if they catch the weak, the strong break through them, and become more lawless from the triumph over such a mockery of restraint.

As the true idea of the Church was wellnigh lost in the middle ages,—so far at least, that, though a few insulated thinkers here and there had caught sight of it, and though certain bodies of men, condemned as heretical, in some measure recognized

that portion of it which the reigning system had cut off and cast away, the enunciation of it by Luther was almost like the revival of an extinct truth, — it could hardly be otherwise than that our Lord's two declarations should be taken in their narrow sense, as pertaining primarily to the Apostles, and then to the clergy. Subsequently too this view would of course be the one which recommended itself to the Church of Rome. Nay, that Church has done much, as much as she well could, to make this the only admissible interpretation. One main object of *her* solicitude has been to provide that the laity shall not be *the light of the world*, by barring them out from that golden orb, in which it has been stored up for the enlightenment of all mankind; and if she could effect this, she has been readily content that they shall make no pretensions to be *the salt of the earth*. Another grievous errour, which has helpt to bring about this result, we also find in Aquinas; who, though the germs of it are to be discerned even in the Fathers, contributed more perhaps than any one else to render it the prevalent doctrine with the teachers of the Church of Rome: I mean the distinction set up between the *praecepta legis*, which were accounted obligatory on all men, and the *consilia evangelica*, which were assumed to be only intended for such as were desirous of pressing onward to perfection. A similar aristocratical scheme of ethics was naturally the one current among the ancient heathens: for, notwithstanding the grand protest of Heraclitus,—*εἶσι καὶ ἐνταῦθα θεοί*,—they never attained to the conception of the divine image as inherent in humanity, or, as belonging to any except those whom on account of special gifts they called godlike. They could not entertain the notion that the plebeian was as noble in God's sight as the patrician, the poor as precious as the rich, the ignorant as the learned, the peasant or artisan as the statesman or philosopher. In several of the passages quoted in this Note from the Fathers we see traces of a like aristocratical feeling: and though this view of morals is utterly repugnant to the Christian idea, as set forth in the Sermon on the Mount, we cannot wonder that what is so congenial to the self-exalting spirit in man, should

have gained acceptance even with Christian moralists. The adoption of it by the Schoolmen is doubtless attributable in some degree to the influence of Aristotle, but is still more closely connected with the corruption of the idea of the universal Christian priesthood, and the substitution of a special priestly caste: and all the errours and abuses, which adhere to the notion of works of supererogation, fostered it, and were fostered by it. I cannot engage here in an argument to prove the fallaciousness of the abovementioned distinction, which with singular incongruity was thrust into the interpretations of the Sermon on the Mount. There is indeed a certain sense in which the term *consilia* might be applied to some parts of that Sermon. Several of our Lord's sayings are not direct enunciations of the principles of Christian morality, but exemplifications of those principles with reference to particular cases. Hence those bodies of Christians who have taken the whole as preceptive, have sunk into the servitude of the letter, which is seldom accompanied by a due reverence for the spirit, often by a neglect of it. This distinction however is very different from that drawn by the Schoolmen. For though the specific mode of fulfilling the principle is variable, so that any one particular mode will only come into act under certain circumstances, the principles of morality inculcated in the Sermon on the Mount are equally binding upon all Christians: and all are equally called to receive them, and to fulfill them in their highest perfection. On the other hand the frivolousness, as well as the erroneousness, of the scholastic distinction is apparent in the note of Aquinas on v. 39; where he asks whether the saying, *Resist not evil*, is a *praeceptum* or a *consilium*, and comes to the conclusion that it is a *praeceptum* for the clergy, and a *consilium* for the laity. The notes on several other verses supply matter equally edifying.

This moral exclusiveness, and exclusive morality, are of a piece with the whole system of that Church, which so unwarrantably usurps the name, while it belies the character and rejects the spirit of catholicism. In Maldonat's Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount we find other examples of it. With regard to

the auditory of the Sermon he proposes a view, which I have not noticed in any one else, at least not in this precise form; for among later critics several have conjectured that the Sermon is made up out of discourses delivered on different occasions. He holds that the first part, contained in the fifth chapter, was delivered to the chosen disciples alone; "primum, quia materia ipsa postulat ut ad solos discipulos habita credatur: nec enim omnibus Christus Evangelicam perfectionem proponebat; sed turbae dicebat, *Poenitentiam agite*, et *Nisi poenitentiam egeritis, omnes simul peribitis:* perfectis autem esse volentibus perfecta proponebat: *Si vis*, inquit, *perfectus esse, vade, vende universa quae habes, et da pauperibus, et veni, et sequere me.* Deinde—quia Christus solos discipulos alloquitur, *Vos estis sal terrae, Vos estis lux mundi.*" On the other hand, at the beginning of the sixth chapter, he says, "Dubitari potest an haec eadem sit concio, quam Christus in monte habuit.—Eandem esse contextus orationis, non eandem argumenti dissimilitudo arguit. Hoc probabilius; quia illa superioris capitis ad solos, ut probavimus, Apostolos in monte dirigebatur, haec ad omnes in campo. Illic de Evangelica tantum perfectione Apostolis, hic de communi fuga vitiorum agitur omnibus necessaria; ita prorsus, ut, si propius utramque intueamur, ipsa oratio, orationisque materia de monte in vallem descendisse videatur." I cannot enter into a detailed refutation of these assertions; nor can there well be need of it. The judgement of every intelligent reader will doubtless tell him that there is no difference, either in the subject matter, or in the style, between the fifth and the next two chapters of St Matthew. This notion that the style descends in the sixth chapter from the mountain into the valley, is merely one among millions of instances of people seeing, not what is, but what they wish to see. The sole ground of these imaginary differences is the utterly arbitrary assumption that the fifth chapter contains certain *consilia evangelica*, which are not designed for the great body of Christians. If Maldonat's interpretation of the 13th verse were correct, we might indeed rejoice that they were not. On the words, *Wherewith shall it be salted*, he is poor and shallow. "Non enim sal salis est. Si

doctor male docuerit, a quo doctor ipse docebitur? Si male vixerit, a quo corrigetur? Non enim doctor doctorum est." This seems especially strange as coming from a person who believed in the existence of an infallible earthly authority, to govern the Church, and to decide all questions of doctrine. Nor is the strangeness removed by the words which he adds, "Non quod doctor et doceri et emendari non possit, sed quod fieri non soleat, aut difficile possit:" which merely prove the erroneousness of his interpretation, seeing that, according to it, the salt might be salted. But his feebleness on these words is made up for by his violence, or rather virulence, on the last clause of the verse, which he compares with Ezekiel xv. 2—4, and then says, "Utriusque sententiae summa est, degeneres doctores, quales in primis haeretici sunt, ad nihilum ultra quicquam valere, nisi ut poenas luant, nisi ut conculcentur, nisi ut crementur. Pejores enim quam sal infatuatum, quamque aridum sarmentum, haeretici cimicibus, ut ait Augustinus, similes sunt: vivi mordent; mortui foetent." Horrible and disgusting as this is, he who reflects how exclusiveness judicially cuts itself off from all the best human sympathies, from whatsoever things are lovely and meek and gentle and kind, how it pampers pride, and how easily it may ossify into iron ferocity, would hardly be surprised to find the burning of heretics numbered among the *consilia evangelica*. Maldonat was one of the chief teachers of theology in the Jesuit College at Paris, in the seventh and eighth decads of the sixteenth century. Where such teaching prevailed, and found such a hotbed of every vice to flourish in, no wonder that the seeds thus sown sprang up in the massacre of St Bartholomew.

Petavius again, laying down the same distinction between *praecepta* and *consilia*, foists it into the Sermon on the Mount, appealing, in his *Dogmata Theologica*, x. 25, 11, to the authority of Ireneus, as having explained the difference between the law of the Old Testament and that of the New to consist in this, among other things, that Christ, "adjunctis iis quae *consilii*, non *praecepti* esse vulgo dicuntur, *legem perfecit*." Whereas Ireneus, in the passage referred to (iv. 16. 5), says the very reverse, that,

with reference to the law of Moses, our Lord "praecepta—quae in servitutem et in signum data sunt illis (Judaeis), circumscripsit novo libertatis Testamento. Quae autem naturalia, et liberalia, et *communia omnium*, auxit et dilatavit, *sine invidia largiter donans hominibus* per adoptionem Patrem scire Deum, et diligere eum ex toto corde, et sine adversatione sequi ejus verbum, non tantum abstinentes a malis operationibus, sed etiam a concupiscentiis earum." There could not well be a distincter protest against the notion of *consilia evangelica*, as designed for a few privileged candidates for perfection. So far from encouraging that notion, Ireneus says most truly, that, while our Lord circumscribed the positive and typical ordinances of the Mosaic law, He augmented and expanded those moral precepts, which are of a universal character, *communia omnium*, and bestowed them freely and ungrudgingly, *sine invidia largiter*, on mankind, namely, to know God as their Father by adoption, and to love Him with their whole heart, and to follow His word without resistance, not merely abstaining from evil acts, but also from evil desires. These being the *praecepta evangelica*, what can be the *consilia* whereby persons are to mount to a higher perfection? In like manner, when Petavius ascribes the same notion, that Christ fulfilled the Law "licitis alioqui factis *consilii* modo prohibendis," to Augustin, the very passage referred to, in the Treatise against Faustus, XIX. 23, is so far from bearing him out, that it represents the injunction, *Swear not at all*, not as a *consilium*, through which we are to attain to a higher degree of perfection, but as a practical recommendation of Christian prudence. "Quia pejerare grave peccatum est; non jurare autem, sicut verum jurare, nullum peccatum est; sed longius remotus est a falsum jurando, qui nec jurare consuevit, quam qui verum jurare proclivis est; maluit nos Dominus et non jurantes non recedere a vero, quam verum jurantes propinquare perjurio. Itaque et Apostolus in sermonibus, quos habuisse narratur, nunquam juravit, ne jurandi consuetudine aliquando vel nescius in perjurium laberetur. In scriptis autem, ubi est consideratio major atque propensior, pluribus locis jurasse invenitur, ne quisquam putaret etiam verum jurando peccari, sed potius

intelligeret humanae fragilitatis corda non jurando tutius a perjurio conservari." If we take this passage of Augustin as our guide, there would indeed be a very intelligible and useful distinction between *consilia* and *praecepta*, though we should not be justified in terming the former *evangelica*, the latter *legis* or *legalia*. For the *consilia* would thus refer to disciplinary rules, which are expedient, in order that we may keep under our body, and bring our carnal mind into subjection, so that we may not be hindered by them in fulfilling the *praecepta* of the Christian law of love. Thus however the *consilia*, instead of being the privileges of a higher state, are the tokens of our weakness, and of our consequent need of unceasing vigilance and training, to prevent our enemies from overpowering us: and thus they are quite as necessary for the incipient Christian, as for the more advanced. So that here we have another example of that pervading Romish errour, which attaches a positive value to what is merely disciplinary; as it has ever been one of the primary perversions of morality to exalt the means and instruments above the ends which those means were designed to effect. Hence too, as the reason and conscience declared that those instrumental acts and ordinances had no essential, inherent worth, rendering them obligatory in themselves, it was supposed that he who was diligent in observing them, did more than he was bound to do by any moral law or principle, that is to say, that his works were supererogatory and meritorious.

In fact, this very train of reasoning is used by Petavius in his *Ecclesiastical Dissertations* (II. c. 6), where he is led to discuss the subject in replying to certain opinions on theological topics broacht by Salmasius in his Treatise *De Foenore Trapezitico*. Salmasius, who is generally prolix and clumsy and confused, even on matters with which he is the most familiar, is no match for the subtile, well-disciplined Jesuit in theological argument, and thus is easily put in the wrong, even when on the whole he is in the right. Petavius here asserts, that the names of *praecepta* and *consilia*, and the distinction between them, had been rightly gathered by the ancient Fathers and divines out of that passage in the first Epistle to the Corinthians (VII. 25), where St Paul says, *De virginibus*

praeceptum Domini non habeo, consilium autem do, etc. Hence, he adds, "Id esse praeceptum intelligimus, quod parendi necessitatem et obligationem affert.—Consilium vero suasio est melioris cujusdam et praestantioris operis, cujus exequendi nulla necessitas imponitur; sed ejus, cui datur, voluntati arbitrioque permittitur. Cujusmodi libera et voluntaria pietatis officia *supererogationis opera* nominari solent." This is another striking instance of a doctrine founded, or rather grafted, on the misinterpretation of a single text. For nobody could ever have deduced such a conception of a *consilium* from this passage of St Paul; but when we have a crotchet in our heads, we readily fancy that everything confirms it. If we look at the passage in St Paul, it is clear that he is not recommending celibacy as in itself a higher state, but merely as expedient *by reason of the present distress.* They who marry, he adds, *will have trouble in the flesh*, that is, in consequence of the *present distress*, owing to which a man's earthly cares will be greatly increast by his having a wife and children to watch over and preserve; and from this *trouble* St Paul desired to *spare* and save them. Thus from hence we may draw a very simple distinction between a *praeceptum* and a *consilium*, that the former relates to things necessary, the latter to things expedient, which are ever liable to be modified by circumstances. But this is totally different from a *suasio melioris cujusdam et praestantioris operis.* Petavius further tries to prop up his distinction by a chain of quotations from the Fathers: his chain however is as brittle as any Catena of our times; while his whole argument, with all its sophistical dexterity, betrays those superficial views of morality, which are so prevalent in the Church of Rome; reviving the bondage of the law, as though nothing were obligatory on a Christian except what is literally prescribed,—as though the Christian conscience did not proclaim that, whatever we can do, we are bound to do,—and as though the two commandments in which our Lord sums up the whole Law, along with His *new commandment*, were not ample enough to embrace all that it is possible for man to do, and far more than any man ever did. Thus, because St Paul says, *A necessity is laid upon*

me, yea, woe is me, if I preach not the Gospel, he terms this a *praeceptum.* But when St Paul says that he had done so gratuitously, though he might have required that they should minister to him *in carnal things,* this is termed a compliance with a *consilium.* Of the passages quoted from the Fathers, the chief part merely speak of the difference between absolute, imperative laws, and such rules as pertain to the fulfilment of the supreme law of love, which, from its very nature, refuses to be bound up in the definite forms of positive ordinances, and shapes itself freely and livingly according to each exigency and opportunity. But on the very points, which render the scholastic fiction of *consilia* so reprehensible, and which are the peculiar characteristics of that fiction,—their being designed merely for such as are desirous of ascending to greater altitudes of perfection, their being beyond and above the law, beyond and above what a Christian is bound to do, so that acts performed in obedience to them are supererogatory and meritorious,—on these points the extracts from the Fathers are for the most part silent. According to the customary Romish process of what is now perversely called *development,* the ancient authorities cited in support of later corruptions do little more than bear witness in behalf of the truths distorted in those corruptions: but they impose on the incautious reader, and make him believe that, where he finds a similarity of expression, there must also be an identity of thought.

It may be regarded as an effect of Jeremy Taylor's stooping under the weight of his scholastic learning, that he attaches so much importance to the distinction between *precepts* and *counsels evangelical,* in his *Rule of Conscience,* B. II. C. iii. Rule 12, and B. III. C. iv. Rule 20. He protests indeed against several abuses founded on that distinction, and will not allow that works performed in deference to such counsels would be of supererogation. But he does not throughout retain the same clearness of vision and the same lofty position, which he had when he wrote the following passage in the Dedication of his *Holy Living.* "In using the instruments of virtue, we must be curious to distinguish instruments from duties, and prudent advices (*consilia*) from necessary

injunctions: and if by any other means the duty can be secured, let there be no scruples stirred concerning any other helps: only, if they can in that case strengthen and secure the duty, or help toward perseverance, let them serve in that station in which they can be placed. For there are some persons in whom the Spirit of God hath breathed so bright a flame of love, that they do all their acts of virtue by perfect choice and without objection; and their zeal is warmer than that it will be allayed by temptation; and to such persons mortification by philosophical instruments, as fasting, sackcloth, and other rudenesses to the body, is wholly useless. It is always a more uncertain means to acquire any virtue, or secure any duty; and if love hath filled all the corners of our soul, it alone is able to do all the work of God." Here the *consilia* are set in their proper rank, as disciplinary and ministerial to the fulfilment of the law of love. The writer of these sentences sank into the region of technical prudential ethics, when he wrote: "He that does a counsel evangelical does not do more than his duty, but does his duty better: *he that does it in a less degree shall have a less reward; but he shall not perish, if he does obey the just and prime or least measures of the law:*" *Rule of Conscience* II. 3. 12. § 4. Perhaps it is almost impossible to write on casuistry, without being compelled ever and anon to take this low view of morality, as swayed by motives, instead of springing from principles: but if we go on a few pages to § 13, we find Taylor resuming a tone more natural to him. "In internal actions there is properly and directly no counsel, but a law only. Counsels of perfections are commonly the great and more advantageous prosecutions of an internal grace or virtue: but the inward cannot be hindered by anything from without, and therefore is capable of all increase and all instances only upon the account of love; *the greatest degree of which is not greater than the commandment; and yet the least degree, if it be sincere, is even with the commandment.* —But the inward grace in all its degrees is under a law or commandment: not that the highest is necessary at all times, and to every person; but that we put no positive bars or periods to it at any time, but love as much as we can today, and as much as

we can tomorrow; and still the duty and the words to have a current sense; and *as much as we can* must signify *still more and more.*"

As Taylor's mind was rather poetical than critical, so far at least that the receptive imagination in it was more powerful than any tendency to examine and sift what it received, he does not discuss to whom the Sermon on the Mount was addrest, though he might naturally have been led to do so in his *Life of Christ*. His paraphrase however plainly shews that he adopted the common notion, which regarded the multitude among the hearers. "When Jesus saw His assembly was grown full, and His audience numerous, He *went up into a mountain;* and when His disciples came to Him, He made that admirable Sermon called the Sermon upon the Mount": Sect. XII. 11. Throughout too he explains the Sermon as belonging to the whole body of Christians.

The delusive and mischievous view of morals which made holiness the privilege of a class, was among the wide-spread errours which it was Luther's blessed task to overthrow. A course of sermons which he preacht upon the Sermon on the Mount was publisht as taken down by some of his hearers in 1532. In this, as in all his Homilies on Scripture, he fixes his attention almost exclusively on the moral and spiritual truths to be deduced from the sacred text, without discussing critical questions. Hence he does not ask himself, who were the auditory. The two declarations, that the disciples are *the salt of the earth* and *the light of the world*, he refers to the effect which was to be wrought by Christian doctrine. Indeed he could not well do otherwise, since his mission was to revive the doctrine of the Gospel in its purifying, enlightening power; and the good works extolled in his age were not the manifestation of the Christian graces in the daily walk of life, but mostly factitious and spurious acts of will-worship, and so were among the noxious falsehoods against which he had to lift up his voice. Of course however he strenuously maintains that all the precepts and exhortations and promises in the Sermon belong equally to all Christians. As his spirit was more truly catholic than that of almost any other man since St Paul, he recognized

more distinctly than almost any other man since St Paul, that Christ has sanctified every state of life, and every work in which man can be engaged, provided it be wrought in faith and love, and that the only difference which can weigh in God's sight between one work and another, depends upon the proportion in which each of them proceeds from faith working by love. In the Preface to this course of Sermons he declares that one of their chief purposes is to root up the fallacious notion of the *consilia evangelica*, the notion that "Christ did not mean that everything inculcated in the fifth Chapter should be observed by all Christians, but added a number of pieces, which such as desire to be perfect may keep, if they like." Throughout too he contends against the aristocratic, or rather oligarchal morality of the Romanists, asserting the equal sanctity of every baptized Christian, and that of the meanest daily offices of common life, if performed cheerfully in faith.

Calvin concurs with Luther in regarding Christian doctrine as the salt and light of the world. Without entering specifically into the question, he considers the whole Sermon as addrest to the disciples. He rejects the allegorical notion that Christ had led His disciples up the mountain to draw away their minds from earthly cares and pursuits to higher things, yet gives us a poor substitute for it: "Potius secessum conscenso monte quaesivit, ut procul a turba paulisper se cum discipulis a lassitudine reficeret." To reconcile this view with VII. 28, he interprets the words, *When Jesus had ended these sayings*, as referring to another Sermon delivered after His descent from the Mount, and to the rest of His previous teaching. This is arbitrary and unsatisfactory.

In the Commentary of Socinus on the fifth, sixth, and seventh Chapters of St Matthew, the question with regard to the persons to whom the Sermon is addrest, is discust very fully, and, as it seems to me, convincingly. Indeed several of the arguments urged in the former part of this Note, to establish what appears to me the true view, have been anticipated by him; and had I examined him sooner, I should have used his words instead of my own. Nor has he left much for others to add. The subject is one in which his peculiar opinions are not concerned; so that he is as

capable of exercising a right judgement on it as other men. His argument occurs in the note on the twelfth verse. The question, he rightly says, is a very important one, "ut sciat quilibet quomodo debeat se gerere, et quid faciendum ipsi sit si Christi praeceptis obtemperare studet, sine quorum observatione nulli aeterna salus a Deo est proposita. Nam, ut alia singularia multa omittamus, quanti interest cognoscere, an verba illa Christi,—*Primum quaerite regnum Dei*, ad verbi Dei ministros tantum pertinent, an vero etiam ad reliquos Christianos." After replying to the grounds that had been brought forward for restricting the Sermon to the Apostles, he states the arguments on the opposite side. "Primum considerandum est, ab omni verisimilitudine prorsus abesse, quod Christus, turba praesente atque audiente, sumpserit sibi docendos eos tantum, qui munus docendi alios habituri essent; et, si nihilominus id facere voluisset, quod Evangelista ejus rei verbis suis nullum indicium legenti dederit.—Deinde—considerandum est, nimis absurdum futurum, cum Evangelista nullam prorsus mentionem hactenus fecisset Apostolorum, seu aliorum qui verbi Dei ministri futuri essent, a Christo ex numero suorum discipulorum nominatim selectorum, si is nihilominus, cum Christus sermonem suum habuisset ad ejusmodi homines, id silentio praeteriisset.—Praeterea—consideranda sunt Christi praecepta et monitiones quae in toto ipsius sermone continentur: nihil enim est ex omnibus illis, quod proprium omnino sit ministrorum verbi Dei; sed satis constat, si quis ea singulatim examinet, omnia omnium esse communia, qui Christi discipuli esse velint. Denique apertum est ex eo, quod Christus de praeceptis ipsius Decalogi Legisque Mosaicae verba facit, suaque praecepta ac monitiones ad illa magna ex parte accommodat, sive ipsa nuda Mosaica mandata intelligat, sive una cum eorum interpretationibus a Scribis et Pharisaeis populo obtrusis, eum in animo habuisse populum docere, cui et Lex Mosis data fuerat, et a Scribis et Pharisaeis,—ejus per singulas partes interpretatio proposita." The two declarations he explains thus: "Quemadmodum veri Christi discipuli sua vita sancta aliis praelucent, unde *lux mundi* merito dici possunt, sic etiam et animum et facta sua ejusmodi habent, ut videatur illis,

non minus quam sale dapes condiuntur, condiri reliquum humanum genus."—Wolzogen, in his Commentary on St Matthew, follows Socinus.

Of the Arminian divines, Curcelleus, in his *Tractatus de Ecclesia*, C. II. § 10, maintains that in our Lord's declaration about the *city* which *cannot be hid*, "agitur speciatim de Apostolis et similibus Ecclesiae Christianae luminibus.—Male igitur ad totam Ecclesiam trahitur." In making these assertions, Curcelleus is in some measure led by his zeal against the Romish doctrine of the visible Church, which it is the object of his Treatise to refute.—Episcopius on the other hand, in his Notes on St Matthew, says that the disciples "propius accesserunt, turba reliqua eminus vel remotius paulum çircumstante; ita tamen ut audire—possit Christum docentem;" and he applies the two declarations to the effect which the disciples, "*omnes promiscue discipuli*," were to produce both by their doctrine and their life.

Matthew Henry aptly contrasts this Sermon with the delivery of the Law. "Though this discourse was directed to the disciples, it was in the hearing of the multitudes.—No bounds were set about this mountain to keep the people off, as were about Mount Sinai (Exod. XIX. 12): for through Christ we have access to God not only to speak to Him, but to hear from Him."

The later commentators, with few exceptions, have adopted the same view. Bengel, as usual, says just what ought to be said, in the fewest words. On προσῆλθον in the first verse he remarks, "Proxima admissio et docilitas discipulorum recentium, non duodecim solum, sed et reliquorum;" on αὐτοὺς, in the second verse, "*discipulos*, hos enim alloquitur audientibus turbis, VII. 28, quas tamen ipsas simul allocutus est, v. 17." Storr, who followed Bengel in maintaining the character of the university of Tübingen for sound theological learning, says (Opusc. III. p. 16), that "oratio montana praecipue ad discipulos Christi spectare putanda est, qui hoc ipso nomine, quod Christi essent discipuli, editiorem locum obtinuerant (v. 14), cumque oculos multi in eos conjecturi essent, tanto magis debebant aliis non doctrina modo, sed exemplo etiam praelucere,—suaque tum vita tum doctrina (v. 19) alios quoque

tanquam sal feraces reddere debebant bene factorum. Dum vero Christus coram populo discipulis exposuit quid ab ipsis—observari populoque tradi vellet, audienti populo simul ipse tradidit praecepta, quæ, quamvis adhuc inaudita (VII. 29), vehementer tamen ad illum pertinerent."—Knapp, who at the same time, during the leanest years of Rationalism,—when that mockery of Philosophy and Religion devoured the faith of antecedent generations, yet grew not a whit the fatter for all that it swallowed up,—contended at Halle for a Christian interpretation of the Scriptures, and bore witness, at least in comparison with the rationalists of his age, that, while a shallow philology may be favorable to unbelief, Philology too, as Bacon says of Philosophy, when profound and accurate, will take her place among the handmaids of Christian truth,—in a valuable dissertation on the first part of the Sermon on the Mount, remarks that our Lord often made use of objects present to the senses of His hearers, in order to bring out some lessons of spiritual truth; and that thus, "in hac concione, cum ingens hominum multitudo ex omni Judaea, Syria, et Galilaea ad illum confluxisset, quorum magna pars in afflictis, inopibus, miseris, lugentibus numeraretur,—Jesus ista in turba tot pauperes conspiciens, tot lugentes, miseros, victu carentes, qui opem, auxilium, consolationem efflagitarent,—beatissimos praedicat eos qui vulgo habentur miserrimi." Hence he concludes, "Christus haec omnia coram populo,—ad discipulos conversus propius adstantes, ita dixit, ut populus non modo universum sermonem auribus perciperet, sed eum etiam ad se pertinere intelligeret: VII. 28, 29. Nam et argumentum ejusmodi erat, ut omnibus—prodesse posset (ne illis quidem locis exceptis ubi ad—discipulos nominatim oratio dirigitur, veluti v. 11—16); et ipse Jesus ea quae dixerat ad neminem auditorum non spectare in fine sermonis aperte profitetur."

Again, the rationalist commentators at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century were mostly of the same opinion; and their concurrence on a point where no important doctrine is concerned, where consequently they have no anti-spiritual bias to mislead them, is at least a mark that their interpretation is the one which the words naturally suggest. Thus

Rosenmüller says, "Propius accesserunt discipuli quam turba; sed docuit omnes, et discipulos et populum. Ex ipso tamen argumento patet orationem praecipue ad discipulos spectare, nam enunciata quaedam in ea obvia non ad omnes auditores, sed ad solos Apostolos pertinebant: v. 12—16, 20. Pleraque autem virtutis praecepta hac oratione comprehensa ita comparata sunt, ut ab omnibus cujusvis conditionis hominibus observari possint et debeant." Here we see the shallow rationalist's ignorance of the power of sin: he fancies that the precepts in the Sermon on the Mount are such as everybody is able to observe.—Kuinoel's note is to the same effect. "Jesus hanc orationem habuit ad sectatores suos, discipulos et apostolos, audiente magna populi multitudine.—In monte seligebat talem locum cui subjecta esset planities, quae magnam vim hominum caperet, ut ab omnibus audiri et conspici posset: ἔστη ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ." He also agrees with Rosenmüller in applying v. 13—17 to the Apostles, but supposes those verses to have been spoken on a different occasion, and to be improperly inserted here; which is wholly arbitrary, as we have seen that they may fitly be addrest to the same body of hearers with all the rest of the Sermon; while they form a beautiful connecting link between the beatitudes and the didactic portion which follows.—Paulus says much the same thing, both in his Commentary, and in his *Life of Jesus*, if indeed it be allowable to cite books which belong to the reptile order of literature.—Fritzsche, who has more ingenuity, or at least sharpness and smartness, and has gone through a better philological training, tries to be original, but hardly gains his aim, except in some rude impertinences against the Evangelist. He pronounces, without shewing cause, that *the disciples* are the Apostles, and that the Sermon is addrest to them, but that the multitudes were listening at a distance. He says that they are called *the salt of the earth*, because "salis est tantus tamque necessarius usus, ut nemo eo carere possit;" wherefore "Quanta salis ad alias res comparati, tanta est vestra inter ceteros homines dignitas." But this interpretation, while it renders the image obscure and vague,—since nobody would have recognized this paramount excellence of salt,—also loses the peculiar efficacy

of salt, which the latter part of the verse brings out. Nor is he happier in expounding the second declaration: "vos tam spectatae estis dignitatis, ut cum sole conferri possitis." Such an interpretation is repugnant to the spirit of Christ; for the true dignity under the Gospel is that of good works, of ministering to others, of pouring light into their darkness, of purifying them and preserving them from corruption through a power akin to that of salt.—Gratz, a Romanist, in his German Commentary on St Matthew, assumes that two sermons, delivered on different occasions, have been patcht together, but regards St Matthew's as addrest to the whole body of the disciples, standing in the place of the whole Church, and applies both our Lord's declarations to them, though also by way of eminence to the Apostles.—Ammon, in his *Life of Jesus*, conjectures that parts of the Sermon were spoken to the multitudes, other parts to the disciples, for instance, the two declarations, which he interprets as though our Lord had sent out a body of rationalist and liberal preachers to dispell religious prejudices and errours, and to set up the new lights of the nineteenth century.

A novel interpretation of the whole Sermon was indeed proposed by some of the rationalist writers at the close of the last century, who maintained that it was intended to be an inaugural discourse for the college of the Apostles, immediately after their appointment. Tholuck ascribes this notion to Zachariae, to Pott, and to Schmidt. Having never seen their dissertations, which their names do not inspire me with any desire to see, I cannot speak of their arguments. At all events their hypothesis was soon discarded in Germany; nor can one well imagine any, which it is more difficult to support, and easier to overthrow. There is scarcely a verse in the whole Sermon which does not refute it; and if this evidence were not enough, we may alledge the absence of all the special precepts which would belong to such an occasion. Grosse, in a very feeble Essay *De consilio quod Christus in oratione montana secutus est*, says, "Neque est quod putemus Christum imprimis Apostolos spectasse. Omnino ad discipulos suos, sectatores suo nomini addictos, orationem habuit. Ravius

satis hoc ostendit, et rationibus firmavit, quibus quas addam non habeo."

Among the seven thousand who, in the worst times, did not bow the knee to Baal, was Menken, whose excellent *Considerations on the Gospel of St Matthew* were publisht in 1808. Taking the common notion, that Jesus preacht the Sermon from the side of the Mount, with the disciples around Him, and the multitudes further off, he says: "The beginning is addrest to the Apostles and disciples, but is such that, out of what was said to them, the surrounding people, according to their need and capacity, might pick out something for their own instruction, warning, exhortation, and consolation. In the sequel the discourse becomes more general, and is directed equally to the disciples and to the people. The words about persecution, it is easy to see, were designed especially for the Apostles and first disciples, among whom scarcely one was not called to suffer something for his Master's sake. Nor is it less evident that these words apply to all our Lord's subsequent real disciples, who always have to suffer for their faith, for the truth, for righteousness. If they are what, according to their high calling — as Christians, they ought to be among men, they cannot escape suffering: but our Lord's promise may strengthen them not to let themselves be withheld by fear of suffering from being what, as Christians, they ought to be in the world. And what ought they to be as Christians? Even, in their proportion, what the Apostles, the first disciples, and all our Lord's true followers in all ages have been, in their proportion, *the salt of the earth, and the light of the world. Ye are the salt of the earth*, our Lord said to His disciples. However mean, however insignificant, however unapparent you may be in the eyes of the world, you are yet the chief people in the world: on no man yet has so much depended as on you: none are, none can do, what you are and will do. To no man yet have mankind owed what they will owe to you. You are *the salt* among all the people upon earth. As salt preserves the bodies cured with it from corruption, so shall you preserve the race of man from that decay, into which they would else inevitably fall, and

which is like the corruption of fleshly bodies. Were there no godly men, such as you are, and shall more and more become, among mankind, men whose whole life is the expression, witness, and sermon of a holy soul, who have a higher, heavenly mind, who live for eternity, who have the knowledge of God and of eternal life, who possess and can impart the Spirit,—were there no such *salt* among mankind, no such men from whom divine blessings may proceed and be communicated to others,—unless by means of such men that heavenly disposition, without which there can be no life of the Spirit, were preserved where it exists, and awakened and fostered where it does not exist,—mankind would universally forget their lofty origin and destiny, would forget God and eternity, would cleave wholly to that which is sensual and perishable: every heavenly feeling would expire amongst them; they would become all earth; the Spirit would everywhere be quencht; they would sink utterly into the flesh, into that corruption in which men were in the days of the Flood.—Therefore are ye, My disciples, through the holy dispositions that live in you, and shall proceed from you, to be *the salt* among mankind, which shall resist and repell the corruptive, earthly, fleshly, unbelieving spirit. But bethink you what this means, and beware. *Ye are the salt of the earth.* As Apostles, as Christians, ye are the most excellent thing upon earth: but if ye are untrue to your high calling, if ye become like others, if ye quench the Spirit in you, and enter into the corrupt spirit of the earth, then are ye the most worthless thing upon earth. — Our Lord further says to His disciples, *Ye are the light of the world.* What the material world would be without the sun, that would the human world be without you. — If ye were not in the world, if there were no divinely illumined men, who have knowledge in them, and from whom knowledge and truth may issue among mankind, like light and warmth from the sun, the night of ignorance and superstition, the darkness of falsehood and unbelief, would overspread all things, would destroy all spiritual life, every relation between man and God, would make the redemption and salvation of man impossible. *Ye are the light of the world.* Darkness covers the earth, and thick darkness the

nations: through you it shall become day upon earth, a bright, gladdening day in the souls of men. Through you the knowledge of God, and of Him whom He has sent, and along therewith eternal life, shall come to mankind. — The Apostles and disciples were not of themselves *the light of the world*, but they were so through their Lord; and thus above all did they enlighten the world, by leading mankind to Him, as the only true Light, from whom all knowledge comes; even as the darkness of the world is mainly caused by those errours and lies by which men are led away from Jesus Christ, the Light of Life, and from His word." Menken then argues that the good works whereby Christ's disciples are to let their light shine before men, cannot be almsgiving and works of love, nor prayer and works of devotion, nor fasting and works of selfdenial; because in the very next chapter we are commanded to do all these in secret. Hence, he says, they must be "*works of light*, in the literal, strict sense, activity, diligence in enlightening other men by imparting the truth to them. — As the Scripture elsewhere says, *Desire spiritual gifts, but chiefly that ye may prophesy.* Now prophesying is nothing else than letting that light, which a man has through God's word and Spirit, shine before other men, to guide the wandering, to comfort the brokenhearted, to strengthen the weak, to reclaim the sinful, and to speak of the truth with knowledge, wisdom, and love, in such wise, that others shall love and receive the truth, and shall be saved thereby."

Of the better divines also, who have arisen since Philosophy and Philology have begun again to recognize their allegiance to Christianity, the chief part hold that, in the delivery of the Sermon on the Mount, as well as in its purpose, everything was in conformity to that Divine Will, which has called all mankind into the Kingdom of Heaven. Thus Neander, in his *Life of Jesus* (p. 452), says, that Jesus "collected the twelve disciples, as an inner circle, about Him on the side of the mountain, and from the midst of them delivered this Sermon, which is designed for all such as should feel attracted to become His disciples, with the purpose of leading them to a knowledge of what they were to expect, and what they were to do as His disciples, in opposition to the false

notions they might have formed on both these subjects from the common Jewish point of view.—In the whole Sermon there is no trace of anything especially designed for the Apostles. How totally different are those speeches of our Lord, which were meant peculiarly for them, to give them instructions in the work of their calling! The words in VII. 6 are the only ones bearing thereupon; but these words, it is plain, do not fit into the connexion of this Sermon." Yet these very words, *Cast not your pearls before swine,* convey a precious maxim of Christian prudence for all classes of Christians, who are zealous in their profession, a maxim especially needful in the early ages. Nor would it be difficult to trace out a connexion with the preceding verses, on the principle of antithesis. While we are not to condemn our brethren, or to censure them uncharitably, we are at the same time to be guarded in our intercourse, and not to pour out our spiritual treasures before the profane and careless. On our Lord's twofold declaration Neander remarks (p. 461), "After Christ has laid down how the members of the Kingdom of God are to behave, as sufferers, in their relation to the world, He describes their active, renovating influence upon it, springing from the characteristic qualities He had already enumerated. They are *the light of the world,* which, wherever it is, cannot be hid, but must shine. They are to be *the salt* of human nature. As salt seasons and freshens whatever it is mixt with, and preserves it from corruption, so are they appointed to rouse mankind to a life in accordance with their idea and their destiny, to renew and freshen them by a higher vivifying principle, and to preserve them from that corruption into which all things in their natural course fall. This expression denotes that power inherent in Christianity, through which it alone can preserve man's spiritual life in continual freshness, and avert what without it is found to be the inevitable result in the progressive development of human nature, that all civilization wanes away at length into barbarism. But from this very destination of Christ's disciples to be the salt of humanity, it follows that, if this salt itself loses its essential quality, whereby it is what it is,—if it becomes dead,—nothing else is left to salt and freshen the salt, no means to renew

the divine life in those in whom Christianity, whence this revivifying influence should issue over all mankind, has become a dead thing. Those who ought to occupy the highest post in the development of mankind, will sink down to the lowest. These words shew that, as our Lord well knew with what power the new principle, which He was to infuse into the life of mankind, would penetrate, renew, and preserve them, He also foresaw the hindrances which were to impede its development. He describes what will be the fate of Christianity, when it decays into dead forms and hollow shows, as History, the richest commentary on these prophetic words, witnesses in such manifold ways."

In like manner Tholuck, in his excellent Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, when discussing the opinions of previous commentators, concludes (p. 29): "It was the purpose of Jesus in this Sermon to represent the ideal of a citizen of the Kingdom of Heaven. In so doing He could not address the mass of the mixt multitude, who had assembled mainly to bring their sick to Him: even among the disciples there must have been many unable to receive His words. The Twelve, whom He purpost to send out some time after, were the most receptive. As on other occasions He speaks to the disciples, when intending at the same moment to speak to the people (Luke xvi. 14. xii. 41), so here, having for the first time chosen the Twelve out of the larger body, He places them near Him in a semicircle, and makes the other disciples and the people take their places further off. —This view we find in the ancient expositors.—Many of them take pains to prove that the precepts in the Sermon are applicable to all Christians without distinction.—In the Romish Church on the other hand, after the notion had gained ground that our Lord here is delivering *consilia evangelica*, and not *praecepta*, it was generally held that the discourse was meant solely for the Apostles. In the Protestant Church the opening words down to v. 17 were commonly thought to refer especially to the Apostles.—Still in the Protestant Church it has always been agreed that the Sermon is designed in the main to portray the character of a citizen of the Kingdom of God. Even in v. 13 Calovius inclines to refer the

words to all Christians, though Melanchthon explains them exclusively of the *munus doctoris*. In more recent times a great majority both of the supranaturalist and rationalist commentators are agreed in holding that the Sermon is addrest generally to Christ's followers, and contains a representation of the qualities of His true disciples." On verse 13 Tholuck says, "The point of comparison lies in the seasoning, fire-like power of salt; and human nature is represented as a spiritual sacrifice, which must be sprinkled spiritually with the seasoning power of this salt, if it is to be well-pleasing to God, as the sacrifice under the Old Testament was to be sprinkled with material salt. Without the spiritual salt of repentance and faith, proceeding from the disciples of Christ, human nature is given up to a moral corruption, and cannot offer itself up to God. Γῆ here, like κόσμος in the next verse, denotes the whole of mankind, and shews here, at the commencement of Christ's ministry, that Christian truth was designed for the whole world. What must an unbelieving, coolly reasoning spectator have thought, if he had seen the Jewish Rabbi sitting amid the circle of the twelve fishermen and publicans whom He had just chosen, and had heard Him saying, *Ye are to be for all mankind, who now by their nature are given up to moral corruption, and are wrapt in darkness, what salt and the sunlight are in the material world!* Even they to whom the words were spoken, must probably have lookt up at Him, without knowing what was happening to them; but when the Spirit came, that was to lead them to all truth, the seed which slumbered in them sprang to life. This is one of the expressions—which many refer exclusively to the Apostles; and undoubtedly it does apply preeminently to them, but also to every one in proportion as he is filled with the same Spirit as they were. Thus the author of the noble letter to Diognetus, from his own living experience that what Christ here says of the Apostles is true of all, declares that Christians are for the whole world what the soul is for the dead mass of the body.—*The salt* denotes the new vital power which Christ's disciples bring to the world: the other comparison, *the light*, denotes the new intellectual power. In an absolute sense Christ is the *Light of the world;* but His disciples, through their communion with

Him, are a light through Him.—It is a deplorable weakening of this profound meaning, when the expression is interpreted, *Ye are the teachers of religion.* Genuine knowledge implies our living in that which we know; and thus the light is represented in v. 16 as the source of good works."

Olshausen conceives that the discrepancy between St Luke's statement and St Matthew's "may be reconciled by supposing, either that St Matthew combines our Lord's previous ascent with the Sermon, omitting the mention of His subsequent descent, or else that, owing to the pressure of the people to be healed after His descent, He again retired to a highth, from which He could speak to a greater multitude.—The Sermon (he says) seems to have been one of the first public and solemn discourses of Jesus to a large mass of people:—it was intended both for the disciples and for the multitude; and was to give a general view of the doctrine of the Kingdom of God. According to St Matthew especially, it seems like a second promulgation of the Law, which only differs from that on Sinai in this, that it teaches the freest spiritual acceptation of the commandments, and, presupposing *μετάνοια*, as the effect of the Law of Moses (Rom. III. 20), along with the Law preaches Grace, which works its fulfilment. This placing of the legislation of the New Testament at the opening of our Lord's ministry was excellently calculated for the members of the Jewish theocracy, who, from Deut. XVIII. 15, expected the Messiah to be another Moses.—The new, stricter legislation is connected with the beatitudes by the supposition that the strength of the Spirit, which enables men to keep these new commandments, has been received in true repentance.—The idea of persecution implies the power of a higher life in the disciples who endure it, whereby sin is excited against them: but the same power which kindles hatred among the enemies of goodness, is the condition of their working upon receptive souls. Therefore it must be preserved and cherisht in spite of persecutions. Jesus first calls the disciples *ἅλας τῆς γῆς*. *Γῆ* here denotes mankind, with the notion of their *φθαρτὸν*, to be cured by the *ἅλας*. In the symbolical use of natural images, great importance was always attacht to salt. Pythagoras regarded it as the

type of justice. The use of it in sacrifices was also significant. Here the point of comparison between the disciples and the salt lies in its power of preserving life and averting corruption. The declaration that, without this power, salt is utterly useless, is to spur the disciples to a diligent guarding of the sacred gift committed to them.—The meaning of the second comparison is in the main the same. The world appears here as σκότος, which the children of the Kingdom are to enlighten. The disciples are the rays of Him, who Himself is *the Light*. In what follows it is not expressly stated that the lightgiving power may be lost, as was said of the salt: there is only the exhortation *to let the light shine*. But this exhortation involves the same warning;—for if we cover our light, it goes out.—From the 16th verse it is clear that the φῶς does not refer merely to doctrine and knowledge, but is to be conceived as an internal principle of life, as the source of καλὰ ἔργα,—opposed not merely to πονηρὰ, but also to νεκρὰ, those which do not spring from faith. As the mark that the good works are genuine, it is said that they must be done for the glory of God, not of man: it must be apparent in them that the man is merely the channel for the divine power flowing from him upon others."

Stier, all whose exegetical writings are full of deep Christian thought and feeling, gives an admirable exposition of the Sermon on the Mount in the first volume of his *Discourses of the Lord Jesus*. He represents our Lord as speaking from the side of a mountain to His disciples and to all the people, out of which He desired to call disciples. "This position (he says) Jesus did not choose merely for the sake of having a convenient pulpit; but the mountain here has a meaning, as the spirit of the Church witnesses from the first, by connecting the circumstance with the name of the Sermon. When the Mediator of the new Dispensation, bringing down Grace for the fulfilment of the Law, opens His mouth here to preach to us from the first of blessedness (Hebr. II. 3), one's thoughts turn involuntarily and naturally to that mount of the Law, which preacht condemnation. But it is not a second lawgiving that proceeds here from the Lord, who

from the top of Sinai spoke out of the storm and darkness, but here in His lovingkindness sits down among the children of men, that they may sit at His feet, and learn from His words (Deut. XXXIII. 2, 3). It is the fulfilment of the same unrepealed Law, that is here offered to us by Grace, and demanded from us as an acceptance of that offer (v. 17, 18). Thus the main idea of this summary introductory Sermon is plainly connected with our Lord's mysterious saying about *fulfilling all righteousness*, as well as with His first public calling of men to repent.—In the 13th verse the promises turn into a command that the gifts of grace bestowed shall exert and manifest themselves. As the danger of not persevering under persecution had just been alluded to, here we are strongly told of the indispensableness of advancing in working and bearing witness in the midst of an evil world. *Ye* who have been described,—*ye* are what Grace has made you: continue so to be cheerfully and perseveringly in conformity to your new nature.—After looking back at the prophets of former times, the Sermon turns with prophetic contemplation to the whole future destiny of the new Church, *the city set on a hill*, announces even here what comes into closer view in the 10th chapter, at the first sending out of the ambassadors of peace, and already embraces the whole *earth* and *world*, as at the end of the last chapter. But what is the distinction which our Lord, taking the primary images, prepared from the beginning for all human language, in their essential truth, to use them as elementary letters for His superhuman speech, makes between *salt* and *light*? It would be superficial to deem this a mere abstract distinction between life and knowledge. Rather is *salt* the inward essential power and virtue from which the efficacy proceeds by natural laws; *light* on the other hand is rather the utterance of the testimony contemplated by itself. Therefore the *earth* is opposed to the former, as a dead inert mass, which it is to penetrate; the *world* to the latter, as a dark region, into which the light must at least shine. The mean term between the two is *fire*: Mark IX. 49. See Ps. L. 2, 3.—The *salt* in itself is properly the power of a life in the truth, the imperishable continuance of an enduring

essence, as the principle of things, produced in them by the Almighty, and can no more corrupt into saltlessness, than light can become darkness, either in nature, or in that spiritual region, of which nature is the reflexion. Yet, inasmuch as our Lord has graciously condescended to say of those who *have salt in them* (Mark IX. 50), that they *are the salt*, as He calls the lights or lanterns *the light*, this salt may indeed become saltless, and this light in us darkness (VI. 23): that is, we may lose the salt and the light. Salt alone averts corruption, and gives a good and pleasant taste (Job VI. 6): hence it was used in sacrifices as a seasoning, as a sign of the covenant with God. Without salt the earth is corrupt before God (Gen. VI. 11); and all that live on it are filthy and corrupt, an abomination in His sight. But God gives a new salt to the corrupt, has checkt the corruption from the beginning by Grace, and will now salt the whole earth again, if she will receive it, for life, in the fulness of Grace and Truth. The instruments of this great restoration are the children of God through Christ. They are *the salt of the earth*, in that they bear God's truth livingly within them, as their *salt*, wherewith they are to salt and season everything around them.—Now if the sharply piercing truth, in acting upon human nature, which foolishly resists its healing sharpness, does not unceasingly carry on its work of piercing, but slackens and gives way to the resistance, through the indolence and unbelief of its possessors,—then the salt is again become saltless, as the history of the Church has shewn in the darkness of Romanism, and more recently in the equal darkness of Rationalism.—He who Himself is called in an absolute sense *the Light of the world*, vouchsafes also to call His disciples so, who are merely bearers and bringers of the light, lights kindled from above.—In His mouth those words become quite true, which in a human mouth would be presumptuous: the testimony and doctrine of His disciples are really to fill the world with light.—The same God, who founds and builds the heavenly city, will also kindle His lights, and place them moreover upon fitting candlesticks, each light upon its own candlestick.—The Church of the Lord is to be no hidden institution, like the heathen mysteries:

the light of the pure word and of a holy walk is to be set on high and to burn brightly in it for the dark world, which itself is, and is to become a House of God. No human ordinances or false shame and fear may place this light, which should shine out both in words and works, under a bushel. What God does not, man ought not to do; though, alas! it has often been done, but only there where God's salt and light are lost. The worst bushel which men place over God's light, is the covering of temporals, of bread and pay dealt out too richly or too sparingly for the ministry in the Church. Individually indeed the Lord will often cover over some newly kindled small light, that it may burn up quietly: he who cannot wait, and would himself mount prematurely upon the candlestick, may easily be blown out (as Bernard reminds us) by the wind of temptation. The main thing is, that the placing be also left to Him who has kindled the light: He will assuredly do it at the right time, in the right manner; for He did not kindle the light, in order that it should be hid."

This last extract is very long, though I have left out many sentences which I would gladly have inserted. But I was desirous of recommending the reader of German to become acquainted with a divine, whose writings are hardly known in England, yet, in several respects, are among the most valuable in modern German theology. A similar reason would induce me to insert some extracts from the most recent *Life of Jesus*, that by Lange, in which there is an excellent view of the Sermon on the Mount; though I cannot assent to his notion, which he has borrowed from one of Augustin's, that the Sermon in St Luke is different from that in St Matthew, and that our Lord delivered the latter,—which, as a dweller in Switzerland, Lange calls the *Kulmpredigt, sermonem in culmine*, the *Peak-Sermon*,—on the top of the mountain to the disciples, and then came down to a level place, where he preacht St Luke's Sermon, the *Staffelpredigt*, or *Terrace-Sermon*, to the multitudes. But I have already spoken of him near the beginning of this Note; and it is time to close this long list of witnesses. As I cast my eyes back over it, the thought forces itself upon me that, in spite of the indiscriminate abuse which has

been poured out so continually on modern German theology, they who desire a sound Christian interpretation of the Scriptures, bringing out their true meaning in its breadth and depth, will be much likelier to find it, if they only know where to look, in the living or recently deceast theologians of Germany, than in Aquinas or any of the Schoolmen, nay, even than in any of the Fathers. Our praters about German theology are in the habit of choosing the evil, and refusing the good; and evil there doubtless is in abundance. But there is also much good; and the part of wisdom would be to choose that: and this good is all the better and the more instructive for having had to pass through such a firy probation.

NOTE Y: p. 198.

It can hardly be requisite to enter into a discussion for the sake of proving that a great intellectual and moral superiority has been granted to Protestant Europe, above other nations, during the three centuries since the Reformation. In England at least, I conceive, there can be little difference of opinion on this score. The voice of History speaks too distinctly to need an elaborate train of arguments to bring out its meaning. Out of the degradation of Italy, out of the abject misery of poor, poor Spain, a cry sounds, a cry of wailing and of rage, the pauses of which are filled with low, hollow, indistinguishable groans, broken ever and anon by bursts of fierce and bitter laughter. They who utter this cry know not its purport, even as slaves know not the real wretchedness of their slavery. But its deep hidden purport is woe and execration against that Church which has defrauded and robbed them of the privileges purchast for them by the incarnation and sacrifice of the Son of God, which has dwarft their spirits by driving them away from the living fountain of truth, and by its bonds and blinds has checkt the free growth and expansion of their hearts and minds. The nations of the two great southern peninsulas, which have been most completely under the yoke of Rome, have been continually sinking in the intellectual scale; while England and

Germany have risen to the preeminence. Doubtless too it is owing in great measure to the pressure of Rome, that France has been so far from fulfilling the promise of her middle ages. Her proximity to Protestant Europe, and her intercourse with it, have prevented her sinking into intellectual torpour. But her preclusion from the highest and worthiest objects of human contemplation and speculation, and her knowledge of the hollowness which lay beneath the gaudy trappings of the Church, were among the chief causes which made her literature like the hissing of the serpent, the subtilest among the beasts of the field, full of sceptical insinuations and sensual allurements, and which gave it its peculiar tone of mockery and scoffing and *persiflage*, as though all things were unreal and false, except what pampered the carnal appetites, which themselves wanted every artificial provocative to arouse them out of their palled apathy. In Germany moreover it is remarkable how the great mass of intellectual power has lain among the Protestant half of the nation. Nay, the increast energy and activity which have appeared in recent times among the Romanists, have been derived mainly from their familiar acquaintance with the writings of their Protestant brethren, which Rome was unable to shackle, or have proceeded from the converts who have gone over to Rome, after their faculties had already been drawn out by their Protestant education.

There is another contrast however, on which a good deal of stress has been laid of late years. In recoiling from the self-magnifying spirit of our own times, several persons, especially among the young, have rusht into an immoderate admiration of the middle ages. Now so long as this was merely an intellectual prejudice, biassing the imagination, and directing men's studies into regions which had been too much neglected, it might serve as an uninjurious counterbalance to the manifold motives and impulses which ever foster the idolatry of the present. Still, as this prejudice was exercising a delusive influence among many of the younger members of our Church, who had drawn the most unwarranted inference, that, because the condition of Europe in the middle ages seemed to them in divers important respects preferable to what it

is now, therefore the Church of Rome in our days is better than the Church of England, I intended to introduce a few remarks into this Note for the sake of pointing out some of the gross fallacies involved in such a conclusion. But events have been advancing so rapidly, and the Romanizing infatuation has been spreading so lamentably, that, as the subject had thus become one of the deepest and most immediate practical interest, I was led to speak of it at considerable length in my Charge last year; the publication of which, I trust, will soon follow that of this volume.

NOTE Y a: p. 211: l. 23.

On the derivativeness of every human light from Him who alone has light in Himself, and who is the only absolute Light of the world, the Fathers are often eloquent. I will quote two or three passages from them. The first may come from Origen's ninth Homily on Ezekiel, § 3. "Fuerit licet justus Abraham, et justus Moses, justus unusquisque illustrium virorum, sed ad comparationem Christi non sunt justi. Lux eorum cum ejus luce composita tenebrae reperiuntur. Et quomodo lumen lucernae ad solis radios obscuratur, ut velut alia quaedam caeca materies contenebrescit, sic licet fulgeat justorum omnium lumen ante homines, non tamen fulget ante Christum. *Luceat* quippe *lumen vestrum*, non simpliciter dictum est, sed *luceat ante homines*. Ante Christum non potest lumen fulgere justorum. Ut splendor lunae et micantia coeli sidera, priusquam sol oriatur, in stationibus suis rutilant, orto vero sole absconduntur, sic lumen Ecclesiae, ut lumen lunae, priusquam oriatur lumen illud verum Solis Justitiae, resplendet, et clarum est ante homines: cum autem Christus venerit, ante eum contenebrescet. Dicitur et alibi, *Lux in tenebris lucet*. Quae est illa lux, quae lucet in tenebris? Justorum lux in tenebris lucet. In quibus tenebris? Ubi *est nobis certamen adversus rectores tenebrarum istarum* (Ephes. VI. 12). Haec qui diligentius—discusserit, non poterit inflari, videns lumen suum ad comparationem majoris luminis tenebras reputari."

Next we will take the following passage from Augustin's fourth Sermon, on the blessing of *the pure in heart*, § 6. "Si videre potes quid est veritas, quid est sapientia, quid justitia, quomodo dictum est, *Accedite ad eum et illuminamini?* Quomodo est illud lumen verum, de quo dicit Joannes, *Erat lumen verum, quod illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum?* Quomodo Joannes ipse Baptista non erat lumen verum? dicit enim Joannes Evangelista, *Non erat ille lumen, sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine.* Non solum autem Joannes Baptista verum lumen non erat; sed nec Paulus verum lumen erat, nec Petrus verum lumen erat, nec aliqui Apostoli verum lumen erant. Etenim *verum Lumen* est, *quod illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum.* Illi vero lumina erant, quia illuminabantur. Nam et oculi carnis nostrae dicuntur lumina, et unusquisque jurat *per lumina mea.* Lumina ista quid sunt? Si desit sol, si desit luna aut lucerna, certe in tenebris remanent.—Et tamen lumina sunt. Quare lumina sunt? Quia possunt lumen recipere. Etenim cum fuerit lumen illatum, lumen ipsum non sentit frons tua, nec auris tua, nec olfactus tuus, nec manus tua, nec pes tuus: sola membra in te qui vocantur oculi, sola sentiunt lumen illatum. Absente lumine tenebrantur: sed illato lumine sola illuminantur, id est, quia sola sentiunt lumen. Illuminantur quidem et caetera membra tua; sed ut videri possint, non ut videre possent. Nam lux quae oritur, vel quae infertur, omnia membra perfundit; oculos, ut videant; caetera, ut videantur. Sic omnes sancti illuminati sunt, ut viderent, et ut quod videbant praedicarent. Ideo illis dictum est, *Vos estis lumen mundi.* Sed lumen, non verum lumen. Quare? Quia *erat Lumen verum quod illuminat omnem hominem.*"

Again, in his 289th Sermon, he allegorizes the candlestick very beautifully, § 6. "Sed et Apostoli lucernae sunt diei. Nolite putare quia Joannes solus est lucerna, et Apostoli non sunt. Ait illis Dominus, *Vos estis lux mundi.* Et ne putarent quia talis lux erant, qualis dictus est lux, de quo dictum est, *Erat lumen verum, quod illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum,* continuo docuit illos veram ipsam lucem. Cum dixisset, *Vos estis lux mundi,* adjunxit et ait, *Nemo accendit lucernam, et ponit eam sub*

modio. Quod vos dixi lucem, lucernam vos dixi: nolite exsultare in superbia vestra, ne flammula extinguatur. Non vos pono sub modio; sed ut luceatis, in candelabro eritis. Quod est candelabrum lucernae? Audite candelabrum: estote lucernae, et habebitis candelabrum. Crux Christi est magnum candelabrum. Qui vult lucere, non erubescat de ligneo candelabro. Ut lucernae esse possitis, accendere vos non potuistis; ponere vos supra candelabrum non potuistis: ille glorificetur, qui vobis hoc praestitit. Audi ergo Paulum Apostolum, audi lucernam in candelabro exsultantem: *Mihi—autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi.* In candelabro glorior: si se candelabrum subtrahat, cado. *Absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo.*—Crucifigatur vobis mundus; crucifigimini mundo. Quid est hoc?—Si bona mundi non te corruperint, si mala mundi non te corruperint, crucifixus est tibi mundus, crucifixus es mundo. Gloriare in candelabro: serva, lucerna, in candelabro semper humilitatem, ut teneas splendorem: observa ne superbia extinguaris."

NOTE Y b: p. 221: l. 6.

This is noticed in the Article *De Potestate Ecclesiastica,* which closes the Confession of Augsburg, in the course of an excellent argument about ceremonies, with reference to the obligations of those who impose them, as well as of those who have to observe them. "Apostoli jusserunt abstinere a sanguine. Quis nunc observat? Neque tamen peccant, qui non observant, quia ne ipsi quidem Apostoli voluerunt onerare conscientias tali servitute, sed ad tempus prohibuerunt propter scandalum. Est enim perpetua voluntas Evangelii consideranda in decreto.—Nec potest conscientiis consuli, nisi haec aequitas servetur, ut sciamus eos (canones) sine opinione necessitatis servari.—Facile autem possent Episcopi legitimam obedientiam retinere, si non urgerent servare traditiones, quae bona conscientia servari non possunt. Fortassis initio quaedam constitutiones habuerunt probabiles causas, quae tamen posterioribus temporibus non congruunt. Apparet etiam quasdam errore

receptas esse; quare Pontificiae clementiae esset illas nunc mitigare, quia talis mutatio non labefacit Ecclesiae unitatem.—Quod si non potest impetrari ut relaxentur observationes quae sine peccato non possunt praestari, oportet nos regulam Apostolicam sequi, quae praecipit Deo magis obedire quam hominibus.—Quod si nihil remiserint, ipsi viderint quomodo Deo rationem reddituri sint, quod pertinacia sua causam schismati praebent." Yet, as has mostly been the case on such occasions, they who ought to have come forward with all the zeal of love to remove and avert the causes of schism, were obstinate in maintaining them; and thus the Church was rent, as it has been divers times since.

Coleridge in his *Remains*, II. 387, speaks of the same edict of the Council of Jerusalem. "It was right conditionally in the Apostles to forbid black puddings even to the Gentile Christians; and it was wisdom in them: but to continue the prohibition would be folly and Judaism in us. The elder Church very sensibly distinguisht episcopal from apostolic inspiration; the episcopal spirit,—that which dictated what was fit and profitable for a particular community or Church at a particular period,—from the Apostolic and catholic spirit, which dictated truth and duties of permanent and universal obligation."

NOTE Y c: p. 224: l. 28.

It cannot be necessary to cite any authorities for the sake of establishing this proposition; but, as Coleridge is wont to present laws in their universal application, so that we are led by his words to discern their bearings upon the truths of the moral and spiritual, as well as of the natural world, I will quote a few sentences from his admirable Essay on Method in the third volume of *the Friend*. "The very impulse to universalize any phenomenon involves the prior assumption of some efficient law in nature, *which in a thousand different forms is evermore one and the same*, entire in each, yet comprehending all, and incapable of being abstracted or generalized from any number of phenomena, because *it is itself presup-*

posed in each and all as their common ground and condition, and because every definition of a genus is the adequate definition of the lowest species alone, while the efficient law must contain the ground of all in all" (p. 136). "The assumed indecomponible substances of the laboratory are the symbols of elementary powers, and the exponents of a law, which, *as the root of all these powers*, the chemical philosopher—is instinctively labouring to extract. This instinct again is itself but the form in which the idea, the mental correlative of the law, first announces incipient germination in his own mind: and hence proceeds *the striving after unity of principle through all the diversity of forms*, with a feeling resembling that which accompanies our endeavours to recollect a forgotten name;—which the memory feels, but cannot find. Thus, as "the lunatic, the lover, and the poet," suggest each the others to Shakspeare's Theseus, as soon as his thoughts present him the one form of which they are but varieties; so water and flame, the diamond, the charcoal, and the mantling champagne with its ebullient sparkles, are convoked and fraternized by the theory of the chemist" (p. 140). "In order to the recognition of himself in nature, man must first learn to comprehend nature in himself, and its laws in the ground of his own existence. Then only can he reduce phenomena to principles: then only will he have achieved the method,—which alone can securely guide him to the conquest of the former; *when he has discovered in the basis of their union the necessity of their differences*, in the principle of their continuance the solution of their changes. It is the idea alone of the common centre, *of the universal law, by which all power manifests itself in opposite yet interdependent forces*,—which, enlightening enquiry,—will lead him to comprehend gradually and progressively the relation of each to the other, of each to all, and of all to each" (p. 199).

NOTE Y d: p. 225: l. 27.

The progressive individualization of the higher orders of existences is noticed by Baader, in his *Philosophical Essays*, I. p. 42. "In proportion as the systematic distribution or insulation of the functions or labours in the various orders of existences increases, in the same proportion does their unity or intensity increase. This proposition is of wide application in comparative physiology, and will help to explain the greater vital power of the more perfect animals, as well as nations, and also their increast vulnerability."

In our days the principle here stated will be pretty generally recognized, at least by such persons as have any habits of speculative thought; but not till recently, I believe, did it present itself so clearly before men's minds, as to be enunciated in the form of a distinct proposition. Many too are the errours, not only theoretical, but also practical, which have arisen in various ages from the ignorance of this law, from the notion that diversity is a thing not of kind, but of degree, and implies inferiority, and from the vain wish to assimilate things constituted to be essentially different. Thus, for instance, Schleiermacher, in his Introduction to Plato's *Republic* (p. 33), when speaking of the faulty regulations there prescribed for the education of the female sex, remarks that, "earnestly as Plato strives to dive into the depths of nature, he had never discerned how, along with the increast intensity of organic life, the organic contrast between the sexes comes out more prominently, so that in mankind it must needs be stronger than in any other creature."

On the manner in which Christianity has operated to bring out the distinctive features of individual character, no writer that I am acquainted with has spoken so frequently, or with such a living delight in the recognition of this great truth, as Neander. In one of the Essays collected in a Volume called, *The Unity and Manifoldness of Christian Life*, (*Das Eine und Mannichfaltige des christlichen Lebens*,) the very title of which expresses that truth, he prefaces some Reminiscences of Marco Antonio Flaminio with

the following remarks. "St Paul says, that in Christ *there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian,—but Christ is all, and in all:* and in another place he says, with reference to these distinctions, *Ye are all one in Christ Jesus.* In these words he describes the peculiar character of Christianity, whereby it differs essentially from all other religions, and demonstrates itself to be the universal religion, destined to renew the one image of God, defaced as it was, among all the generations of mankind. For herein we may discern that Christianity is ordained to spread through all nations, to remove the wall of separation between them, and to kindle the same divine life in them all, so that, in comparison with the higher unity establisht thereby, all the differences resulting from the peculiarities of each nation should fall into the shade. Yet, when it is thus declared that this higher unity is to predominate over everything that tends to separate mankind, it by no means follows that the peculiarities of nations are to be destroyed by Christianity, but the very contrary. As those sayings of the Apostle do not mean that Greek and Scythian and Jew were to cease to be Greek and Scythian and Jew, but only that they were to become *one in Christ,* in that Christ became *all in all,* so do they imply that each of these different national characters shall receive Christ, and be penetrated with the one divine life through Christ, in a different and peculiar manner, and that Christ shall take a different form in each. Indeed this is essentially involved in the very act of our redemption or new creation in Christ. The destruction of what proceeds from the old man of sin, whereby the original creation, such as it came from the hands of an Allholy God, was corrupted,—and this is the sole cause which produces separations and divisions,—and on the other hand the purification and restoration and perfecting of that which was establisht in the original creation,—these two acts are closely connected;—and all the effects of Christianity on the life of mankind bear witness to our Lord's declaration, and teach us to understand it aright, that He came not to destroy, but to fulfill. Everywhere the new creation is only the renewal of the old original one, and therefore cannot be in opposition to the laws

laid down therein, but must needs bring them to their right accomplishment, to a solution which is at the same time a fulfilment. Now among these laws one is, that mankind in their multiplicity, as well of different individual peculiarities in individual men, as also, on a larger scale, of different national peculiarities, designed to be the complements each of the others, shall work together for the glorifying of God, by shewing forth His image irradiating a multiplicity of forms, and for the exhibition of the Kingdom of God in the unity and manifoldness of its manifestations. What St Paul says of the spiritual gifts whereby the particular members of the Church combine to make up what is wanting in each, is also applicable to the differences between nations. *There are diversities of gifts; but there is one Spirit.* Each nation has received its peculiar post and office in the creation; and this, as all things find their fulfilment in Christ, the End of the creation, can only be discharged answerably to its purpose, when the nations through faith in the Saviour are incorporated in the Kingdom of God, and their peculiar natural gifts are appointed to their special ministry therein. Thus did Christianity manifest its efficacy from the beginning, through the attractive power which it exercised over nations the most diverse, and by which it won them over. In the very first centuries we see how the characteristic peculiarities of the Jews, Egyptians, Asiatics, Greeks, and Romans were drawn in different ways to Christianity, and workt together in preparing its course through the world, so that a new spiritual configuration might be fashioned by its creative breath. And as this was the effect produced by Christianity on its first appearance among mankind, the same effect has ever been repeated when new creations are formed through the same Spirit of the Gospel, which is ordained to be continually working a fresh regeneration of humanity. Such was the case, when out of the wreck of the enormous Roman empire new nations arose, and gradually unfolded their individuality under the influence of Christianity. Similar too was the result, when the light of the Gospel burst forth with a fresh brightness in the age of the Reformation. Then too we see how one sacred flame spread with rushing force through the largest part of

Europe, and how, along with its unity, the new Christian spiritual life displayed itself very diversely in different nations, after one fashion in Germany, after another in Switzerland, after another in England, in France, Italy, Spain, and yet was everywhere one."

Another side of this truth is brought forward by the same writer, in a dissertation on St Paul and the Church at Corinth, publisht among his *Occasional Essays* (*Gelegenheitsschriften*), p. 80. "As God sets forth His glory in the natural world by the rich multiplicity of His works, in which the unity of His divine Wisdom is manifested, thus does He also glorify Himself in the works of the new creation of grace by unity in multiplicity. The multitude of individual peculiarities implanted in nature is drawn out into still greater fulness and glory through the new creation of grace. What a variety of forms does Christ assume in the various characters of men! and yet He is the one Christ. What riches, and what a depth of spiritual feelings does the new life of grace impart to every different human soul! What a diversity of gifts, and yet but one Spirit, that gives to each man severally as He wills, and then employs him as He wills! One receives the gift whereby he is best fitted for planting, another that which fits him for watering.—When Christ is all in all, each grows up after his own peculiar manner. The one divine life which Christ bestows, takes possession of the particular nature of each individual, only purified from sin, as a vessel into which it pours itself, to assume a peculiar form therein, according to the peculiar form of the vessel. And yet no strife can arise out of this diversity; for the Spirit of Christ, reigning in all, keeps them all bound together by a higher unity. Under the ruling influence of the one Head that animates all the limbs, each helps and is the complement of the others: Eph. iv. 16. If the members are in a right union with their Head, they must also be rightly united to each other; nor can they be united to each other, unless they are in a right union with their Head. The unity of believers one with another, the unity of the whole body of Christ, is grounded on the unity of all believers with Christ, according to the blessing which our Lord calls down upon them in His highpriestly prayer, *That they may all be one,*

as Thou Father art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us. When on the other hand it is attempted to produce unity compulsorily by human contrivances, at the cost of the free expansion of diversity, the result, if the attempt succeeds in forcing a single form upon all, is a dead uniformity, the free flow and circulation of the juices of individual life being checkt; or else, if the individual life is strong enough to struggle against the yoke of an alien form, which would suppress its natural development, the end is violent contentions and schisms. Where the Spirit of God rules, the living inward unity will unfold itself in a multiplicity of forms: all contrariety arises solely from that sinful element in humanity, which the spirit of Christ is to overcome."

Such being Neander's conviction of the importance of these truths, it is natural that we should find them exprest over and over again, under one relation or other, in his *History of the Church.* For there are few chapters in the history of the Church, which would not furnish materials for illustrating the mischief of the opposite errours; so that one might have fancied the study of that history would have forced a like conviction upon every candid and thoughtful mind. But alas! historians also are wont to carry their own narrow, stiff, unbending, perking individuality along with them, not that individuality which grows up freely under the influence of Christian love, and intertwines and blends harmoniously with the individualities of others, but that which, springing out of selfishness, is shaped into isolating exclusiveness by the various modifications of self-love. Hence they are apt to look at all the events in history through the spectacles of their own prepossessions. Instead of seeking to recognize the boundless riches of God's workmanship, and of all the graces which our glorified Lord has continually poured down on His Church, their aim is oftener to bring forward whatever they can discover favorable to their own peculiar opinions, and to set this in the strongest and fairest light, while that which contravenes those opinions is thrown into the shade, or reprobated, or cast out. Of Neander's History on the other hand the characteristic excellence is, that he rejoices in acknowledging and setting forth every Christian grace, every living

expression of the truth, every form of holiness and of love. His delight in contemplating the multiform manifestations of the Spirit of Christ first led him to undertake his great work, and has enabled him to carry it on so long with unfading freshness. This too is the reason why certain persons, whose minds are crampt and pincht and pinioned by growing up under the shackles of a particular system, and who cannot conceive that any birds, except vultures and screech-owls, are to be found beyond the boundaries of their own farmyard, call him an *Eclectic*, because he dares to think that some good may be found in every form of Christianity, and would doubtless be ingenious and ingenuous enough to detect some even in them. Hereby however they betray that they are ignorant of the meaning of the term which they thus misapply to him, and that they are incapable of comprehending how Christian love delivers the intellect, as well as the heart, from the bondage of self, and enables it to recognize the workings of Christ's Spirit under forms the most heterogeneous. It would seem indeed, as though we were likely to be told ere long that the admiration of Shakspeare is a gross delusion; for that he had no fixt principles of exclusive catholic truth, no dominant infallible ideal of human nature, but was a shallow eclectic, who could not make up his own mind, who did not know that the sunshine illumines only one small spot upon earth, and who was so rank with conceit as to fancy he could "Find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, Sermons in stones, and good in everything."

NOTE Y e: p. 228: l. 15.

In his stanzas *At the grave of Burns*, Wordsworth has exprest the same idea poetically.

> True friends, though diversely inclined;
> But heart with heart and mind with mind,
> When the main fibres are entwined
> Through Nature's skill,
> May even by contraries be joined
> More closely still.

The application of this principle to the fine arts is pointed out by Coleridge in a couple of passages publisht in his *Remains*. "With regard to works in all the branches of the fine arts, I may remark that the pleasure arising from novelty must of course be allowed its due place and weight. This pleasure consists in the identity of two opposite elements, that is to say, sameness and variety. If in the midst of the variety there be not some fixt object for the attention, the unceasing succession of the variety will prevent the mind from observing the difference of the individual objects; and the only thing remaining will be the succession, which will then produce precisely the same effect as sameness. This we experience, when we let the trees or hedges pass before the fixt eye during a rapid movement in a carriage, or, on the other hand, when we suffer a file of soldiers or ranks of men in procession to go on before us without resting the eye on any one in particular. In order to derive pleasure from the occupation of the mind, the principle of unity must always be present, so that in the midst of the multeity the centripetal force be never suspended, nor the sense fatigued by the predominance of the centrifugal force. This unity in multeity I have elsewhere stated as the principle of beauty. It is equally the source of pleasure in variety, and in fact a higher term including both." 1. 229. "Suffice it that one great principle is common to all the fine arts,—a principle which probably is the condition of all consciousness, without which we should feel and imagine only by discontinuous moments, and be plants or brute animals, instead of men: I mean that ever-varying balance, or balancing, of images, notions, or feelings, conceived as in opposition to each other; in short, the perception of identity and contrariety; the least degree of which constitutes likeness, the greatest, absolute difference; but the infinite gradations between these two form all the play and all the interest of our intellectual and moral being, till it leads us to a feeling and an object more awful than it seems to me compatible with even the present subject to utter aloud, though I am most desirous to suggest it. For there alone are all things at once different and the same, there alone, as the principle of all things, does distinction exist, unaided by division:

there are will and reason, succession of time and unmoving eternity, infinite change and ineffable rest." II. 45.

Note Y f: p. 232: l. 16.

The Apostles, says Andrewes, in his second Sermon, *Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost*, "by speaking all tongues, have gathered a Church that speaketh all tongues,—a thing much tending to the glory of God. For being now converted to Christ, they send up daily to heaven so many tongues, there to praise His name, as He this day sent down to earth, to convert them withal to His truth. And indeed it was not meet one tongue only should be employed that way, as before but one was. It was too poor and slender, like the music of a monochord. Far more meet was it that many tongues, yea, that all tongues should do it; which, as a consort * of many instruments, might yield a full harmony. In which we behold the mighty work of God; that the same means of divers tongues which was the destroying of Babel, the very same is here made to work the building of Sion; that means that scattered them from the tower of confusion, the very same to reduce them to the fold of unity; that so the curse might be taken away and a blessing come in place, the confused tongues being

* In the recent Oxford edition the good old English word *consort*, which so happily expresses the combination and union of sweet sounds, and reciprocally gives and receives beauty from its association with the most perfect bonds of human fellowship, has been changed into the modern *concert*, which, I believe, was never used till the eighteenth century, was borrowed from the French and Italian, and, though of questionable origin even there, was assumed, in the prevalent estrangement, not merely from the antiquities, but even from the best ages of our language, to be the genuine form. In language, above all, do we continually see how ignorance and careless presumption, when they fancy they are correcting, are in fact corrupting. Johnson pronounces *consort*, as applied to music, to be "probably a mistake for *concert*." It never occurred to him to ask if any English writer, before the year 1700, had ever used *concert*. Whether in history, or in other branches of speculation, we get on ill, when we go backward crabwise, taking the present for our standard, and *measuring ourselves*, and all others, *by ourselves*. This practice, reprehended by St Paul, will not conduce

united into God's glory; and there being *neither speech nor language, but His praise is heard among them.*"

Note Y g: p. 234: l. 32.

There is one text in Scripture on which the advocates of a rigid uniformity are wont to lay great stress,—the closing words of the fourteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians,—*Let all things be done decently and in order: πάντα δὲ εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν γενέσθω.* But I have already remarkt that our uni-textuary divines, who construct their fabrics after the model of the inverted pyramid, are apt to pitch upon a text which slips from under them. Thus Hammond, in his attack upon the *Directory* (*Works*, Vol. I. p. 368), says, "For Uniformity in the Service (which our Liturgy labours to set up, by prescribing the manner of it, but the *Directory* hath taken away by leaving all to the chance of men's wills, which can no more be thought likely to concur in one form, than Democrituses atoms to have met together into a world of beautiful creatures, without any hand of Providence to dispose them) it hath certainly the approbation of all wise men, and command of St Paul,—in that grand place, *Let all*

to our advance in knowledge, any more than in holiness. Even Malone, though a man of much antiquarian reading, and of some learning, fancied he was correcting the text of Shakspeare, when he altered *consort*, in the Two Gentlemen of Verona, Act II. Sc. 2, into *concert*, declaring himself "convinced that *consort* was only the old spelling of *concert*," though how it could be so in every instance, were *concert* the right word, would be inexplicable. Even in the recent reprints of our Bible the same corruption has been introduced in *Ecclesiasticus* XXXII. 5. And most readers would probably deem it a mistake, if they met with the true reading of Milton's beautiful lines,

> O may we soon again renew that song,
> And keep in tune with heaven, till God ere long
> To His celestial consort us unite,
> To live with Him and sing in endless morn of light!

Nay, I should not be surprised if some lynx were to spy out lurking Romanism therein.

things be done decently and in order. Of which I conceive the clear importance to be, that all be done in the Church *according to custom and appointment*: the former implied in εὐσχημόνως (custom being the only rule of decency, and therefore the indecency of wearing long hair is proved by being against *nature*, i. e. saith Suidas, in the Scripture phrase, χρονίαν συνήθειαν, a custom of some continuance in that place,—), and the latter in plain words κατὰ τάξιν, *according to order or appointment* (for so the words literally import): and then upon these two grounds is uniformity built, and necessarily results, where all that is done in the Church is ruled by one of these, by custom or by law; which being here commanded by St Paul, is a proof of the more than lawfulness of τάξις, *prescription of ceremonies in a Church, and of uniformity therein.*" Here we have a rich and grand development out of the word, τάξις, and that too out of a misinterpretation of the word. For the expression κατὰ τάξιν in this passage is assuredly only equivalent to *with regularity*, or *in an orderly manner*. As Olshausen rightly explains this verse, "εὐσχημόνως is in contradistinction to the αἰσχρὸν for women to speak in the congregation, v. 35; and κατὰ τάξιν is in opposition to the confused practice of several speaking together, mentioned in v. 26." It is true that τάξις in every sense implies a power which τάσσει, as *order* implies an ordering, and *regularity* a ruler. But the *order* and *regularity* may be imposed from within, as it is when we speak of a person of *orderly* or *regular* habits; and so far as St Paul's words go, they merely exhort the Corinthian Church to impose this order and regularity upon itself in its assemblies for religious worship. He does not impose the τάξις, but bids them do so. Nor is the meaning of εὐσχημόνως much less exaggerated by Hammond, when, having first laid down that decency depends upon custom, he substitutes the term *by custom*, as the general principle for determining the procedure of the service. In fact, though St Paul's injunctions were grossly violated by much that took place in many of our own churches a short time ago, when a due regard was not paid to the great power of custom in shaping men's notions of εὐσχημοσύνη, they

are complied with in every Meetinghouse where the service is carried on in a decorous, orderly manner. It is odd too that Hammond did not notice how the very name of the *Directory* implied the purpose of doing what he conceived to be enjoined by the words κατὰ τάξιν. The same worthless argument is urged by the Bishops at the Savoy Conference.

Thorndike, who is far superior to Hammond as a thinker and reasoner, and who is led to cite the same words of St Paul to support a similar plea, in his Treatise *Of Religious Assemblies and the Public Service of God*, c. VI. § 21, uses them much more legitimately, as is plain from his opening the argument by saying that the rules here laid down "are clearly subordinate to the main reason of the edification of the Church, and derived from it." For when we take this great principle as our guide, we perceive, as Thorndike allows, that customs, which through changes of times, and of men's feelings and opinions, no longer conduce to edification, may be altered, and that, whether in the revival of obsolete practices, or in the introduction of novelties, this is the one end we are to set before us. With regard to the general expediency of uniformity, the grounds which Thorndike urges in behalf of it in the same work, c. X. § 87, are in the main nearly tantamount to those stated in the text. "The reason why a set order in these parts of public service is now preferred, before the disposition of the guides of Churches from time to time, is the same for which men choose to live by positive law, rather than by the will of their rulers, though, if men were as they should be, it is manifest that they might cut straighter by the thread of justice, applying right reason to the case, than ruling their proceedings by a general, that was not built upon the particular. The order might be better were it left to particular disposing; but the course of the world enforceth to presume that it would be for the worse. Besides, in ecclesiastical matters, by a set order we attain uniformity with other Churches, to help toward the unity of the whole: we avoid disputes about what is most fitting, which in matters of this probable nature must needs be endless: we avoid jealousies and umbrages upon that which is not customable." I will not stop to

touch on that which seems to me questionable in these arguments, but will merely remark that in the whole liturgical controversy, which engaged so many pens during the seventeenth century, there is one striking pervading feature, and perhaps but one; and that is the utter want of candour in each party. Each sees a host of arguments in its own favour, and a host of arguments against its opponents, but is incapable of seeing any one argument that makes for its opponents, or against itself. Thus each draws up a strong case; but they never join issue. Indeed each party might be represented under the type of a huge one-eyed Polypheme, each fixing its one eye upon opposite quarters of the horizon: or like two trains upon different rails, though they often rush by one another, they only hear each other's deafening din, but catch no distinct sound, and can never shake hands.

It may perhaps be thought that my own case is much the same, when I say that the only intelligent objection I have heard urged against the arguments in the text concerning uniformity, is, that I have not sufficiently acknowledged the importance of form, in that I merely call it expedient on account of our weakness and frailty, and on other external grounds; whereas form is the great antithesis to spirit or matter, the condition of all personality, without which we should be plunged into a chaotic Pantheism. To this objection I would reply, that it seems to me founded partly on a misapprehension of what I have said, and partly on an equivocal use of the word *form*. It is not *form*, but *uniformity*, that I have termed "expedient from our weakness and frailty, by reason of which we cannot be left to the free utterance of our own hearts and minds; and because the submission to certain general rules and restraints is a condition of social union." Now it is very true that uniformity implies forms; but a uniform is a form imposed from without by an external authority for the sake of some general social end. On the other hand that form, which the objection implies, and through the assumption of which the chaotic mass of elementary matter is transfigured into an orderly world of distinct beings, is a form which in each being is generated by the expansion of a living seminal principle from within. Now

it does not seem to me that the intensest aversion to the imposition of forms from without would necessarily involve a want of reverence for the essential form belonging to each individual. Nay, it may result from that very reverence, from the desire that the essential form should not be checkt or interfered with, but should be allowed to unfold itself freely. Were it not for our weakness and frailty, each individual being would expand, like a tree, into his appropriate form; and under the sway of Christian love all would unite harmoniously together. But as our weakness and frailty render it necessary for us to be trained and moulded by outward influences in our childhood and youth; and as it is by reason of sin that we need laws in riper years to live together in states; so do we need to be helpt and directed in our religious services, both on account of the poverty and inertness of our religious spirit, and in order that we may be able to unite in social worship.

For the sake of explaining and justifying the distinction here made between the twofold uses of the word form, I will again cite a few sentences from Coleridge's *Remains*. "Remember that there is a difference between form as proceeding, and *shape as superinduced: the latter is either the death or the imprisonment of the thing;* the former is its self-witnessing and self-effected sphere of agency:" I. p. 229. "Imagine not that I am about to oppose genius to rules.—The spirit of poetry, like all other living powers, must of necessity circumscribe itself by rules, were it only to unite power with beauty. It must embody, in order to reveal itself: but a living body is of necessity an organized one.—No work of true genius dares want its appropriate form; neither indeed is there any danger of this. As it must not, so genius cannot be lawless: for it is even this that constitutes it genius, the power of acting creatively under laws of its own origination. How then comes it that not only single Zoili, but whole nations have combined in unhesitating condemnation of our great dramatist, as a sort of African nature, rich in beautiful monsters?—*The true ground of the mistake lies in the confounding mechanical regularity with organic form. The form is mechanic, when on any given material*

we impress a predetermined form not necessarily arising out of the properties of the material: as when to a mass of wet clay we give whatever shape we wish it to retain when hardened. The organic form, on the other hand, is innate: it shapes, it develops itself from within; and the fulness of its development is one and the same with the perfection of its outward form. Such as the life is, such is the form. Nature, the prime genial artist, inexhaustible in diverse powers, is equally inexhaustible in forms: each exterior is the physiognomy of the being within, its true image reflected and thrown out from the concave mirror: and even such is the appropriate excellence of her chosen poet, of our own Shakspeare, —himself a nature humanized, a genial understanding directing self-consciously a power and an implicit wisdom deeper even than our consciousness:" II. pp. 66—68.

Now that which Coleridge here says of *mechanical form*, or *shape* as *superinduced*, in reference to poetry and art, might also be applied *mutatis mutandis* to forms as imposed from without in religion, were it not for that miserable weakness and frailty, which, as it renders rules and forms, guides and helps, indispensable for our intellectual and moral childhood, renders them no less indispensable for our spiritual childhood, so long as that childhood continues, in other words, for the great mass of mankind, nay, for all, with here and there an exception, to the end of their lives. And of the few who might dispense with them, many will rejoice to accept them, out of humility, and as shrinking from the thought of being severed in any way from their brethren, or being raised above them.

NOTE Y h: p 237: l. 2.

I know not whether this wise and profound saying,—for such one may justly term it, when one considers how few men in the course of eighteen centuries have attained even to a speculative discernment, not to speak of a practical appreciation of its truth,— is taken immediately from any Latin Father, or whether it is a

translation of the words used by Ireneus
Victor on occasion of the Paschal Contro
Bishop of Rome was about to excommun
on account of their difference with regard
feast. In this letter, as preserved by Eu
Ireneus, after speaking of sundry differe
not only concerning the day of the Pa
ing the previous fast, says: καὶ οὐδὲ
εἰρήνευσάν τε, καὶ εἰρηνεύομεν πρὸς ἀλ
τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίσ
latter words would seem to be the origi
Bacon, *Differentiae rituum commendant u*
it is very probable there may be some
the former part of the sentence the goo
truly φερώνυμος, as Eusebius remarks, s
iteration on the sweet verb akin to h
The rest of the letter, so far as it remai
teresting, shewing how in the early Chu
vailed over ceremonial differences, and ho
ences, ἐκοινώνησαν ἑαυτοῖς, — πάσης
ἐχόντων τῶν τηρούντων καὶ μὴ τηρού
perpetually since, the source of the divis
to allay, was the arbitrary usurpation of

It would be very interesting to bring
monies, in support of the principle asserte
eus, from the various ages of the Chu
merely acknowledging the right and dut
plies that what is tolerated is more or
not so criminal or injurious as to warra
force; —but recognizing that diversity is
tion of nature, and the order of God's Pro
the wonderful harmonious unity of the w
only the more set forth and glorified,—
and dull the world would be, if it were
one colour, whether as a child might sm
like gingerbread, or a quaker with drab, c

—recognizing that all these diversities are equally legitimate, equally in accordance with the will of God, provided each fulfills its own idea and purpose, and consequently that we are not to measure others by ourselves, or to compare them with ourselves, as though our own stature were the standard of perfection, but to estimate all things, so far as we exercise any judgement whatsoever, by their conformity to the will of God, as manifested whether by special revelation, or in the universal laws of being, or, on the other hand, in the structure and position and relations of each several individual;—in short, recognizing the great truths declared by St Paul in those marvellous verses, *There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit: And there are diversities of administrations, but the same Lord: And there are diversities of operations; but it is the same God, that worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit* (he continues) *is given to every man to profit withal;* to use it agreeably to God's will, and for the good of mankind, according to the faculty of doing good which each particular gift confers. I do not mean that we can expect to find many recognitions of this truth in its generality during the earlier ages of the Church. For though it is thus plainly enunciated by St Paul, it was not appropriated by the reflective understanding, and unfolded into its manifold applications, until recent times. Not till these latter years did Philosophy apprehend the idea of Unity, in its richness and fulness, and exhibit how it has expanded livingly, not merely in the outward universe, which is regarded as proceeding more immediately from the divine Creator, but in all those works also in which man has been used as the instrument for the development of the intellectual and moral life of the world, in poetry, in art, in history, in polity both civil and ecclesiastical. For a long course of ages, though the instinctive and semi-conscious genial faculties of man were acting in concurrence with the law that all life is to display itself in diversity, the reflective understanding, under the bondage of self, could scarcely entertain the notion of any other unity, than that of unicity, of which the outward manifestation is uniformity. Its conception of unity scarcely mounted beyond that of number one; and as our language so

aptly symbolizes this self-exaggerating tendency of human nature, *number one* is I. Nevertheless, as the actions and operations of men, in working out the divine plan of history, have always been regulated by laws and principles which lie higher and deeper, whether in the highths above, or in the deeps below, than those which have come to the surface of the reflective understanding, so do glimpses and flashes as it were of those higher and deeper principles and laws start forth ever and anon from the darkness, whether struck out of the mind like sparks by the concussion of practical life, or rising before it like solitary stars in the calm twilight of meditative or imaginative contemplation. Thus it was the emergency of the occasion that drew from Ireneus the declaration that the *discrepancy with regard to fasting only served to confirm the unity of faith;* which in the Latin words quoted by Bacon is generalized into *differentiae rituum commendant unitatem doctrinae.* Now when we consider the testimony which the condition of the Church bore, with voices which from age to age became louder and more tumultuous, to the absolute necessity of diversity, and to the tyrannical stifling mischief of unicity and uniformity, while on the other hand the truth had been so clearly declared over and over again by St Paul, it could hardly be otherwise than that some persons from time to time should give utterance to that truth, though it might be faintly and indistinctly, or partially, with reference to certain special relations. Such is the case, for instance, in that grand declaration with regard to the fundamental principles of the Church, which is commonly ascribed to Augustin, though I do not happen to have observed it in his writings: *In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.* Now it would be extremely interesting to collect such expressions as may be found, especially in writers anterior to the Reformation, whereby we might trace the development of the true idea of unity, as the fulness and harmony of infinite diversities. Unfortunately however I have not been sufficiently on the look out to note down such passages when they have come across me; and a search after them would occupy too much time, and would probably bring in but a scanty gleaning: for I am afraid whole cen-

turies may have past which would hardly yield a grain. Therefore I must content myself for the present with quoting the following words from Bernard's second Sermon for Septuagesima, which have been communicated to me by the kindness of an unknown correspondent from Bermuda, as a confirmation of the principles I have endeavoured to maintain with regard to unity and uniformity. "Interim spiritus sapientiae non modo unicus, sed et multiplex est; interiora quidem in unitatem solidans, sed sub judicio exteriora distinguens. Utrumque tibi in primitiva Ecclesia commendatur, quando multitudinis credentium erat cor unum, et anima una, ne volatilia scinderentur; dividebatur autem singulis prout cuique opus erat, ut animalia secarentur. Sit igitur etiam in nobis, carissimi, unitas animorum; unita sint corda diligendo unum, quaerendo unum, adhaerendo uni, et id ipsum invicem sentiendo. Sic nimirum exterior ipsa divisio et evadit periculum, et scandalum non incurrit, dum videlicet, etsi propria cuique tolerantia, propria quoque nonnunquam in terrenis agendis sententia, sed et diversa interdum dona gratiarum, nec membra omnia actum eundem videntur habere; unitas tamen interior et unanimitas ipsam quoque multiplicitatem colligat et constringit caritatis glutino et vinculo pacis."

In this, as in so many other respects, I know not who, since the days of the Apostles, has entered so fully into the mind of St Paul, as Luther. As hardly any one since St Paul has so fully recognized the paramount importance and power of faith,—so that neither of them will endure the slightest particle of errour which interferes in any way with the exclusive honour of Christ, as the Author and Finisher of our salvation,—he too, like St Paul, felt that, when this foundation was safe, everything was safe, and that all manner of things might be built upon it. He felt too, even as St Paul did, that to attach an inordinate importance to any outward act or form or rite, to look upon such things as indispensable and essential, was likely to trench upon the honour due to our only Mediator. With his views of faith he could not himself attach such weight to anything outward; and his thorough conviction was, that, with regard to all such things, we

ought to be guided by the rule of love what may tend to edification, and that what may make a weak brother offend we find him writing in July 1538 to Cl "It is my humble exhortation that y earnestly promote unanimity of doctri enough to learn, how we shall belie neighbour under the Cross, which mat understand and esteem, much less and lives: yet meanwhile they speci things, whence no profit comes, but ra doctrine." The same spirit dictated resistance to what he regarded as a cor of the Eucharist. But on the other ha as was frequently the case, with re nies, he always shews the same wisdo following passages of his letter to C 1543. "Si meo voto rem istam possir in vestra ditione de his rebus vestrum s si coeperimus omnia facere similia, et laquei, sicut sub Papatu factum: saluberrimum erit remedium contra ho dissimilitudo pulcre profuit, ut non pat huic oportere similem esse, sed sine laqu suos ritus sequeretur. Salva enim ill principali et capitali, quae est doctrina similium ceremoniarum externarum, si capitis et corporis, diversitas operum ir faciet dissensum in corpore, imo pulcr vocibus, ut in Musica."

The following passage of Hooker (E valuable on account of the authorities his argument against the necessity of u Churches. "To us this opinion seemetl We rather incline to think it a just a Church, the state whereof is free and

things it differ from other Churches, only for that it doth not judge so fit and expedient to be framed therein by the pattern of their example, as to be otherwise framed than they. That of Gregory to Leander is a charitable speech and a peaceable: *In una fide nihil officit Sanctae Ecclesiae consuetudo diversa* (Lib. I. Epist. 43). That of St Augustin to Casulanus is somewhat more particular, and toucheth what kind of ceremonies they are, wherein one Church may vary from the example of another without hurt. *Sit ergo una fides universae quae ubique dilatatur Ecclesiae, tanquam intus in membris, etiamsi ipsa fidei unitas quibusdam diversis observationibus celebratur, quibus nullo modo quod in fide verum est impeditur. Omnis enim pulcritudo Filiae Regis intrinsecus: illae autem observationes quae varie celebrantur in ejus veste intelliguntur; unde ibi dicitur, In fimbriis aureis circumamicta varietate* (Ps. XLV. 14, 15). *Sed ea quoque vestis ita diversis celebrationibus varietur, ut non adversis contentionibus dissipetur* (Lib. I. Epist. 36. § 22). Calvin goeth further. *Quantum ad ritus particulares, vigeat sane Augustini sententia, ut singulis Ecclesiis liberum sit morem suum tenere: imo interdum utile est, ne externis caeremoniis alligetur religio, aliquid esse varietatis: modo absit aemulatio, nec alii ab aliis novitate illecti diversum aliquid habere affectent. Tract. Theol.* p. 414." Hooker's argument is carried on to the same effect through the chief part of the remainder of the fourth Book.

I will close this scanty list with an extract from Milton's noble *Speech for the Liberty of unlicenst Printing.* He there talks of those who would "starch us all into a fine conformity,—doubtless a stanch and solid piece of framework as any January could freeze together!" and who cry out against schismatics and sectaries, "as if, while the temple of the Lord was building, some cutting, some squaring the marble, others hewing the cedars, there should be a sort of irrational men, who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber, ere the house of God can be built. And when every stone is laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity; it can but be contiguous in this world. Neither can every

piece of the building be of one form: nay rather, the perfection consists in this, that out of many moderate varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes, that are not vastly disproportional, arises the goodly and the graceful symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure."

NOTE Y k: p. 239: l. 25.

The principle on which our Reformers acted, is well exprest by Donne, in his 42d sermon, where he speaks of the institution of the festival of Trinity Sunday. "Which day (he says) our Church, according to that peaceful wisdom wherewithal the God of peace, of unity, and concord had inspired her, did, in the Reformation, retain and continue, out of her general religious tenderness and holy lothness to innovate anything in those matters which might be safely and without superstition continued and entertained. For our Church in the Reformation proposed not that for her end, how she might go from Rome, but how she might come to the truth; not to cast away all such things as Rome had depraved, but to purge away those depravations, and conserve the things themselves so restored to their first good use."

NOTE Y l: p. 240: l. 10.

Persons who are not familiar with the history of our Church during the eventful period between the Reformation and the Revolution, must needs be slow to believe that such dismal evils, such protracted bitter quarrels can have been occasioned by causes which to us seem so frivolous; though perhaps the events which took place a year and a half ago, may open the eyes of some to perceive that we too are as ready "greatly to find quarrel in a straw," as ever our ancestors were, or as Hamlet could wish to eb. It is well known what difficulty Cranmer and Ridley found in prevailing on Hooper to be consecrated in the episcopal

vestments: nine months past away before they succeeded, though their arguments and entreaties were backt by the strong recommendations of some of the German Divines: after all too they gained nothing more than a compromise. Yet Hooper was not a man of weak childish whimsies, but of deep, earnest piety, and masculine force of character. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth too, and those of the first two Stuarts, it was mainly by the controversy about vestments, and about a couple of ceremonial observances, that the Church was kept in a state of continued open distraction. At the Savoy Conference, the point most strenuously urged by the Presbyterian ministers was the abrogation of the necessity of wearing a surplice, of using the cross in baptism, and of kneeling in receiving the Lord's Supper: and if these three things had been conceded, not by the abolition of those practices, but merely by leaving them optional, the chief part of the Presbyterian ministers, indeed almost all, would have remained in our Church; for of course the spirit which had dictated such concessions, trifling though they were, would never have allowed of the shameful and tyrannical declaration imposed by the new Act of Uniformity.

It is true, there were principles of much deeper moment, religious and ecclesiastical, involved in the controversy. The differences however with regard to these were such as have been found in every age of the Church, and seem to result inevitably from the natural diversities of human character. That noble description of man, as a being "looking before and after," contains the harmonious union of two opposite tendencies, one or other of which is mostly found to predominate in particular individuals, at least in persons of any vigour, who do indeed look out of the present, this way or that, and during times of excitement. As in the state the aristocratic and democratic elements, the conservative and the progressive, exist side by side, the men who reverence and cleave to ancient institutions, and the men who, caring little for what is, and less for what has been, are only anxious to realize certain general principles, so has it ever been in the Church. Unless its life has been almost stifled, there has been one party in it who

may be said to have clung to the visible, another who have clung to the invisible Church,—the party of ordinances, and the party of principles,—the party of works, and the party of faith. In a healthy and tranquil state of things, the excess on either side will not be greater than is requisite for keeping up a lively pulsation of the heart. But in times of conflict, when new births are teeming and preparing, amid the struggles which accompany a revival after a period of suspended animation, the desire to carry the new principles into act is wont to come forward with overbearing force; and the past having been mixt up with so much of evil, the aspirants after the future are eager to sweep the whole of it away. Now in such times of agitation,—at all times indeed, but more especially at such,—the office of wisdom is to avoid and remove all visible, sensible symbols of division. So long as the swell is in the open sea of abstract principles, it will roll on and on, and ultimately sink exhausted upon the shore: but when a rock comes across its way, it chafes and rages and will not rest. That the three ceremonies mentioned above were the immediate cause of division, is plainly stated by the ministers in their exceptions, § XVIII. They plead for the abolition of them, "or at least for such a liberty, that those who are unsatisfied concerning their lawfulness or expediency, may not be compelled to the practice of them, or subscription to them, but may be permitted to enjoy their ministerial function, and communion with the Church, without them; the rather because these ceremonies have for above a hundred years been the fountain of manifold evils in this Church and nation, occasioning sad divisions between ministers and ministers, as also between ministers and people, exposing many orthodox, pious, and peaceable ministers to the displeasure of their rulers, casting them on the edge of the penal statutes, to the loss not only of their livings and liberties, but also of their opportunities for the service of Christ and His Church; and forcing people either to worship God in such a manner as their own consciences condemn or doubt of, or else to forsake our assemblies, as thousands have done." The touching account which Matthew Henry gives of his saintly father's scruples, especially on the point of kneeling to

receive the communion, shews how another man of deep piety and wisdom, and meek and mild withal, could feel with regard to such a rite, when the obligation of conforming to it drove him, though most reluctantly, out of our Church.

How easily party symbols may become provocatives of outrageous feuds, has been seen over and over again in history. Perhaps the two most memorable examples are the factions of the Greens and the Blues in the Roman and Constantinopolitan Circus, and our own wars of the Roses. But the disputes which were carried on in our Church for above a century about the surplice, are still sadder and more disgraceful: and though one might have thought that the progress of civilization, and the disuse of all peculiar costumes in common life, would have rendered us less sensitive and more indifferent about such things, we have seen too plainly of late, how even now they who are assembled in the house of peace, for the worship of the God of peace, may be stirred to the most indecorous and disorderly behaviour by a white robe in the pulpit, and will almost fly into schism, rather than abide the sight of it. So true to nature, as Charles Lamb has observed, is Shakspeare, when he makes Othello speak of "a malignant and a *turbaned* Turk," as though wearing a turban were the badge and climax of all evil. The same aptness of hatred and scorn to attach themselves to an outward symbol is seen in the next line but one, where he says, "I took by the throat the *circumcised* dog." Visible symbols strike the eye, which is the quickest of the senses to perceive, and the most easily irritated or excited, as the ancient poet tells us in explaining the power of dramatic representations.

NOTE Y m : p. 241 : l. 32.

Donne, living at the time when these controversies were at the highth, speaks very judiciously about them in his 34th Sermon. "Though fancies grow to be opinions, that men come to think they have reason for their opinions, and to know they have other

men on their side in their opinions, yet as long as these are but opinions of a little too much, or a little too little, in matter of ceremony and circumstance, as long as they are but deflectings and deviations upon collateral matters, no foundation shaked, no corner-stone displaced, as long as they are but preteritions, not contradictions, but omissions, not usurpations, they are not worthy of a reproof, of a conviction; and there may be more danger than profit in bringing them into an over-vehement agitation. Those men whose end is schism and sedition and destruction, are brought so near their own ends, and the accomplishment of their own desires, if they can draw other men together by the ears."

Indeed I do not well see how, when one has examined the history of these miserable dissensions, one can withhold one's assent from Coleridge's sentence (*Remains* III. 172). "If separation on account of things admitted to be indifferent, and as such justified, was criminal in those who did not think them indifferent, how doubly criminal must the imposition have been, and how tenfold criminal the perseverance in occasioning separation! how guilty the imprisoning, impoverishing, driving into wildernesses their Christian brethren for admitted indifferentials, in direct contempt of St Paul's positive command to the contrary!"

NOTE Y n: p. 243: l. 26.

Strype says, in his *Life of Parker* (B. II. c. 19), "The next year (1564) the Archbishop—entered upon a new and troublesome course, which cost him much pains and sorrow, struggling in it as long as he lived. It was his endeavour to oblige ministers to a uniformity and agreement in their attendances upon the service of God. For the Queen had taken great offense at many of the clergy, having information how remiss they were—in wearing the habits appointed for the clergy to use in time of ministration, and at other times.—She directed her letter this year—to her Archbishop, requiring him—that orders might be taken whereby all diversities and varieties among the Clergy and Laity, as breeding nothing but contention and breach of common charity,—might be

reformed and represt, and brought to one manner of uniformity throughout the realm." This very order to enforce uniformity for the promotion of unity proved the immediate cause of the dissensions which distracted our Church for a century, and terminated in the expulsion of the Presbyterians. Till then, Strype says, "neither our Archbishop, nor the rest of his brethren, were ever forward to prosecute that did vary from the appointed rites and ceremonies, but had for peace sake winkt a little at the non-observance of them.—*But upon these motions for bringing all ministers to a uniformity in rites,—great were the strivings and strugglings of the refusers. They wrote letters, made friends, marshaled up their arguments against the use of these things. And many that used these rites, disliked their imposition:* such were some of the Bishops themselves.—In the mean time (Strype continues in c. 21) the Archbishop, and his fellows of the Ecclesiastical Commission, did go on, as far as they could, to reduce the Church to one uniform order, the Queen still calling upon them so to do.—They cited many before them, conferring with them, admonishing them, and threatening their censures to those that would not comply. *But the effect did not correspond at all: but rather what they did proved the occasion to others of becoming more refractory. And whereas the habits had been the only or chief matter they boggled at, now the rest of the Churches rites began to be called in question too:* such an influence had the connivance of the Court. But now the Queen shewed herself much offended that so little had been done all this while. The Archbishop takes this occasion again to write to his friend at Court, signifying the great mischief of these delays and irresolute proceedings. He wisht that the Secretary and the rest had not stirred *istam camarinam,* or else to have set on it to some order at the beginning. For that delaying wrought daily more inconvenience, *et obfirmatiores fiunt.*—For after they espy how the game goes, *redduntur multo praefractiores.* Adding that he thought *non solum periculum verti in ritibus vestium tantummodo, sed omnium rituum in universum.* And therefore he advised that prudence would be taken. And whereas he understood it was purpost by some, probably that secretly favoured these

men, to send for some of the chief of tl
if that were all that should be done,
were *verba tantum et praeterea nihil ;*
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not one man's children. They are not, and man cannot make them so, and ought not to attempt or wish it. We are to be made one, not by being all cast into the same mould, but by being regenerated with the same Spirit, who is pleased to effect His work, as has already been hinted, not by compelling all men to speak the same language, but by the uttering of the same divine truth freely in all languages.

NOTE Y o: p. 247: l. 22.

I cannot refrain from inserting some extracts from this admirable paper. "We must for the honour of all those of either persuasion, with whom we have conferred, declare, that the professions and desires of all for the advancement of piety and true godliness are the same; their professions of zeal for the peace of the Church the same, of affection and duty to us the same; they all approve Episcopacy; they all approve a set form of Liturgy; and they all disprove and dislike the sin of sacrilege, and the alienation of the revenue of the Church: and if, upon these excellent foundations, in submission to which there is such a harmony of affections, any superstructures should be raised, to the shaking those foundations, and to the contracting and lessening the blessed gift of charity, which is a vital part of Christian religion, we shall think ourselves very unfortunate, and even suspect that we are defective in that administration of government with which God has entrusted us.

"We need not profess the high affection and esteem we have for the Church of England as it is establisht by law, the reverence to which hath supported us with God's blessing against many temptations. Nor do we think that reverence in the least diminisht by our condescensions, not peremptorily to insist on some particulars of ceremony, which, however introduced by the piety and devotion and order of former times, may not be so agreeable to the present, but may even lessen that piety and devotion, for the improvement whereof they might happily be first introduced, and consequently may well be dispenst with. And we hope this charitable compliance of ours will dispose the minds of all

men to a cheerful submission to that authority, the preservation whereof is so necessary for the unity and peace of the Church; and that they will acknowledge the support of the Episcopal authority to be the best support of religion, by being the best means to contain the minds of men within the rules of government. And they who would restrain the exercise of that holy function within the rules which were observed in the primitive times, must remember and consider that, the ecclesiastical power being in those blessed times always subordinate and subject to the civil, it was likewise proportioned to such an extent of jurisdiction, as was most agreeable to that; and as the sanctity and simplicity and resignation of that age did then refer many things to the bishops, which the policy of succeeding ages would not admit, at least did otherwise provide for, so it can be no reproach to primitive episcopacy, if, where there have been great alterations in the civil government from what was then, there have been likewise some difference and alteration in the ecclesiastical, the essence and foundation being still preserved. And upon this ground, without taking upon us to censure the government of the Church in other countries, where the government of the State is different from what it is here, or enlarging ourself upon the reasons why, whilst there was an imagination of erecting a democratical government here in the State, they should be willing to continue an aristocratical government in the Church, it shall suffice to say, that, since by the wonderful blessing of God the hearts of this whole nation are returned to an obedience to monarchic government in the State, it must be very reasonable to support that government in the Church, which is establisht by law, and with which the monarchy hath flourisht through so many ages, and which is in truth as ancient in this island as the Christian monarchy thereof, and which hath always in some respects or degrees been enlarged or restrained, as hath been thought most conducing to the peace and happiness of the kingdom. And therefore we have not the least doubt, but that the present Bishops will think the present concessions now made by us to allay the present distempers, very just and reasonable, and will very cheerfully conform themselves thereunto.

" I. We do in the first place declare our purpose and resolution is and shall be to promote the power of godliness, to encourage the exercises of religion both public and private, and to take care that the Lord's day be applied to holy exercises, without unnecessary divertisements; and that insufficient, negligent, and scandalous ministers be not permitted in the Church; and that, as the present Bishops are known to be men of great and exemplary piety in their lives,—and of great and known sufficiency of learning, so we shall take special care, by the assistance of God, to prefer no men to that office and charge, but men of learning, virtue, and piety, who may be themselves the best examples to those who are to be governed by them. And we shall expect and provide the best we can, that the Bishops be frequent preachers, and that they do very often preach themselves in some church of their Diocese, except they be hindered by sickness, or other bodily infirmities, or some other justifiable occasion, which shall not be thought justifiable, if it be frequent.

" II. Because the Dioceses, especially some of them, are thought to be of too large extent, we will appoint such a number of suffragan Bishops in every Diocese, as shall be sufficient for the due performance of their work.

" III. No Bishop shall ordain, or exercise any part of jurisdiction, which appertains to the censures of the Church, without the advice and assistance of the presbyters.—

" V. We will take care that Confirmation be rightly and solemnly performed, by the information and with the consent of the minister of the place; who shall admit none to the Lord's Supper, till they have made a credible profession of their faith, and promist obedience to the will of God; —and that all possible diligence be used for the instruction and reformation of scandalous offenders, whom the minister shall not suffer to partake of the Lord's Table, until they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented and amended their former naughty lives.—Besides, every rural dean,—together with three or four ministers of that deanery, chosen by the major part of all the ministers in the same, shall meet once in every month to receive such complaints as shall be presented to

them by the ministers or churchwardens of the respective parishes; and also to compose all such differences between party and party as shall be referred to them by way of arbitration, and to convince offenders, and reform all such things as they find amiss, by their pastoral reproofs and admonitions, if they may be so reformed; and such matters as they cannot by this pastoral and persuasive way compose and reform, are by them to be prepared for and presented to the Bishop; at which meeting any other ministers of that deanery may, if they please, be present and assist. Moreover the rural dean and his assistants are in their respective divisions to see that the children and younger sort be carefully instructed by the respective ministers of every parish in the grounds of Christian religion, and be able to give a good account of their faith and knowledge, and also of their Christian conversation conformable thereunto, before they be confirmed by the Bishop, or admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.—

"VII. We are very glad to find that all, with whom we have conferred, do in their judgements approve a Liturgy or set form of public worship to be lawful; which in our judgement for the preservation of unity and uniformity we conceive to be very necessary: and though we do esteem the Liturgy of the Church of England—to be the best we have seen,—yet, since we find some exceptions made against several things therein, we will appoint an equal number of learned divines of both persuasions to review the same, and to make such alterations as shall be thought most necessary, and some additional forms, in the Scripture phrase as near as may be, suited to the nature of the several parts of worship, and that it be left to the minister's choice to use one or other at his discretion. In the meantime,—although we do heartily wish and desire that the ministers in their several churches, because they dislike some clauses and expressions, would not totally lay aside the use of the Book of Common Prayer, but read those parts against which there can be no exception,—which would be the best instance of declining those marks of distinction, which we so much labour and desire to remove,—yet in compassion to divers of

our good subjects, who scruple the use of it as now it is, our will and pleasure is that none be punisht or troubled for not using it, until it be reviewed and effectually reformed.

" VIII. Lastly, concerning ceremonies, which have administered so much matter of difference and contention,—our present consideration and work is to gratify the private consciences of those who are grieved with the use of some ceremonies, by indulging to and dispensing with their omitting those ceremonies; not utterly to abolish any which are establisht by law,—which would be unjust, and of ill example, and to impose upon the conscience of some for the satisfaction of the conscience of others.—We shall leave all decisions and determinations of that kind, if they shall be thought necessary for a perfect and entire unity and uniformity throughout the nation, to the advice of a national synod, which shall be duly called, after a little time and a mutual conversation between persons of different persuasions hath mollified those distempers, abated those sharpnesses, and extinguisht those jealousies, which make men unfit for those consultations: and upon such advice we shall use our best endeavour that such laws may be establisht as may best provide for the peace of the Church and State. Provided that none shall be denied the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, though they do not use the gesture of kneeling in the act of receiving.

" In the mean time, out of compassion and compliance toward those who would forbear the cross in Baptism, we are content that no man shall be compelled to use the same, or suffer for not doing it. But if any parent desires to have his child christened according to the form used, and the minister will not use the sign, it shall be lawful for that parent to procure another minister to do it: and if the proper minister shall refuse to omit that ceremony of the cross, it shall be lawful for the parent, who would not have his child so baptized, to procure another minister to do it.—No man shall be compelled to bow at the name of Jesus, or suffer in any degree for not doing it, without reproaching those who out of their devotion continue that ancient ceremony of the Church.—For the use of the surplice, we are contented that all men shall be left to

their liberty to do as they think fit, without suffering in the least degree for wearing or not wearing it.

"And because some men, otherwise pious and learned, say they cannot conform to the subscription required by the canon, nor take the oath of canonical obedience, we are content, and it is our will and pleasure (so that they take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy) that they shall receive ordination, institution, &c.—without the said subscription or oath of canonical obedience; lastly, that none be judged to forfeit his benefice—so he read and declare his assent to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments comprised in the Book of Articles."

I have given these copious extracts from the King's Declaration, which has been reprinted by Dr Cardwell in his valuable collection of documents connected with the history of our Common Prayer, and the whole of which is well worth an attentive study, because they shew how, and how easily, the calamitous schism in our Church might have been averted. It may be, that, as has been supposed by others, as well as by Dr Cardwell, the whole conduct of the King in this matter was a stratagem, and that the main spring of it was his wish to obtain toleration for the Romanists: or, what is more probable perhaps, while policy combined with his habitual goodnature to render him desirous of conciliating all parties, he was no way hindered by any scruples or prejudices from conceding what seemed likely to promote the peace of the nation. It may be too, that Clarendon, as has been insinuated, was chiefly anxious to gain time, anticipating that the new Parliament would enable them to crush the Presbyterians. The manner in which he speaks of the King's Declaration, in his *Life* (I. pp. 480, 481), certainly does not imply that he attacht that importance to it, which it would have borne in the mind of a man truly wishing to accomplish its profest purpose. And when, in p. 484, he reprehends some of the Presbyterian Members of Parliament, who "brought a Bill into the House for the making that Declaration a Law," saying that their conduct herein "was suitable to their other acts of ingenuity, to keep the Church for ever

under the same indulgence, and without any settlement," though his objection is perfectly valid with regard to the form of such a proceeding, yet the Presbyterian members were assuredly entitled to assume that the principles laid down in the Declaration were designed by the Crown to be the ground of the settlement. Nay, if they who issued the Declaration, did so, foreseeing that the indulgences granted in it would soon be withdrawn, and themselves determined to uphold a line of rigid policy in direct opposition to it, I know not how one can acquit them of having committed a mere fraud. Yet, when we come to the discussions about the Act of Uniformity, we find Clarendon speaking thus (*Life*, II. p. 121), "It is an unhappy policy, and always unhappily applied, to imagine that that classis of men can be recovered and reconciled by partial concessions, or granting less than they demand. And if all were granted, they would have more to ask, somewhat as a security for the enjoyment of what is granted, that shall preserve their power, and shake the whole frame of the government. Their faction is their religion: nor are those combinations ever entered into upon real and substantial motives of conscience, how erroneous soever, but consist of many glutinous materials, of will, and humour, and folly, and knavery, and ambition, and malice, which make men cling inseparably together, till they have satisfaction in all their pretenses, or till they are absolutely broken and subdued, which may always be more easily done than the other." The holder of such opinions was much too shallow a statesman, had taken much too perverse a view of human nature, to have been really honest and sincere when he drew up the Declaration for the King. He thought he was acting wisely by feigning and dissembling and deceiving: he knew not how infinitely greater would have been the wisdom of truth and frankness and generous confidence. But the power and majesty of truth were feebly recognized in that age, even in the land of Milton. The tradition of a hundred generations had connected wisdom with the crooked path of the serpent. It was thought too then, as it continued to be long after, that the ideal of heroic statesmanship was to be sought among the Roman patricians, and that the office

of those whom the waves of the Past have borne to the head of the Present is to resist and stave off the onrush of the Future. Doubtless Clarendon would have talkt, with unaffected admiration, of the blood of the martyrs as being the seed of the Church. He would have recognized how the impotence of man's attempts to suppress and stifle the truth was exemplified at the Reformation. He would have moralized on the blindness and perversity of men who asserted that such "combinations," as those of the early Christians, and of the Reformers, were never "entered into upon real and substantial motives of conscience, but consisted of many glutinous materials, of will, and humour, and folly, and knavery, and ambition, and malice, which made them cling inseparably together." He may perhaps have had sufficient knowledge of history, and of human nature, to declare that such motives never had made, and never could make men cling inseparably together for a continuance; whereas those whom conscience unites, will hold out for generation after generation, even under the fiercest pressure of persecution. But so it is: when we come to the trial of action, our maxims and reflexions fail us: our prejudices hoodwink us; some furtive passion steals away the crutches, with the help of which we had been wont to walk in fancied security: and we perpetually fall into the very errours and faults, which we have seen through and exposed in others. In this instance it is indeed a depressing thought, if the most healing measure ever broacht in the history of our Church was a mere tissue of trickery and falsehood.*

* The exaggerated estimation of Clarendon's writings has been exceedingly hurtful to the English gentry ever since, from fostering partial and delusive views concerning the most momentous and critical period in our history. Our admiration of the historian leads us to forget that he is a partisan, and that he does not write *sine ira et studio*, but rather *cum ira et studio, quorum causas prope habebat*. In no part, however, are the misrepresentations, into which his prepossessions lead him, grosser than in the account of the matters connected with the Revision of the Liturgy, and the Act of Uniformity, vol. ii. pp. 118—152. He says, "The Bishops had spent the vacation in making such alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, as they thought would make it more grateful to the dissenting brethren" (p. 118). He complains that "the alterations which were made to

But let us turn away for a while to a man of a different stamp. Baxter, in his *Life*, gives a very interesting account of the discussions which preceded the issuing of the Declaration, as well as of the impression it produced. We there find the original draft of it, as it was laid before the Presbyterian divines previously to its publication; and when we compare the two forms, and see what deference was paid to the alterations which they recommended, and how it was improved by them, we are led to augur hopefully of the conciliatory spirit which such concessions seem to imply. With regard to the effect produced by its publication, I will quote Baxter's words (p. 279). "Two or three days after, I met the King's Declaration cried about the streets, and I presently stept into a house to read it; and seeing the word *consent* put in about Confirmation and Sacrament, though not as to jurisdiction, and seeing the *pastoral persuasive power* of governing left to all the ministers with the Rural Dean, and some more amendments, I wondered at it how it came to pass, but was exceeding glad of it, as perceiving that now the terms were, though not such as we desired, yet such as any sober honest minister might submit to: and I was presently resolved to do my best to persuade all, according to my interest and opportunity, to conform according to the terms of this Declaration, and cheerfully to promote the concord of the Church, and brotherly love, which this concord doth bespeak.—I was going to the Lord Chancellor, when I met the King's Declaration in the street; and I was so much pleased

please them did not reduce one of them to the obedience of the Church" (p. 120). Yet no alteration of the slightest moment had been made in deference to their wishes: all their requests had been summarily, and almost contemptuously rejected: and some of the changes seemed to have been introduced in wanton insolence, for the sake of rendering the Liturgy more offensive to them. In p. 150 Clarendon says, he never thought the Bishops "could be blamed for their severity against those ministers, who were surely the proudest malefactors, and the most incapable of being gently treated, of any men living." And he at length becomes so careless even about the simplest numerical truth, as to assert of the ministers who were ejected by the Act of Uniformity, that "the number was very small, and of very weak and inconsiderable men, that continued refractory, and received no charge in the Church" (p. 151).

with it, that, having told him why I was so earnest to have it suited to the desired end, I gave him hearty thanks for the additions, and told him that, if the Liturgy may be but altered as the Declaration promiseth, and this may be settled and continued to us by a law, and not reverst, I should take it to be my duty to do my best to procure the full consent of others, and promote our happy concord on these terms, and should rejoice to see the day that factions and parties may all be swallowed up in unity, and contentions turned to brotherly love."

It was on this occasion, he tells us, that Clarendon "began to offer him a bishopric." The beautiful letter in which he declines this offer, proves so strongly what good might have been effected, if the course markt out in the Declaration had been persisted in, that I will insert the chief part of it.—"My Lord, Your great favour and condescension encourages me to give you more of my sense of the business which your Lordship was pleased to propound. I was, till I saw the Declaration, much dejected, and resolved against a bishopric as unlawful. But finding there more than on Octob. 22 his Majesty granted us,—in the Pastors consent, &c. the Rural Dean with the whole ministry enabled to exercise as much persuasive pastoral power as I could desire (who believe the Church hath no other kind of power, unless communicated from the magistrate), subscription abated in the universities, &c. —and finding such happy concessions in the great point of parochial power and discipline, and in the liturgy and ceremonies, &c., my soul rejoiced in thankfulness to God and His instruments; and my conscience presently told me it was my duty to do my best with myself and others, as far as I had interest and opportunity, to suppress all sinful discontents, and, having competent materials now put into my hands, without which I could have done nothing, to persuade all my brethren to thankfulness and obedient submission to the Government. And being raised to some joyful hopes of seeing the beginnings of a happy union, I shall crave your Lordship's pardon for presuming to tell you what further endeavours will be necessary to accomplish it: 1. If your Lordship will endeavour to get this Declaration pass into an Act. 2. If you will speedily procure a Commission to the persons that are

(equally) to be deputed to that work, to review the Common Prayerbook according to the Declaration. 3. If you will further effectually the restoration of able, faithful ministers, who have and will have great interest in the sober part of the people, to a settled station of service in the Church, who are lately removed. 4. If you will open some way for the ejection of the insufficient, scandalous, and unable. 5. If you will put as many of our persuasion as you can into bishoprics, if it may be, more than three. 6. If you will desire the bishops to place some of them in inferior places of trust, especially Rural Deaneries, which is a station suitable to us, in that it hath no salary or maintenance, nor coercive power, but that simple, pastoral, persuasive power, which we desire. This much will set us all in joint. And for my own part, I hope by letters this very week to disperse the seeds of satisfaction into many countries of England. But my conscience commanding me to make this my very work and business,—unless the things granted should be reverst, which God forbid!—I must profess to your Lordship that I am utterly against accepting of a bishopric,—as because I am conscious that it will overmatch my sufficiency, and affright me with the remembrance of my account for so great an undertaking, &c. —so especially because it will very much disable me from an effectual promoting of the Churches peace. As men will question all my argumentations and persuasions, when they see me in the dignity which I plead for, but will take me to speak my conscience impartially, when I am but as one of them; so I must profess to your Lordship that it will stop my own mouth, so that I cannot for shame speak half so freely, as now I can, and will if God enable me, for obedience and peace, while I know that the hearers are thinking I am pleading for myself. Therefore I humbly crave, 1. that your Lordship will put some able man of our persuasion into the place which you intend me:—2. that you will believe that I as thankfully acknowledge your Lordship's favour, as if I were by it possest of a bishopric. And if your Lordship continue in those intentions, I shall thankfully accept it in any other state or relation that may further my service to the Church and to his Majesty. But I desire for the forementioned reasons that it may

be no cathedral relation. And whereas the Vicar of the parish where I have lived will not resign, but accept me only as his Curate, if your Lordship would procure him some prebendary or other place of competent profit, (for I dare not motion him to any pastoral charge, or place that requireth preaching), that so he might resign that vicarage to me without his loss,—for the sake of that town of Kidderminster, I should take it as a very great favour. But if there be any great inconvenience or difficulties in the way, I can well be content to be his Curate. I crave your Lordship's pardon of this trouble, which your own condescension hath drawn upon you, and remain your Lordship's much obliged servant,

"RICH. BAXTER."

After writing this letter, which so exemplarily combines the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove, and displays such true Christian love and zeal and humility, Baxter prevailed upon a large body of the London ministers to send up an address of cordial thankfulness for the Declaration. For a moment it seemed as though the wounds whereby our Church had been so wofully torn, were about to be healed. But the prospect soon becomes gloomier: a few months pass away, and all hope vanishes: and within two years from the issuing of the Declaration the Parliament and Convocation have enacted that the Church of England shall be rent by an irretrievable schism. With whom the main guilt of this act rests, we are hardly qualified to pronounce. That a large portion lies on Sheldon and the other bishops who directed the counsels of the Convocation and Church, is very certain. If the scheme propounded in the King's Declaration had been acted upon, the vigour, efficacy, and discipline of our Church would have been greatly improved; divers things of little or no moment in themselves, but which have often prest painfully on tender consciences, would have been altered; yet nothing would have been lost or changed, which the most fervent lover of our Liturgy would have had any right to deplore. Dr Cardwell indeed says, that, "with the exception of the point as to the superior order of Episcopacy, this paper (the Declaration) seems to have conceded all the urgent demands of the Presbyterians, as to the sanctification of the Lord's day, the admission to

the Lord's Supper, the rite of confirmation, the limitation of episcopal jurisdiction, the appointment of suffragans, the non-requirement of oaths and subscriptions, the discretionary use of the Liturgy, and the non-observance of the prescribed ceremonies." Few persons however, I conceive, will doubt, that on most of these points the regulations recommended in the Declaration would have been beneficial for strengthening the hands of our ministry, and for the building up of our people in faith and holiness. And if any one would break the peace of the Church for the sake of imposing a mere formal observance on his Christian brethren, whose conscience forbids them to comply with it, let him be anathema. The rule laid down in the Declaration is clearly the right one. The State itself has long since recognized the principle in dispensing with oaths from Quakers; and shall the Church trample on that Christian freedom, which even the State allows of? As to "the discretionary use of the Liturgy," it was only to be provisional, until the Liturgy had been revised: else this would certainly have presented a serious difficulty. But, had the revision of the Liturgy been conducted in a right spirit, in the same spirit which would seem to have dictated the King's Declaration, this difficulty would easily have been overcome. The Bishops however never appear to have had a wish, or even a thought, about keeping their brethren within the Church. They were elated with their triumph, and cared for little except how to avenge themselves upon their adversaries. The measures which the Presbyterians had urged for increasing the moral efficacy of the Church, and for the bettering of godly discipline, they threw overboard. They had no time to think of such things: they wanted to indulge their rancour, and to gratify their morbid craving after uniformity. Thus did Uniformity bring forth its congenial Unity, by splitting Israel in twain, by setting Judah against Ephraim, and Ephraim against Judah.

Note Y p: p. 254: l. 20.

For instance, in Barlow's account of the Conference at Hampton Court, we read, among other like, or still worse samples of the

manner in which such a discussion ought not to be conducted, that "Master Knewstubs took exceptions to the cross in Baptism, being in number two: first, the offense of weak brethren, grounded upon the words of St Paul (Rom. XIV. 1 Cor. VIII.), viz. 'the consciences of the weak not to be offended': which places his excellent Majesty answered most acutely, beginning with that general rule of the Fathers, *Distingue tempora, et concordabunt Scripturae;* shewing here the difference of those times and ours, then a Church not fully planted nor settled, but ours long establisht and flourishing; then Christians newly called from Paganism, and not thoroughly grounded, which is not the case of this Church, seeing that heathenish doctrine for many years hath been hence abandoned. Secondly, with a question unanswerable, asking them how long they would be weak? whether forty-five years were not sufficient for them to grow strong? Thirdly, who they were, pretended this weakness? for we, saith the King, require not now subscription of laics and idiots, but preachers and ministers, who are not still, I trow, to be fed with milk, but are enabled to feed others. Fourthly, that it was to be doubted some of them were strong enough, if not head-strong; and howsoever they in this case pretended weakness, yet some, in whose behalf they now spake, thought themselves able to teach him and all the bishops of the land." See Cardwell's *History of Conferences—connected with the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 196.

Fuller says, with his usual wit, that some of the Nonconformists complained "that this Conference is partially set forth only by Dr Barlow,—their profest adversary, to the great disadvantage of their divines. And when the Israelites go down to the Philistines, to whet all their iron tools, no wonder if they set a sharp edge on their own, and a blunt one on their enemies weapons." This, which is ever the case, was doubtless eminently so here; yet we need nothing more than this partial account to acquit the Puritans for not being convinced by the cuts and slashes which they had to endure. It would have been honorable to the Bishops, if any one of them had remonstrated against the overbearing coarseness with which the King treated their adversaries: but they seem

to have thought solely of the victory they were gaining, by means of their royal champion. In the passage just cited his replies, however sharp they may be, have neither the cogency of love nor of truth: for the difference of times no way affects St Paul's precepts. We are commanded to condescend to a weak brother, not because his weakness manifested itself with regard to meats offered to idols, but because he was weak, and because Christ had died for him: and these motives ought to have the selfsame power in the seventeenth century, or in the nineteenth, as in the first. Indeed the substance of the scruples was the very same; inasmuch as the strong aversion to the use of the Cross in Baptism arose from its connexion with the idolatries of the Romish worship. As to the King's question, which Barlow calls "unanswerable," it is a mere confusion of terms. *Weakness*, in St Paul's sense, does not arise from youth, and often will not pass away with the increase of years. It proceeds from a peculiar sensitiveness of conscience, which life will often dull,—and happy are they in whom it does not! — or which, by a kind and judicious training, may be rendered less anxious and timid: but who had ever tried to apply such a remedy? At all events, in whatsoever it may manifest itself, and at whatsoever age, if it be sincere, it will be treated with gentleness and delicacy, and held in honour and reverence, by those who have the spirit of Christ. On the King's third reply it is sufficient to observe, that, though subscription was required only from ministers, every parent who brought a child to the font, and every sponsor, was concerned in the manner in which Baptism was to be administered.

It might seem idle to say so much on such sophisms belonging to the history of former centuries; but that, gross as they are, they were deemed availing by the governors of our Church to justify them in a line of conduct, which could hardly do otherwise than perpetuate schism: and sophisms of this kind are handed down by party-spirit from generation to generation. For they who profess to recognize the authority of God's word, yet cannot bring themselves to submit to its dictates, are reduced to the necessity of evading it, when it is urged against them: and then every excuse,

however stale, serves their turn. Of course the above-mentioned passages of St Paul have always been appealed to in discussions with those who have been contending for strict uniformity, or for the obligatoriness of any establisht ceremonies, whatever prepossessions might be entertained against them; and so they were again brought forward at the Savoy Conference. Nor did the Bishops succeed better than King James in their reply. "The command (they argue) for decent ceremonies may still continue in the Church,—for all the exceptions taken against them by sundry learned, pious, and orthodox persons, who have judged them, they say, unwarrantable. And if laws may be abrogated as soon as those that list not to obey will except against them, the world must run into confusion. But those that except are *weak brethren*, whom by Christ's precept and example we must not offend. If by *weak* we understand *ignorant*, they would take it ill to be so accounted; and it is their own fault if they be, there having been much written as may satisfy any that have a mind to be satisfied. And as King James of blessed memory said at Hampton Court, *If after so many years preaching of the Gospel there be any yet unsatisfied, I doubt it proceeds rather out of stubbornness of opinion, than out of tenderness of conscience.* If by tenderness of conscience they mean a fearfulness to sin, this would make them most easy to be satisfied, because most fearful to disobey superiors. But suppose there be any so scrupulous, as not satisfied with what hath been written, the Church may still without sin urge her command for these decent ceremonies, and not be guilty of offending her weak brother; for since the scandal is taken by him, not given by her, it is he that by vain scrupulosity offends himself, and lays the stumbling-block in his own way. The case of St Paul, not eating of flesh, if it offended his brother, is nothing to the purpose; who there speaks of things not commanded either by God or by His Church, neither having in them anything of decency, or significancy to serve in the Church. St Paul would deny himself his own liberty, rather than offend his brother; but if any man breaks a just law or custom of the Church, he brands him for a lover of schism and sedition: 1 Cor.

xi. 16. That these ceremonies have occasioned many divisions is no more fault of theirs, than it was of the Gospel that the preaching of it occasioned strife betwixt father and son, &c. The true cause of those divisions is the cause of ours, which, St James tells us, is lust, and inordinate desires of honours or wealth, or licentiousness, or the like." Cardwell, pp. 348, 349.

One cannnot well repress one's indignation against such logical juggling in an assembly of divines convened for the pacification of a Church, which had been miserably torn by divisions and distractions for nearly a century. After these distractions had lasted ninety-six years,—reckoning from the first attempt to enforce uniformity in obedience to Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions in 1564, — the bishops gravely urge, as a reason for retaining the very observances which during the whole of that period had been a chief ground of division, that, "If laws may be abrogated *as soon as those that list not to obey will except against them*, the world must run into confusion." This proposition, as so coucht, is true; but in its application here it involves two egregious fallacies. For its whole force rests on the description given of the objecters, as *those that list not to obey*, and on the supposition that the laws are to be abrogated *as soon as* these objecters *except against them*. Turn this double falsehood into the plain, notorious truth, and how will the proposition stand? If laws are not to be abrogated, or at least modified, when a large part of the Church, containing a great proportion of its most exemplary, zealous, devoted ministers, for generation after generation, have complained bitterly, during more than a century,—for the complaints had begun in Edward the Sixth's time,—that their consciences are grievously pained and wounded by them, and when the sincerity and intensity of the feelings which have prompted these complaints have been evinced in every possible way,—when moreover every attempt to enforce those laws has led to calamitous dissensions, which terminated at length in the temporary overthrow of the national Church,—if laws are not to be abrogated, or at least modified, when we have all these proofs that the consciences of good and pious and holy men through successive generations revolt against

them, *the world must run into confusion.* Or how many centuries of reluctance are requisite, to keep the modification of a law from being precipitate, if one is not enough? The next rejoinder, to the plea that we should be careful not to offend weak brethren, —"If by weak we understand ignorant, they would take it ill to be so accounted,"—is a piece of unseemly impertinence, which common good breeding should have stopt, and a gross sophism to boot: for the objecters were not speaking in their own persons merely, but as the representatives of a large body in the Church; and this would of course embrace a multitude of weak and simple brethren, whom the pride of learning might despise as ignorant. But, say the Bishops, "it is their own fault if they be ignorant, there having been much written as may satisfy any that have a mind to be satisfied." This is the true spirit of insolent dogmatism: *We have proved to the satisfaction of every honest man, that we are right, and that you are wrong; and therefore, if you are not convinced, it must be owing to your own perversity.* When a man's shot is exhausted, he will try to terrify his adversary by firing off powder. The retort that "tenderness of conscience would make them most easy to be satisfied, because most fearful to disobey superiors," would have been hailed with delight by the sanhedrim, as an answer to the declaration of the Apostles that they *ought to obey God rather than men*, and would have supplied them with a welcome excuse for rejecting the advice of Gamaliel. Besides whatever weight might be due to such an argument in the case of an individual who refused to comply with the ordinances of the Church, it was quite out of place when the very purpose of the Conference was, or ought to have been, to settle what ordinances, in the existing state of affairs and of general feeling, were most expedient for promoting piety and peace. Again, how utterly at variance is the remark about "scrupulosity," —the empty quibble that the offense is "taken, not given,"—with the spirit of Him who would have come into the wilderness to seek after the one lost sheep! how utterly at variance with the exhortation and practice of St Paul! For what St Paul says about not eating flesh, if it make a brother to offend, *is to the purpose,*

and cogently so. In the distinction drawn with regard to the case spoken of by St Paul, it is left out of sight that he is not writing merely on the behaviour of individuals toward each other, but laying down precepts, or rather principles, for the guidance of the Corinthian Church, in all analogous cases; and further, that the principles which are to determine the conduct of each Christian toward his brother, ought also, with occasional slight modifications, to regulate the conduct of Christian communities. Collectively, no less than individually, are Christians called to exercise gentleness, meekness, patience, forbearance, and every form of love. Indeed that wonderful act of divine humility and glory, when Jesus washt the feet of the disciples, would seem to have been especially intended as an example for the rulers of the Church in all ages, under a prescience of the temptations which would continually beset them, to forget that they were servants, and to fancy that, like *the kings of the Gentiles*, they were to *exercise lordship and authority*. And what can one say, when it is unblushingly asserted concerning that large body of faithful, zealous, holy men, who were to be found among the Puritans, that "the true cause of the divisions was lust and inordinate desires of honours or wealth, or licentiousness, or the like;" and when the disputes occasioned by the enforcing of a few ceremonial observances, trifling in themselves, but which had become odious from their association with the idolatrous corruptions of Rome, are compared to the strife occasioned by the first sending forth of the sword of the Gospel to cleave through that thick coagulate mass of errour and sin, wherewith the whole world was overspread, and to divide the light from the darkness by an almost creative act? We need to call to mind the calamities which our Church had been enduring for the preceding twenty years, before we can find anything even like a human excuse for such language, which, in a conference between bodies of laymen selected for a similar negociation, self-respect and the decencies of social intercourse would have prevented. But when one remembers what illustrious names are to be found among the episcopal divines at the Conference, one can only mourn over the miserable infirmities of human nature, even

in its best estate, and burn with a still more unrelenting hatred against that party-spirit, whereby when men are enslaved, the severest lessons of adversity avail not to make them wise and just and true. So utterly was the whole idea and purpose of Christ's Church cast out of mind, that there is hardly an indication that any one of the episcopal divines ever bethought himself of the duty of endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. They do not even seem to have had a notion that peace was a thing to be desired in the Church, or schism to be deprecated. They do not seem to have had a wish to retain the Presbyterians in the Church, but rather to drive them out, so that they might lord it therein at will. Even the scanty concessions which had been yielded at the Conference, were most of them retracted at the revision of the Liturgy; and the whole work was consummated by the introduction of Bel and the Dragon into the Calendar, a most wanton reckless act of overt defiance to the Presbyterians.

Thorndike, it is true, in his Discourse *Of Religious Assemblies and the Public Service of God* (c. IX), interprets the passages of St Paul above referred to in much the same way in which they are interpreted at the two Conferences: and Thorndike is always ingenious. But when ingenuity is paired with strong prejudices or prepossessions in behalf of any particular opinions, its operations are often to draw lines of circumvallation around those opinions, whereby to keep out the truth, and to avoid its direct onset by skilful marches and countermarches. Thus, with a view of reconciling two sets of passages in St Paul,—one, in which he shews and recommends indulgence to weak brethren, such as Acts XVI. 3. XXI. 26; Rom. XIV. 5—13,—and the other in which he strongly condemns the imposition of particular observances, as in Gal. IV. 10, 11; Col. II. 8, 16, 20,—Thorndike says, "this difference in the Apostle's practice and doctrine must needs proceed from the difference of persons they had to do with. The one, like men that were new come out of the dark, could not look right upon the light of that freedom which the Gospel estateth, and not satisfied of the right of Christians for their particular practice, made a conscience

of days and meats according to their law. The other, renouncing their freedom, and in love with their own servitude, took upon them to dogmatize and maintain the necessity of such observations." Yet, if we examine the passages of St Paul, we find that they are thoroughly consistent, and that they enounce the very same principle in different relations. The difference too lies rather in the character of the observances, than in the persons. Regarding all such outward things as wholly unessential and indifferent, he condemns them when they are imposed as obligatory and essential, but is indulgent to those who cling to them through weakness and tenderness of conscience, but who did not think of exacting them from others. In this, as in so many instances, Luther's conduct is the best illustrative commentary on St Paul. The words, "like men that were new come out of the dark," are foisted in by Thorndike for the sake of making out that St Paul's precepts only bore on the early ages of the Church: but, as I have said already, this is a mere evasion. Besides, even if we were to admit that limiting clause, it would not have operated to cancel the obligation of indulgence to the Puritans. For it was their having recently "come out of the dark" of Romanism, that at first made their consciences weak and tender: and how much had been done by the Church of Rome, both in England and on the Continent, since the accession of Elizabeth, to keep up the irritation and soreness and indignation and hatred of good men! Thorndike indeed says that the opposers of ceremonies "are not the weak, but the strong, not the doubtful, but the erroneous, weak in reason, but strong in will, or, as it was once well said, *head-strong*;" evidently referring to what James said at the Hampton Court Conference. Such a fine thing is it to have a king on one's side in a theological disputation, and all the better, if the king is a bully.

NOTE Y q: p. 272 : l. 20.

The same train of thought with regard to the primary principle of Unity, its modes of manifestation, and the hindrances by which

it is interrupted and disturbed, has been followed out recently by Mr Gladstone in the following passage of his Treatise on *the State in its Relations to the Church*. "The universe everywhere bears testimony to oneness of life and action, to absolute and invariable dependence on a centre, as the characteristic and the law of its nature, and therefore also the condition of its well-being.—It was because this idea of oneness of life, and of a paramount sovereinty in the world, had a ground in our human consciousness, that some have evaded the truth by that perversion, which absorbs the whole system into the centre, and deifies every particle of matter. It was perhaps on the same account, that the schemes of polytheism, however inconsistent and defaced, have ever retained the notion of some kind of supremacy or superiority in some one of their idols. From this cardinal idea of unity, as the fundamental law of beauty and of well-being to creation, let us commence. It needs not to travel back into the region of deeper mystery; the history of our own race affords matter sufficient for our instruction. The origin of evil in this world of ours was the infraction of the establisht rule of reference to a supreme and single will. Our first parents were not content to derive, from a source that lay out of themselves, the ultimate ground and reason, and the definitive criterion of their acts. They would seek for themselves another image of good; they would entertain it in the mind under a different conception: they would be the judges of its nature, and would not have God to be the judge for them. One act disorganized the earth and all its moral destinies. It constituted as many new centres, as many rebellious and divided systems of action, as there should be human beings; atomic centres of limited and petty influence, but without subordination to Him from whom they had derived even the power to rise in revolt against Him. Nay, even more. So long as man was obedient to God, the whole being of man was obedient to His controlling faculties; but when he ceast to be the servant of his Lord, he ceast also to be the master of himself. Nor has he ever regained, nor can he recover that self-mastery, that inward consent and harmony of all his faculties in purpose and in action, which is essential to his peace.

until he has once again received and enthroned over his whole heart, to reign there without reserve, the Divine will so madly repudiated.—Thus therefore in the midst of God's fair creation, was there planted, wherever there stood a man, a perpetually prolific principle of derangement, of separate, self-centred action, spent ineffectually upon objects that did not enter into the design of the universe, nor contribute, unless by opposition and revulsion, to the fulfilment of its appointed work. The consequences of this rebellion, had they been uncontrolled, must have been, as it would seem, the continual growth of that self-worship, which was established at the fall, until at length every vestige of truth and love had been destroyed, and earth had fully reacht to the riper wickedness of hell. While however it pleased the mercy of God to design a provision for the redemption of mankind by His Son, to be accomplisht when the fulness of time should have come, so He likewise ordained certain conditions of the human existence, which, as intermediate expedients, and instruments of a secondary discipline, should both check the progress of selfishness, so far at least as to prevent the disease from arriving at its crisis, by establishing a counteracting principle, and should likewise prepare men to recognize the higher truths taught in Divine revelation, and supply them with real though partial approximations to the true law of their being. These were various in shape; but their pervading character was the same; it was that of a κοινωνία, a common life: a common life in the family, in the tribe, in the nation, and in each of the relations which each of these contain, was, apart from direct manifestations of the Divine will, the grand counteractor of the disorganizing agency of the law of self-worship, and prevented it (as it seems) from realizing all those extremes to which it naturally tended. Even to the brute creation was extended a softening influence by means of this principle of intercommunity. But to mankind it was invaluable. The records of ancient history too plainly testify, that the ordinary and habitual relation of man to man, when independent of any form of positive affinity or fellowship, was one of hostility. The charities of life ranged within the limits which were thus

described: the rights of hospitality might indeed create reciprocal obligations between individuals who were personally strange to one another; but they always had reference to community of race or of nation, or to some specific acts, as their basis; to one or other of those forms of common life, which I have designated." Vol. I. pp. 46—51.

The line of argument in this passage is so like that in my Sermon, and there is such a singular coincidence in several of the illustrations, that, when I was reading the last edition of Mr Gladstone's book, after the Sermon had been printed, I fancied at first that some unconscious reminiscence must have been working in my mind: nor was I convinced of the contrary, until I found that this passage is not in Mr Gladstone's first edition, and that my Sermon had been preacht before the publication of his fourth edition, in which it was inserted. This may serve in some measure as a warning against the common proneness to bring forward charges of plagiarism. A number of examples of similar coincidences might easily be collected from writers belonging to the same school in various ages of literature, for instance, from our Caroline divines, from the Puritans, from the Scotch metaphysicians of the last century, from German writers of the Kantian, or of the Schellingian, or of the Hegelian school: and though my mind has in many respects been trained in different schools from Mr Gladstone's, I believe he would join me in acknowledging the highest obligations to Coleridge, as one of our chief masters of thought.

The tendency of moral evil (*ἀδικία*) to produce division is excellently stated by Plato just before the end of the first book of his Republic. *Ἆρα εἰ τοῦτο ἔργον ἀδικίας, μῖσος ἐμποιεῖν ὅπου ἂν ἐνῇ, οὐ καὶ ἐν ἐλευθέροις τε καὶ δούλοις ἐγγενομένη μισεῖν ποιήσει ἀλλήλους καὶ στασιάζειν;—Πάνυ γε.—Τί δέ; ἂν ἐν δυοῖν ἐγγένηται, οὐ διοίσονται καὶ μισήσουσι καὶ ἐχθροὶ ἔσονται ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ τοῖς δικαίοις; Ἔσονται, ἔφη. Ἐὰν δὲ δὴ ἐν ἑνὶ ἐγγένηται ἀδικία, μῶν μὴ ἀπολεῖ τὴν αὑτῆς δύναμιν, ἢ οὐδὲν ἧττον ἕξει. Μηδὲν ἧττον ἐχέτω, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν τοιάνδε τινὰ φαίνεται ἔχουσα τὴν δύναμιν, οἵαν, ᾧ ἂν ἐγγένηται, εἴτε πόλει τινὶ εἴτε γένει εἴτε ἄλλῳ*

ὀτφοῦν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀδύνατον αὐτὸ ποιεῖν πράττειν μεθ' αὑτοῦ διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι, ἔτι δ' ἐχθρὸν εἶναι ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῷ ἐναντίῳ παντὶ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ; Πάνυ γε. Καὶ ἐν ἑνὶ δή, οἶμαι, ἐνοῦσα ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσει, ἅπερ πέφυκεν ἐργάζεσθαι· πρῶτον μὲν ἀδύνατον αὐτὸν πράττειν ποιήσει στασιάζοντα καὶ οὐκ ὁμονοοῦντα αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ, ἔπειτα ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς δικαίοις.

NOTE Z: p. 273.

Coleridge has rendered a good service, both to our language and to our philosophy and theology, by detecting and separating the two distinct ideas comprehended under the equivocal term, *unity*, the unity of union, and the unity of oneness, or *unicity*. In his second Lay Sermon, speaking of the modern Socinians, who "have chosen to designate themselves by the name of Unitarians," he says: "But this is a name which, in its proper sense, can belong only to their antagonists: for unity or unition, and indistinguishable unicity or oneness, are incompatible terms.—We never speak of the unity of attraction, or of the unity of repulsion; but of the unity of attraction and repulsion in each one corpuscle. The essential diversity of the ideas, *unity* and *sameness*, was among the elementary principles of the old logicians; and the sophisms grounded on the confusion of these terms have been ably exposed by Leibnitz in his critique on Wissowatius:" p. 367. See also the *Aids to Reflexion*, p. 157.

NOTE A A: p. 278.

This passage is very well explained by Harless, in his excellent Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, one of the most valuable products of the exegetical labours of Germany. "The meaning of these words in their connexion with what goes before is rightly exprest by Theodoret: *παναχοῦ τὸ ἓν καὶ εἰς τέθεικεν, εἰς συμφωνίαν συνάπτων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.* The parallelism of these

three verses is so evident, the position of the idea conveyed in them, as an argument for the preceding exhortation, is so appropriate and cogent, that we have no hesitation in adopting the view of those who do not regard these verses themselves as an exhortation; although the latter opinion is sanctioned by many able commentators.—Only we are not to supply ἔστε with Bucer and others, but ἐστὶ, as the parallelism of the sentences requires, with Chrysostom, Beza, Bengel, &c. The argumentative propositions are introduced, for the sake of emphasis, without any connective particle. *One Body and one Spirit*, says the Apostle; for one is the condition of the other. This proposition he confirms by an argument drawn from their own experience and knowledge: *as ye were called in one hope of your calling.* The right explanation seems to me that given by Bengel on 1 Thess. iv. 7, where he says, *ἐν exprimit indolem rei.* It expresses the distinctive character of the verbal conception: the call to the Kingdom of God is a call ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἐν ἁγιασμῷ, ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι: it consists in peace, holiness, unity of hope.—In this combination with Κύριος and βάπτισμα, and connected as πίστις is with the other arguments, with which the Apostle enforces his exhortation, it must needs mean *Faith* in the abstract. The unity of faith, as existing in the members of the Church, is represented in v. 13 as to be attained hereafter. That πίστις should stand, as Wahl supposes, for *doctrina fidem postulans*, does not seem to me admissible, either here or elsewhere, not even in Gal. i. 23. iii. 23, 25; any more than ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ in 1 Cor. i. 18 is equivalent to *doctrina de cruce.* Σταυρὸς like πίστις is used by the Apostle to signify the Gospel, when his object is to bring forward the idea, not of the doctrine, but of the facts which constitute its especial substance. The peculiarity of the expression lies in this, that the relation to doctrine is not urged. In our passage besides there is not the slightest reason for taking πίστις as equivalent to εὐαγγέλιον. On the contrary this interpretation destroys the symmetrical relation of the three ideas to each other. For in this verse also they are intimately connected. *One Lord*, says the Apostle; consequently *one Faith*, in which we are His, *one Baptism*, in which we are dedicated to Him."

Olshausen's observations are also good. "That oneness, and consequently unity, among believers, is a necessary condition of the happy growth of the Church, is further set forth by the Apostle, in an enumeration of all the ways in which they are one.—The first proposition, ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα, carries us back to the previous comparison in II. 15—17, where the Church is represented as εἷς καινὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι καὶ ἑνὶ πνεύματι. The one Spirit however, which pervades the whole Church, is of course not a human, but the divine Spirit, obtained for mankind by the completion of Christ's work: John VII. 39. But as, in the present condition of the Church, all her members are bound together in her into an outward and inward unity, so have they likewise the same aim for the future, the *one hope of their calling*, blessedness in the Kingdom of God. Herewith every division of unity is precluded for ever. According to its actual existence, the Church of Christ has not corresponded to this grand picture: the ἑνότης πνεύματος ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης has been ill preserved. Though all true members of Christ in all confessions and sects are ἓν πνεῦμα ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι, yet we cannot speak of the ἓν σῶμα. St Paul however does not mean that a Church is not a Church, if it does not manifest itself as ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα, but that it is not in its normal condition. Nor can it be denied that the state of the Church, especially since the Reformation, is to be regarded as a consequence of sin, of the neglect of the exhortation in v. 3, in that the reproof of the Spirit calling for a correction of the abuses which had crept into the Church, was not universally obeyed. In the next verses, 5 and 6, the Apostle enumerates the cardinal points, which the Church recognizes as the ground of the unity of her own life. He is not speaking of the settlement of doctrine on these points, but of the objects of doctrine themselves. He does not say, *The Church has precisely the same doctrine concerning the Lord, Faith, &c.:* he says, *she has only one Lord; she has only one Baptism.* It is true, that by false doctrine the Lord, Faith, Baptism, nay, God Himself may be turned into something very different; but it is no less certain that differences of doctrine may subsist, yet that the essence of

the objects of faith may not suffer thereby. Hence, according to the meaning of the Apostle, only those perversions of doctrine are here excluded, which destroy the substantial unity of the dogma. In this regard one may justly say that this passage is one of those which instruct us as to the fundamental articles of faith, such as 1 Cor. xv. 3—8. Hebr. vi. 1, 2. 1 John iv. 2. At first sight the order seems singular: one should have expected that the Father would be placed before the Son. But St Paul begins with Christ, because from Him all new life in mankind proceeds, through Him Faith is kindled, to Him Baptism refers, which does not produce Faith, but presupposes it. The Father is mentioned last; because it is only through Baptism, that is, regarded subjectively as regeneration, that a man recognizes himself as a child, and God as his Father."

Chrysostom explains the ἓν σῶμα as οἱ πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης πιστοὶ, καὶ ὄντες, καὶ γενόμενοι, καὶ ἐσόμενοι. But he puzzles himself strangely about ἓν πνεῦμα. ἓν πνεῦμα καλῶς εἶπε, δεικνὺς ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς σώματος ἓν πνεῦμα ἔσται· ἢ ὅτι ἐστὶ μὲν σῶμα εἶναι ἓν, οὐχ ἓν δὲ πνεῦμα, ὡς ἂν εἴ τις καὶ αἱρετικῶν φίλος εἴη· ἢ ἀπὸ τούτου πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν δυσωπεῖ, τοιοῦτό τι λέγων, οἱ ἓν πνεῦμα λαβόντες, καὶ ἐκ μιᾶς ποτισθέντες πηγῆς, οὐκ ὀφείλετε διχονοεῖν· ἢ πνεῦμα ἐνταῦθα τὴν προθυμίαν φησίν. Here it would seem as if, by a strange inversion, the ἓν πνεῦμα were to be the effect of the ἓν σῶμα, although the ἓν σῶμα can only be such through the indwelling power of the ἓν πνεῦμα. This is urged by Augustin in his 268th Sermon. "*Unum corpus*, Paulus dicit Apostolus,—*et unus Spiritus.*—Multis membris constitutum est corpus; et vegetat membra omnia unus spiritus. Ecce humano spiritu, quo sum ego ipse homo, membra omnia colligo: impero membris ut moveantur; intendo oculos ad videndum, aures ad audiendum, linguam ad loquendum, manus ad operandum, pedes ad ambulandum. Officia membrorum dispertita sunt; sed unus spiritus continet omnia. Multa jubentur; multa fiunt: unus jubet; uni servitur. Quod est spiritus noster, id est anima nostra, ad membra nostra, hoc Spiritus Sanctus ad membra Christi, ad corpus Christi, quod est Ecclesia. Ideo Apostolus, cum corpus unum nominasset,

ne intelligeremus mortuum corpus, *Unum*, inquit, *corpus*. Sed rogo te, vivit hoc corpus? *Vivit*. Unde? *De uno Spiritu: et unus Spiritus.*"

Note A B: p. 278.

Harless and Olshausen agree with most of the good recent commentators in regarding the pronoun ἡμῖν, or ὑμῖν, in v. 6, *in us all*, or *in you all*, as an interpolation in the text; and on critical grounds this opinion seems to be pretty well establisht. "That the Apostle is here speaking (says Harless) of the foundations of Christian communion, the context shews plainly enough. It would be repugnant to the context and to the Apostle's doctrine in other places, to suppose that πατὴρ πάντων here means a common father of all mankind, a *rex Jupiter omnibus idem*. God is the Father of all, in that He justifies all who believe: Rom. III. 29, 30. The addition of ἡμῶν shews that πατὴρ is not used to distinguish ὁ θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ from υἱὸς; that St Paul however means God the Father, is clear, because the Spirit and Christ have been mentioned previously. The following predicates designate different relations, in which God stands to all, in a sharp precise manner by a series of prepositional definitions.— The chief difference as to this verse has been about the interpretation of πάντων, which in the first two instances, or at least in the second, διὰ πάντων, used to be regarded as the neuter; till the interpreters in the age of the Reformation, especially Beza, following Valla, establisht, what had already been recognized by Ambrosiaster and Theophylact, perhaps too by Theodoret, that the three adjectives, so similar in their position, could hardly be of different genders. Now that ἐν πᾶσιν must be the masculine, seems indubitable. The next verse is a cogent proof that St Paul is speaking here of the indwelling of God through the gifts of the Spirit. But if πᾶσιν be the masculine, there seems no reason for taking the preceding πάντων as the neuter. If the last πάντες refers to the members of the spiritual communion with Christ, one has no right to extend the other

similarly placed predicates further. And thus all these predicates refer to the relation between God and all the members of the Church; and this is in perfect harmony with the context. Now there is a tolerable agreement among the explanations which the best interpreters give of the prepositional definitions.—Only some of them neglect the characteristic distinctions between the prepositions.—Thus Calvin explains διὰ πάντων, *Deus spiritu sanctificationis diffusus est per omnia Ecclesiae membra*, which is evidently equivalent to ἐν πᾶσιν. Winer explains διὰ *penetrating through us*, ἐν *filling us*: I cannot perceive any difference here. But if one refers διὰ to the creative power diffused through all things, this is not suited to the position of the arguments as the peculiar grounds of Christian communion.—If I look to the uniform conceptions of the Apostle for the explanation of the prepositions, I can only find the following. God is *above all*, as θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ, works *through all*, as the head through the members, is *in all*, as the spirit in the body. To the notion of *operari*, which Bengel suggests,—*per omnes operans per Christum*,—we are led by διά, since we must begin by assuming that διά is to differ from ἐν. A fuller explanation of this *operari* may be derived from the 16th verse, from Col. II. 19, and from the reference to the πνεῦμα in the words ἐν πᾶσιν, which reference does not stand alone, provided that διὰ also indicates the difference of the Agent, if I may so speak. Thus in these words we have a recapitulation of what had preceded, ἓν Πνεῦμα, εἷς Κύριος, εἷς Θεός, in the opposite order. The substance of this recapitulation is, that there is one God, who is Father, Son, and Spirit. This agrees perfectly with what we found in II. 22. Compare 1 Cor. XII. 4—6. 2 Cor. III. 3."

Olshausen says, "According to the preceding exposition, it has appeared from II. 11—18, that the main idea, which led the Apostle to this argument on the unity of Faith, was the coequal right of the Gentiles and of the Jews to enter into the Kingdom of God. That the Apostle here again addresses himself primarily to the Gentiles, is plain from v. 1 compared with v. 17. Hence this passage, according to the Apostle's purpose, must be understood as declaring that the Gentiles, as well as the Jews, have one

Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God. Therefore πάντων must not be taken for the neuter, but for the masculine. While the Jews considered God as their Father, but not as the Father of the Gentiles, St Paul calls him Πατὴρ πάντων. Hence πάντων and πᾶσιν in this verse must also be masculine. This way of signifying by different prepositions, setting forth the different relations between God and His creatures, how He is the Lord *over* all, and the source *from* whom they are, and the Worker *through* whom they are, and the Element *in* whom, and the End *unto* whom they are, we have already learnt from Rom. xi. 36 to regard as the simplest expression of the relations of the Trinity in God."

Note A C: p. 282.

Harless says that the Apostle in our verse merely speaks of "the primary grounds of Christian fellowship, such as they are from the first at the very entrance of each person into that fellowship; and that this is probably the reason why the Lord's Supper is not mentioned here, though it is urged as a ground of unity in 1 Cor. x. 17." To which Olshausen objects that this reason cannot be valid, since in the early Church the baptism of adults was followed immediately by the reception of the Lord's Supper. "If one considers (he adds), that in none of the passages which treat of the fundamental articles, (1 Cor. xv. 6. Hebr. vi. 2. 1 John iv. 2,) is the Lord's Supper mentioned, one must see that the omission of it must be accounted for in some other way. Its specific character is, that in it we feed on Christ, which however we also do by faith, independently of the outward act of the Lord's Supper: John vi. 40, 47, 54. So that the words, εἷς Κύριος, μία πίστις, comprehend the feeding on the Lord in His Supper. As Faith is not the *fides quae creditur*, in which sense it would comprise everything else here mentioned, but the *fides qua creditur*, so the Apostle does not speak of the Lord as being known outwardly, but as being possest inwardly."

Note A D: p. 284.

"The unity of the visible body and Church of Christ (says Hooker, in a passage which has already been quoted for another purpose, B. III. c. 1, § 4) consisteth in that uniformity which all several persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of that *one Lord*, whose servants they all profess themselves, that *one Faith*, which they all acknowledge, that *one Baptism*, wherewith they are all initiated." And after speaking on each of these three essential characters of the Church, he adds, § 7, "As for those virtues that belong unto moral righteousness and honesty of life, we do not mention them, because they are not proper unto Christian men, as they are Christian, but do concern them as they are men. True it is, the want of these virtues excludeth from salvation. So doth much more the absence of inward belief of heart: so doth despair and lack of hope; so emptiness of Christian love and charity. But we speak now of the visible Church, whose children are signed with this mark, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism*. In whomsoever these things are, the Church doth acknowledge them for her children: them only she holdeth for aliens and strangers, in whom these things are not found. For want of these it is that Saracens, Jews, and Infidels, are excluded out of the bounds of the Church. Others we may not deny to be of the visible Church, as long as these things are not wanting in them. For apparent it is, that all men are of necessity either Christians or not Christians. If by external profession they be Christians, then are they of the visible Church of Christ: and Christians by external profession they are all, whose mark of recognizance has in it those things which we have mentioned, yea, although they be impious idolaters, wicked heretics, persons excommunicable, yea, and cast out for notorious improbity."

This passage of our greatest divine is an invaluable assertion of the truth, against all manner of errours with regard to the nature and constitution of the Church. It has become the fashion of late with a certain set in our Church to deride the idea of the

invisible Church; and some member of the set has been so prodigiously witty as to nickname those who believe in the invisible Church, *invisible churchmen*, a nickname which has found much favour with his brethren. Such persons might perhaps learn better wisdom, if they were to study the second section in this same chapter of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. "That Church of Christ, which we properly term His body mystical, can be but one: neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man, inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in heaven already with Christ; and the rest that are on earth, albeit their natural persons be visible, we do not discern under this property, whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Only our minds by intellectual conceit are able to apprehend that such a real body there is, a body collective, because it containeth a huge multitude, a body mystical, because the mystery of their conjunction is removed altogether from sense. Whatsoever we read in Scripture concerning the endless love and the saving mercy which God sheweth toward His Church, the only proper subject thereof is this Church. Concerning this flock it is that our Lord and Saviour hath promist, *I give them eternal life; and they shall never perish; nor shall any pluck them out of My hands.* They who are of this society have such marks and notes of distinction from all others, as are not object unto our sense; only unto God, who seeth their hearts, and understandeth all their secret cogitations; unto Him they are clear and manifest." The belief in this invisible, mystical Church, the confident assurance that all, who through faith in Christ have attained or shall attain to the sanctification of the Spirit, are one, and shall be one to all eternity therein, has been the consolation and the hope and the rejoicing of saints and martyrs in all ages: and it would be a matter of surprise that any one, professing himself a member of Christ's Church, should mock at this blessed idea, unless it were too certain that the Epicurean spirit, which can believe in nothing except the objects of the senses, must needs be found, along with all other forms of evil, within the pale of the visible Church.

With regard to the visible Church itself however, there are two

main errours, which have prevailed more or less in all ages, and which, though opposite in their nature and principle, encourage one another, and involuntarily play into each other's hands. The one aims at identifying the visible Church with the invisible, and refuses to recognize the former, except where it conceives it can discern the lineaments of the latter. The other errour rather busies itself in identifying the invisible Church with the visible; and as herein it betrays its ineptitude for the discernment of spiritual things, it naturally sinks lower and lower in this blindness, and makes the essence of the visible Church consist in its accidents and forms. Now both these antagonist errours are refuted in the extract from Hooker, who takes his stand on the truth, and repells them both.

The first errour is indeed of a nobler kind: for it implies a love of holiness and purity, grief and indignation at evil, a dissatisfaction at the mockeries of nominal religion, a yearning after reality and truth. Nevertheless these qualities cannot but be hurt more or less by the admixture of errour. Our Lord's prophetic declarations concerning the character of His visible Church, the representations which the Apostles give of the Churches existing in their days, are so strongly and explicitly contradictory to the Donatist view of the Church, that they who adopt this view can only evade the force of Scripture by a sectarian interpretation. Besides every notion of exclusive personal privileges is apt to engender pride. The Donatists cannot enter into the lowliness and love of Him who came to be the companion of publicans and sinners: they cannot enter,—indeed who can?—into the depths of that divine mercy, which came to call sinners, not the righteous, to repentance: they have a lurking taint of that Pharisaical pride which desires to associate with the righteous only. Moreover they must needs have a very inadequate consciousness of sin, of the depth and power of sin and unbelief in their own hearts. For he who has that consciousness rightly, will ever feel that he is among the chief of sinners, and would shrink from the thought of pronouncing that any one is unworthy of being admitted to that holy feast, to which he himself has been invited by God's marvellous, unimaginable

grace. This erroneous tendency however is less prevalent now, I believe, in our Church, than it was some years ago, having been tempered by the clearer recognition of the nature and office of the Church.

On the other hand the opposite errour,—the tendency to identify the invisible Church with the visible, and then to narrow the visible Church by setting up arbitrary, fictitious, outward boundaries, by substituting accessories of government, of discipline, of rites and ceremonies, for the spiritual principles laid down by St Paul in our text, and pronounced by Hooker, as we have seen, in accordance with the great body of our divines, to be the true principles of unity and membership in the Church,—has been spreading widely of late years. As the former is the errour to which the spiritual-minded are prone, until their fervid spirits have learnt to recognize the providential order of the world, and are brought into subjection to those forms of truth which are laid down in the New Testament as the only ones compatible with this imperfect state,—as it is akin to that errour which provoked Elijah to murmur, when his zeal was outstripping the pace of the divine longsuffering,—as it is the errour into which Protestantism, as the religion of the awakened conscience, and of an ardent love of truth, is apt to slip,—so on the other hand the latter carnalminded errour is the peculiar heresy of Romanism, which it has carried out under every form, to the quenching of the spirit, wherever its fatal influence has extended. Hence, in proportion as the tendency toward Rome has been gaining strength in our Church, this has been its sign. Or perhaps it would be more correct to say that this has been the cause of that tendency. Persons began by attaching an inordinate importance to outward things, to rites and ceremonies, to vestments and postures, to discipline and forms of government. Hence, in an age when such modes of idolatry cannot awaken more than a partial sympathy, and to many are wholly repulsive, the natural progress on the downward road has borne a number of converts to Rome, where almost every mode of idolatry is sure to be welcome.

The main utterance which this carnal spirit has found with us, has been in the proposition, which has been asserted repeatedly of

late years, that an episcopal form of government is one of the essential conditions of Christ's Church; on the strength of which it has been further maintained, that, wherever this form of government does not exist, the Church of Christ does not exist. I cannot engage here, at the end of such a volume, in an argument to shew how utterly baseless this notion is,—how it is not only unscriptural, but altogether antiscriptural, directly repugnant to the whole spirit of the New Testament,—how moreover it is not only unsupported by the Reformers of our Church, but in plain opposition to their principles, manifested by their actions no less than by their words; as it is also to the principles laid down and enforced with irresistible cogency by our greatest authority on questions of ecclesiastical polity. Nay, even among our divines of the seventeenth century, when the spiritual life which had animated the European mind during the sixteenth, was much enfeebled,—and when, amid the struggles of parties for the preservation or overthrow of the existing order of things, each party, according to the usual course of human nature, indulged in unmeasured exaggeration of the objects it was contending for,—very few of any note presumed to assert that Episcopacy is indispensable to the being of a Church. Before long, I trust, God willing, I may have a fitting opportunity for entering more fully into this discussion, which is of pressing need now, in the Notes to the second Edition of my Visitation Sermon. But I cannot let slip the present occasion of lifting up my voice to protest against this odious and pernicious corruption of the truth. The Articles of our Church reject the notion: for when a condition is omitted in a well-considered definition, and the omission cannot be ascribed to inattention or carelessness, it is plain that they who drew up the definition did not regard the condition as essential. The passage quoted from Hooker at the head of this Note explicitly excludes such a condition: for it asserts that nothing is essential beyond the three conditions there enumerated. Moreover, if we follow Hooker's argument to the third chapter of the same Book, we find him maintaining, against the Puritans, who wanted to impose their platform upon the Church, that "*we* (speaking in the name of the Church of England,) *reckon ceremonies* (wherein

we do not comprise sacraments—) *and matters of government in the number of things accessory, not things necessary.*" Indeed, so totally at variance is Hooker's view of Episcopacy with that entertained by our modern episcopolaters, that the learned Editor of his works has thought it requisite to frame a theory, in order to account for Hooker's aberrations with regard to this prime point of Christian truth; and he apologizes for Hooker's errour on the ground that he was not acquainted with the Letters of Ignatius under that form in which they appeared in the following century. What then! is Ignatius a new, hitherto unheard of Apostle, commissioned to declare to the Church, what our Lord Himself, and His chosen Twelve, and St Paul left untold? was he ordained to teach us *another Gospel*, a Gospel contradictory to the first, that we are to be saved by men, by forms of government, by institutions? and are we to correct the spiritual principles which we learn from the whole body of the New Testament, by the inflated rhetoric of a brave but narrow-minded zealot, who identified and confounded the Church with his own order? Without reference to the newly revived controversy on the true text of Ignatiuses Epistles, admitting either of the old texts to be genuine, one cannot well conceive any writer less fitted for determining the form of an idea, or for laying down the law on any great spiritual question. In evidence of a historical state of things, let his testimony, especially when it is incidental, have as much weight, as after a careful critical sifting it may appear to deserve. But when he speaks from his own feelings, or from his own opinions as to what ought to be, Ignatius has no claim to an exemption from the rule whereby we are to try every other spirit, his accordance with the word of God: nor may he be allowed to interpolate any new article of faith. Truly a cause must be in a wretched plight, when it has to seek its main prop in testimony, the authenticity of which is so questionable, and which, even if its validity were thoroughly establisht, would only express the partial, empassioned feelings of a man in a state of vehement excitement, not that calm oracular wisdom, which can alone be recognized as proceeding from the Spirit of Truth.

Still, notwithstanding all the light that flowed in from this new postumous Apostle, and notwithstanding the inevitable exaggerations occasioned by the contest with the Puritans, the better part of our divines in the seventeenth century did not account Episcopacy essential to the being of a Church; though, according to a distinction laid down by Bramhall, many of them deemed it essential to the perfection of a Church. Hence they were accustomed to regard the Reformed Churches on the Continent as less perfectly constituted than our own, but still as sister Churches, united to our own by having the same *One Lord*, the same *One Faith*, the same *One Baptism*, by the free preaching of God's word, and the rightful administration of the sacraments, and moreover by being joined with us in a common protest against the usurpations of Rome. Thus, for instance, the beautiful address by Archbishop Sancroft, our nonjuring Primate, to the Bishops of his Province in 1688, ends with a recommendation that the clergy should "warmly and most affectionately exhort the dissenters to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of peace *for a universal blessed union of all Reformed Churches both at home and abroad* against our common enemies, that all they who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of His holy word, may also meet in one holy communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love." In accordance with these principles, our divines of the seventeenth century continually speak of the Reformed Churches as Churches, calling them by that name without scruple. The same title too is applied to them in the official papers drawn up by our Convocation, even by the Lower House in the time of William III. and of Anne, when that House was characterized by such high notions with regard to Church-government and similar matters. Thus, in the *Letter of the Lower House to the Archbishops and Bishops about Books and Writings*, in February 1705, we find them saying, that they cannot "omit taking notice of the present endeavours *of several Reformed Churches* to accommodate themselves to our Liturgy and constitution.—They are very desirous of knowing—in what manner it may be proper for this Convocation,—to express their great satisfaction

to find in them such good dispositions, and *their readiness to maintain and cherish such a fraternal correspondence with them, as may strengthen the interest of the Reformed Religion against the common enemy.*" Again, when the Lower House in 1689 amended the Address proposed by the Upper House, in order that it might not place the Church of England in the same class with the other Protestant Churches,—for which measure it was commended in a fierce and ignorant invective against the German Churches a few years ago,—it did not presume to dispute the ecclesiastical character of the other Protestant Churches, but returned its thanks to the King "for the pious zeal and care—exprest for the honour, peace, advantage, and establishment of the Church of England; whereby, we doubt not, *the interest of the Protestant Religion in all other Protestant Churches, which is dear to us,* will be the better secured." Nor would there be any difficulty in collecting a long list of acts, by which, from the Reformation downward, our Church, in the persons of her leading members, recognized her being united by a tie of especial closeness to her Reformed Sisters in Germany and Holland. In this place I will merely refer to our sending deputies to the Synod at Dort. Nay, it was only by the Act of Uniformity in Charles the Second's reign, that episcopal ordination was made an indispensable condition for holding preferment in our Church. This regulation, Clarendon says, "was new; for there had been many, and at present there were some, who possest benefices with cure of souls, and other ecclesiastical promotions, who had never received orders but in France or in Holland." Nor was the alteration designed to impugn the validity of the orders in "other Protestant Churches": it merely asserted the right of our national Church to lay down canons for its own regulation.

This friendly relation between our Church and the Protestant Churches on the Continent subsisted during the whole of the last century, and was continually manifested in the writings of our divines, and in the manner in which we repeatedly selected our missionaries from those Churches, ordaining them to the ministry in our own Church. At length however, on a sudden, some

twenty years ago, when difficulties were assailing our Church on every side, a knot of men took it into their heads that they should get a knockdown argument against the Dissenters, if they were to assert that Episcopacy is an absolutely indispensable condition of Christ's Church, so that without it faith is nothing, the sacraments are of no effect, and they who have grown up feeding on the word of truth, and living by trust in the Saviour, are still aliens from the inheritance of grace, and are left to the uncovenanted mercies of God. One might have thought indeed that the heart and mind of the Church, that the Christian spirit of the English nation would have revolted from such a notion, and would have spewed it out into the abyss where the spirits of evil fatten on the refuse of folly. But alas! no. The notion pampered our pride. We, who were raised above the Church of Rome by the possession of a pure faith and worship,—if we were in like manner raised above other Protestant bodies by the possession of that form of government which is indispensable to the Church,—to what a pinnacle of glory should we be exalted! What a feather in our cap would it be, if we were the only pure branch of Christ's Church upon earth! for the other branches that might claim equal purity, were so small in comparison, that they might almost be left out of the account, or at the utmost would only form a cluster of satellites around us. And then what a convenient summary mode of getting over every difficulty, of pushing aside every knotty argument with the Dissenters! to tell them offhand, *You have no part in Christ: you are not members of His Church: your sacraments are nought: you are no better off than the heathens; nay, worse, because you have rejected the privileges, which have never been offered to them.* Owing to these two congenial motives, to that selfish arrogance which leads people to exalt all the circumstances and accidents of their own condition, till they are firmly persuaded that it is the normal state of mankind, and to the desire of depressing and triumphing over the Dissenters, the notion of the indispensable necessity of Episcopacy has found acceptance with many members of our Church. Many of them have adopted it inconsiderately, without reflecting on the consequences it entailed with regard to

the forein branches of the Church. Others, when these consequences are pointed out to them, exclaim, *What are these consequences to us! Let those whom they concern see to them! The rules of the Church must stand, though hundreds of millions are doomed to perdition thereby.* Yet they who prate thus have gone through no laborious research in investigating the grounds of their terrific opinions. One might have thought that nothing less than absolute necessity, nothing less than the plainest, most explicit, most cogent, most irrefragable testimony of God's word, would have induced a sober-minded Christian to admit such a doctrine into his mind. But where are the texts by which the maintainers of that doctrine have deemed themselves constrained to adopt it? They cannot produce one, not a single one, which, unless it be grossly wrested awry, will lend them any support. They will indeed refer to some half-a-dozen verses, which they have pickt up in some blundering manual of ecclesiastical history: but not one of these, when rightly interpreted, will be found to bear out their proposition; and the chief part will probably attest little else than the ignorance of those who cite them for such a purpose. To these misquoted texts of Scripture, add a dozen exaggerated sayings culled out, without any critical discrimination, from this Father and from that; and you have the whole ragged, crippled troop, which our episcopolaters are wont to muster for maintaining their position, that Episcopacy is indispensable to the Church, and for repelling every one who presumes to approach the Church without bearing the episcopal flag. Among the numberless follies of our age, hardly any is so sad as to see men, otherwise amiable and kindly disposed, grasping at a thunderbolt to crush a fly that is buzzing in their ears, and ready to hurl the thunderbolt, though millions of creatures should be overwhelmed by the blow which they aim at the fly.

This monstrous errour however, which would restrict the power of Christ's mediatorial sacrifice, and the efficacy of His sacraments, within the limits of Episcopal Churches, is still confined, I trust, in the main to some of our weaker brethren, who, in the want of

logical and plastic power, stake themselves up with positive, peremptory assertions. But a modification of the same errour is not uncommon even among the better writers of our day, who have lately become squeamish in the application of the term *Church* to any branch of the Church, except such as are subject to an episcopal government; who call the Lutheran Church, for instance, *the Lutheran Body* or *the Lutheran Communion;* and who think to evade recognizing the Scotch Church, by terming it *the Kirk.* Such silliness might make one laugh, unless the miserable evils which absurdities of this kind produce, turned one's laugh into a groan. Notwithstanding my sincere regard and respect for several persons who have adopted these practices, I feel bound in duty to Christ's Church, and especially to all the Reformed branches of it, to declare that I cannot view this distinction in any other light than as a piece of coxcombical affectation, and of uncharitable, unchristian presumption. It is contrary to the uniform practice of the great body of oru best divines from the Reformation downward, as I have already stated, and as I shall be ready to shew in detail when a fitting opportunity arrives. It is contrary to the idea of the Church as defined in our Articles, as expounded by Hooker, and as it is set forth in the New Testament. And what a melancholy inconsistency is it, that those who are most zealous in contending against the Donatist view of the Church, who urge that we have no right to insist upon sincerity of faith or holiness of life as essential for membership in the visible Church, should yet topple over into the bondage of ordinances, and insist that, while faith is unessential, while holiness is unessential, one thing is essential, and that is Episcopacy! There is indeed an ambiguity, arising from the equivocal use of the word *Church*, lurking at the bottom of this confusion. When *the Church* is used to signify our national Anglican Church, Episcopacy is essential to it; and the Dissenters are not members of it. But, as is clearly stated by Hooker in the passage quoted above, of Christ's visible Church the Dissenters, provided they hold to the *One Lord*, the *One Faith*, and the *One Baptism*, are members. As to Episcopacy,

the utmost that can with reason be said, is that which Bramhall has said, that it is requisite to the perfection of a Church. But so too is the full development of all the other elements of the Church, as has been admirably shewn by my beloved and revered friend, the Chevalier Bunsen, in his treatise on *the Church of the Future*; the full development of the Presbyterian element, of the Diaconate, in its true original purport, and of the Laity, as taking their appropriate part in all matters concerning the life and government of the Church. The rightful development of each of these great organs of the life of the Church is to the full as important as that of the Episcopate; and if we do not refuse the title of a Church to a body where others of these organs are imperfectly developt, or maimed, or latent, we have no right to refuse it to a body where the Episcopal element, which manifestly is of less moment than any of the others for the actual life of the Church, is wanting. If the body holds to the *One Head*, and is animated by the *One Faith*, and is sanctified by the *One Baptism*, it is a Church before God; and woe to us, if we deny that it is so! Our denial will recoil upon our own heads; and we shall only cut ourselves off from the blessings of Christian communion with those by whose faith and knowledge and love we might otherwise be instructed and edified.

A E : p. 285.

As the Church of Rome has ever been unscrupulous in corrupting the faith handed down in the Scriptures by her own additions and interpolations, which are now perversely termed developments, so, in her Catechism, where the idea of the Church is set forth, she places her own factitious centre of unity, which has perpetually been much more a centre of division, by the side of the divine principles of unity proclaimed in our text by St Paul. "Prima proprietas (Ecclesiae) in Symbolo Patrum describitur, ut una sit: *Una enim*, inquit, *est columba mea, una est speciosa mea.* Vocatur autem una tanta hominum multitudo, quae tam longe lateque diffusa est, ob eas causas quae ab Apostolo ad Ephesios scriptae

sunt: *unum* enim *Dominum, unam fidem, unum baptisma,* tantum esse praedicat. Unus est etiam ejus rector ac gubernator, invisibilis quidem Christus, quem Aeternus Pater dedit caput super omnem Ecclesiam, quae est corpus ejus; visibilis autem is qui Romanam cathedram, Petri Apostolorum principis legitimus successor, tenet." Yet assuredly the right inference from St Paul's words is that which Hooker has drawn, that, seeing he has enumerated certain definite principles of unity, and that they are all wholly spiritual, —save that the spiritual regeneration whereby we enter into the unity of the Church, is also symbolized by an outward sign,— the purpose of God was, that the principles of unity in His Church should be thus spiritual. Surely too we may in some measure understand why this seemed good to Infinite Wisdom. For the contemplation of all things, whether as they stand before us in space, or as they have been gathered up in the records of Time, teaches that there can be no living unity, except that which is wrought by some unseen, invisible power, by some power surpassing or eluding the grasp of the senses,—that what is to produce unity must work from within, and that all attempts to enforce it from without tend to bring about division and dissolution. For a like reason too undoubtedly is it, that in the New Testament nothing is laid down concerning the form of ecclesiastical government, as Hooker likewise remarks. Under the prior dispensation, which was designed for a single people during the childhood of mankind, and which therefore, according to the mode of dealing with children, prescribed the minutest rules concerning forms and rites and types and symbols, the people were placed under governors. But the Gospel being designed for the manhood of the race, and for all the nations of the earth to the end of the world, outward things, ceremonies and rites and forms of government, were left to be determined by the Church in each particular nation and age, exercising her wisdom under the guidance of the Spirit to adopt what should seem most profitable for the building up of the body of Christ. Hence we are bound to keep diligent guard against that temptation, by which man is ever beset, to exaggerate the value of the outward and formal, and to

set up the accessory and accidental on a level with the necessary and essential. Since the Scripture has only declared that the Church has *One Lord,* even its one Head, the Eternal Son of God, and *One Faith,* and *One Baptism,* and *One God and Father,* but has not declared that it is to have one visible Head, or that its one Lord is to have one human representative, man is guilty of an audacious interpolation and perversion, when he makes this addition to the Apostolic principles of unity.

It is true, that, in making this addition,—as might also be pleaded in behalf of many of her other corruptions,—the Church of Rome was merely following the common bent of human nature. But so was David in his adultery; so was Peter, when he denied his Master. Our nature is carnal; and to follow its bent is to sin. Nor were the self-exalting tendencies of our nature,—the love of power, and dominion, the desire of imposing our own will and our own opinions on our brethren,—the sole cause and origin of the Papal usurpations. They would have been much too feeble to accomplish such a gigantic work, unless they had been encouraged and supported by the carnal weakness in the body of the Church, by that appetite for a visible agency, a visible symbol of invisible power, which is the source of all idolatry; while the weakness of the will,—that weakness which is one with, and only the reverse side of its overbearing violence,—found a comfort in having an absolute authority to controll it, and the weakness of the judgement in having an infallible guide to direct it. Indeed the very nature of the understanding, which in most men is altogether an alien from the region of spiritual truth,—the intellectual faculties for discerning and approaching to that region being very rarely developt,—requires some outward centre to which it may attach itself. The indications of these carnal weaknesses come forward very palpably in the early records of the Church. Hardly anything brings out the inspiration of the New Testament so forcibly before a reflective mind, as a comparison of the Apostolic writings with those of the early Fathers. In the Apostolic Epistles everything is wholly and purely spiritual. Self, with all its vanities, and cupidities, and narrownesses, and exclusivenesses, seems to be

annulled: the truth is declared in its simplicity, and therefore in its eternity and ubiquity. But the moment we pass out of this consecrated ground, the illusions and phantoms of earth start up and beset us. As there is no indication in the New Testament that any special form of government is essential to the Church,—as Christ is there indeed all in all, the principle of life, of thought, of affection, of action, of government as well as of obedience, and as no man is anything, or can do anything, except through the Spirit of Christ working in him,—so is there no notion of any centre of unity except Christ. *Who is Paul? and who is Apollos? Servants, through whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to each.* Turn from these words to the Ignatian Epistles. *Regard the Bishop as the Lord Himself. Obey the Bishop. Cleave to the Bishop. Do nothing without the Bishop.* Such is the strain which those rhetorical Letters keep on dinning with endless iteration; so that verily the best service to the memory of the holy martyr would be to prove that the chief part of them is spurious. For the transition at present is like tumbling down from the courts of heaven,—where the voices of all the angels unite in proclaiming the glory of God, and where nothing can be seen that sets itself up apart from God,—and lighting amid the self-magnifying ambition and restless contentiousness of the earth. A spirit of the same kind, though less glaringly offensive, is often apparent in Cyprian's writings: and along with it we also find a craving after a visible centre of unity, which manifests itself more especially in his little treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiae.* Indeed his character, like that of Ignatius, was essentially practical, and noble and heroic in its kind. But practical men ever love to have what they are to do determined for them. They love what is. They are admirable expounders and fulfillers of laws. But as they do not trouble themselves about the fontal principles of laws, they cannot teach us what those principles are, nor what in laws is temporary, and what permanent and universal.

This craving after a visible centre of unity aided and abetted the usurpations of Rome from the first; and the same craving has continued to be a main prop of the Papacy down to the present

day. There is such a longing in man to have an infallible teacher, a teacher gifted with supernatural knowledge, that, when a person gives himself out to be such, he is almost sure to gather a troop of willing hearers, as is seen in the history of every quack, be he medical, or political, or religious. No wonder then that, when the quackery has the authority of centuries to uphold its pretensions, multitudes should prostrate themselves in awestruck homage before it. And as our nature is still the same, has the same carnal weaknesses, the same craving after an infallible guide, after a visible centre of unity, they who cannot find satisfaction for their doubts in the guidance of the Spirit of truth,—they who cannot realize in their own minds how the Church, in spite of all its divisions and contrarieties and contentions, is still one in its one Lord,—have ever felt a hankering after Rome. Doubtless too, among the converts who have gone over to Rome of late years, whether in England or Germany, a large part has been beguiled by this illusion and phantom of an outward centre of unity. Indeed this has been expressly acknowledged by one of them, Mr Sibthorp, who has since discerned the hollowness of the illusion, in his very simple and candid statement of his reasons for seceding to Rome. "Every well-establisht kingdom (he says) has its central government.—It cannot subsist without it, any more than the body without a head.—It would be incredible that the Saviour should leave His kingdom in the world without any fixt government, or that government without an essential to all governments, a supreme executive and centre of unity. He instituted this for the Jewish Church.—What would be a body, without a head? and how often is the Church described as a body, of which all the parts are harmoniously fitted in, for the efficient movement of the whole to its intended end! Previous then to the revelation of the Gospel, my belief in the wisdom of the Divine Author of Christianity would lead me to expect the institution and development of a centre of unity and government in the Church. The Mosaic type confirms the expectation. Be it observed that the fundamental principle of Protestantism, under every form, rejects it; setting at defiance the testimony of nature,

son, fact, antiquity, and Scripture." These are big words, such as are continually rolled out, with little thought of their meaning, by Romish controversialists, to frighten us by their sound. It would take a long time however to ascertain the real testimony of nature, of reason, of fact, and of antiquity, on this point, and whether it is by the Protestant Churches, or by the Church of Rome, that this testimony is set at defiance. But as to the testimony of Scripture, be it observed, Mr Sibthorp did not produce one tittle of valid evidence from the New Testament. He cited a few texts indeed, which the Romanists are wont to misinterpret in favour of their views; but he added no argument to justify their often refuted misinterpretations; and the passages he seemed to rely the most on, are those in which the Church is spoken of as one Body. This, he thought, implies that the Church must have one Head: and so assuredly it does: the image would be a very faulty one if it did not. It is really surprising however, that a person who had not been trained in a Romish seminary should have forgotten that St Paul does speak of the one Head of this Body, nay, that he tells us, *we are to grow up in all things into Him who is the Head.* But St Paul's Head is not the Pope, is not St Peter, is not any earthly Head: St Paul's Head is Christ. Surely too we might reply to Mr Sibthorp's argument, which is a hacknied one among Romanists, that a body has not two heads, but one, and that this seems in a manner indispensable to the unity of life. And as the true Head can never be severed from His Body, which without its Head would be a mere mouldering carcase, any other head that tries to assume His place can only be a mask: which in truth is no unapt type of what the spurious visible head of the Church has actually been, a mask that has hid the true Head, and disguised and distorted His features. Mr Sibthorp's main Scriptural arguments however are drawn from the Old Testament; and it is an interesting fact, that, as he tells us, he first became imprest with the notion that a hierarchy like the Romish was indispensable to Christianity, while delivering a course of Lectures on the Levitical Law. This is not the first, nor the thousandth time, that people have sought for

analogies and precedents in those very parts of the Old Testament in which the New is contradistinguisht from it. As to our Protestant rejection of unity, which Mr Sibthorp ascribed to our fondness for "anarchy and self-will," we only reject it, so far as the New Testament rejects it. We reject the outward bond of compulsory unity; because we know that unity cannot be compulsory. Chain a thousand men together, and pull the chain as tightly as you can: you may crush and mash them to pieces; but you cannot unite them into one body. Whereas, if you speak a single word to them, which stirs their hearts or their consciences, these thousand men may be ready to act and fight and die as one.

In answer to this illusion of a fictitious visible centre of unity, let me quote the following passage, full of deep wisdom and truth, from Coleridge's admirable treatise On the Constitution of the Church and State (p. 128), where he lays down, as one of the essential characters of the Church of Christ, "the absence of any visible Head or soverein, and the non-existence, nay the utter preclusion, of any local or personal centre of unity, of any single source of universal power. This fact may be thus illustrated. Kepler and Newton, substituting the idea of the infinite for the conception of a finite and determined world assumed in the Ptolemaic astronomy, superseded and drove out the notion of a one central point or body of the universe. Finding a centre in every point of matter, and an absolute circumference nowhere, they explained at once the unity and the distinction that co-exist throughout the creation by focal instead of central bodies: the attractive and restraining power of the sun, or focal orb, in each particular system, supposing and resulting from an actual power, present in all and over all, throughout an indeterminable multitude of systems. And this, demonstrated as it has been by science, and verified by observation, we rightly name the true system of the heavens. And even such is the scheme and true idea of the Christian Church. In the primitive times, and as long as the churches retained the form given them by the Apostles and Apostolic men, every community, or, in the words of a Father of the second century, (for the pernicious fashion of assimilating the

Christian to the Jewish, as afterward to the Pagan ritual by false analogies was almost coeval with the Church itself,) every altar had its own bishop, every flock its own pastor, who derived his authority immediately from Christ the universal Shepherd, and acknowledged no other superior than the same Christ, speaking by His spirit in the unanimous decision of any number of bishops or elders, according to His promise, *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* Hence the unitive relation of the churches to each other, and of each to all, being equally actual indeed, but likewise equally ideal, that is, mystic and supersensual, as the relation of the whole Church to its one invisible Head, the Church with and under Christ, as a one kingdom or state, is hidden: while in all its several component monads, (the particular visible churches I mean,) Caesar receiving the things that are Caesar's, and confronted by no rival Caesar, by no authority, which existing locally, temporally, and in the person of a fellow-mortal, must be essentially of the same kind with his own, notwithstanding any attempt to belie its true nature under the perverted and contradictory name of spiritual, sees only so many loyal groups, who, claiming no peculiar rights, make themselves known to him as Christians, only by the more scrupulous and exemplary performance of their duties as citizens and subjects." The analogy here pointed out between the true idea of the Church and the Copernican idea of the universe is singularly appropriate; and one might almost fancy that some lurking semiconsciousness that her own fate is identified with that of the Ptolemaic conception, is among the causes which still keep the Church of Rome from giving up an exploded fiction, and acknowledging what the scientific researches of three centuries have determined with one voice to be the truth; though, to be sure, truth, even in matters of science, is one of the last things cared for at Rome.

We have seen what an aptness there is to misapply and misextend St Paul's principles of unity, and to seek support in them for that which in fact they rather exclude. Another instance of the same fallacy, as it seems to me, is to be found in the *Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession*, by my

excellent friend, Mr Perceval, who, when replying to the objection that "the Episcopal scheme is exclusive," says, "As the Christian religion, of which Episcopacy professes to be a tenet, is itself exclusive,—*I am God, and there is none else: No man cometh to the Father but by Me: Neither is there salvation in any other: There is no other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved,*—the exclusiveness of Episcopacy makes in favour of its being a genuine Christian doctrine: and as there is to Christians not only *one* (only) Lord, and *one* (only) *God*, but also *one* (only) *Faith*, and *one* (only) *Baptism*, the exclusiveness of that which professes to be an article of this one Faith, and to be the authority for that one Baptism, affords a *prima facie* probability of its being a genuine article of that one faith, and the true authority for that one Baptism." In this passage we may see the germs of the Papacy; and, with due deference to my highly valued friend, I cannot help thinking that, if any inference of the sort is to be drawn from St Paul's words, if we may allowably apply the predicate of unity where he has not applied it, the Romish inferences follow more simply, and give us a neater and compacter system. By a like process one might establish, to the satisfaction of those who can find satisfaction in such modes of argument, that, because there is one God, the Creator of the universe, therefore there must be one kind of creatures upon earth, and one language spoken by all nations, and one form of government over them all. Nor does it seem to me an unfair parody of such logic, to contend that, because a man has one head, and one nose, and one mouth, and one neck, therefore he must have one eye, and one ear, and one arm, and one leg, which some disciple of Hildebrand might try to enforce by cutting off the other. A far more melancholy errour however is that which ascribes exclusiveness to Christianity, and regards it as a *prima facie* argument in favour of an institution, that it is exclusive: whereas the exclusiveness in the declarations cited is one with their all-comprehensiveness. For did not our Lord send forth His ministers to preach the Gospel to *all nations*? Was not this declared in the first distinct promise of the Messiah, that in Him *all the nations*

of the earth were to be blessed? Did not this come forward in all the prophesies, that *all nations and languages were to serve Him?* Are not *all things to be placed under His feet?* Is He not to be *all in all?* There is indeed one great distinction and separation, which involves an exclusion, the distinction and separation between light and darkness, between truth and falsehood, between good and evil. But light does not shut out darkness: it desires to penetrate the darkness, and to permeate, and to illumine it. Nor does truth shut out falsehood; nor good evil. He who is the Truth and the Good, came down into the region of falsehood and evil, to turn falsehood into truth, to turn the evil into good. The exclusiveness is all on the other side. It is the darkness that shuts out the light: it is the love of falsehood that shuts out truth: it is the love of evil that shuts out the good. And what analogy can this afford for the exclusiveness of an institution? of that which is merely instrumental?

NOTE A E a: p. 287: l. 28.

Donne, says Coleridge, "was a truly great man; but after all he did not possess that full, steady, deep, and yet comprehensive insight into the nature of faith and works, which was vouchsafed to Martin Luther. *Donne had not attained to the reconciling of distinctity with unity,—ours, yet God's; God's, yet ours:*" *Remains*, III. 123. And a few leaves further on, in p. 151, in one of those precious notes which render his *Remains* such a rich mine of thought, he observes: "The co-existence of absolute spontaneity with absolute necessity is involved in the very idea of God, one of whose intellectual definitions is, *the Synthesis, generative ad extra, et annihilative, etsi inclusive, quoad se*, of all conceivable *antitheses*; even as the best moral definition,—and O! how much more god-like to us in this state of antithetic intellect is the moral beyond the intellectual!—is, God is Love. This is to us the high prerogative of the moral, that all its dictates immediately reveal the truths of intelligence; whereas the strictly intellectual, only

by more distant and cold deductions, carries us toward the moral. For what is love? Union, with the desire of union. God therefore is the Cohesion and the Oneness of all things; and dark and dim is that system of ethics which does not take oneness as the root of all virtue. Being, Mind, Love, in action, are ideas distinguishable, though not divisible: but Will is incapable of distinction or division: it is equally implied in vital action, in essential intelligence, and in effluent love, or holy action. Now Will is the true principle of identity, of selfness, even in our common language. The Will therefore being indistinguishably one, but the possessive powers triply distinguishable, do perforce involve the notion exprest by a Trinity of Three Persons and one God. There are Three Persons eternally co-existing, in whom the One Will is totally all in each."

NOTE A F: p. 288.

This last of the verses here quoted, the 13th, is excellently explained in Olshausen's Note. "The purpose of the perfecting of the saints is further, that all may come *to the unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God.* The first person of the verb, *καταντήσωμεν*,—shews that St Paul includes himself in the body of those who are engaged in the development of the life of the Church. This is not a mere rhetorical figure: in Phil. III. 13, we see plainly that the Apostle did not regard his own individual life as perfected, but was pressing toward the mark, if he might attain to it. The express mention of all, *οἱ πάντες*, refers, as we see from vv. 7 and 16, to the equalization of the Jews and Gentiles: the latter too, St Paul means to say, take their place in the grand whole; they too are to grow to perfection. One may ask however, of what growth is he speaking? of that of individuals severally? or of that of the body? Of both at once: for along with the growth of its particular members, the whole Church also grows from childhood through youth to manhood. But is the Apostle thinking of the perfecting of individuals and of the whole

Church as taking place here below, or in another life? St Paul assuredly did not look at these two states in contradistinction. The Church with him is one, formed not merely by those who were living upon earth, but also by those who had died in the faith. This collective body gathers into a compact, organic unity, in which each has to fill his place: when he has reacht this, his μέτρον ἡλικίας is come. The complete manifestation of the Church in its perfect manhood will take place in the kingdom of God: but as St Paul exhorted his contemporaries, so may every Christian teacher in all ages exhort his, to press forward in their proportion toward the perfect manhood of Christ; whose true soldiers do really attain to this their goal, according to their calling and gifts, here below. Were not this the Apostle's meaning, he would not have urged the ἑνότης τῆς πίστεως· for hereafter faith will have past into sight. It startles us however that, in our passage, the end to which all are to come is described as the ἑνότης τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. It would seem as though the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God were the beginning of the life of faith, not its perfect consummation. Thus in v. 3 we read that all were to *keep* the unity of the Spirit (so that they were already possest of it), because the Church is *one Body* and *one Spirit*, has *one Lord* and *one Faith*. Even the combination of *faith and knowledge* is singular; for one could understand that St Paul should say, *Until we press forward from faith to knowledge;* in which case the ἐπίγνωσις would appear as the advance gained from the foundation of faith: but when they are thus placed parallel, the unity of faith is also declared to be the goal, though it seems to be the beginning in the development of our new life. One might attempt to solve this important difficulty in the following ways. The stress might be laid on οἱ πάντες, as though the progress were to consist in this, that all mankind shall reach what many have already reacht. This explanation however is refuted by the use of the first person, καταντήσωμεν, whereby, as we have seen, St Paul includes himself, and consequently all the Apostles, among those who are to attain to the unity of faith and knowledge. Or the emphasis

might be laid on ἑνότης· all Christians, as such, must indeed have faith and knowledge; but their task is to attain to unity therein. And this might mean either, that all are to acquire the same faith, the same knowledge; but this identity has already been presumed by the Apostle in v. 2 as existing in his readers; for he who has not the right faith, the right knowledge, has none really. Or one might suppose that what each has for himself is to be fused into an organic unity, so that all are to attain to a unity in that faith and knowledge, which are assumed to be already existing in them. Then the progress would consist in the growth of the individuals into a unity in which they mutually uphold each other. But were this the meaning of the words, we should find εἰς ἑνότητα ἐν τῇ πίστει, instead of τῆς πίστεως, and in the next clause εἰς ἕνα ἄνθρωπον τέλειον, as in II. 15. Moreover this conception does not accord with the real development of the Church: believers do not stand alone at first in their faith and knowledge, and then coalesce one with another into unity in the progress of their growth; but each at his new birth is born again as a living component member of the unity of the whole. Lastly, one might lay the stress on ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, as though the Apostle were not speaking of the unity of faith and knowledge generally, but of the faith and knowledge of the Son of God, as that to which we are to come. It is true, St Paul does not often use the name ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ· and where he does, it is to urge the divine nature of Christ, as in Gal. I. 20. Hence, if we call to mind how zealously St Paul asserts the divine nature of our Lord against false teachers in the contemporaneous Epistle to the Colossians, I. 16—23, we might fancy that in this place also he had some polemical allusion, and regarded the progress in the development of the Church as lying in the overcoming of all Ebionite and Arian conceptions of Christ. But we have already seen in the Introduction that there are no polemical allusions in the Epistle to the Ephesians: nor can we admit of them in this passage, which treats solely of the development of the Church in itself, in the totality of its members, not of its opponents. It must be granted however, that the leading idea of the whole Epistle,

that the Gentiles have a like share with the Jews in the Kingdom of God, was present to the Apostle's mind here also, in that the Gentile Christians are represented as taking part in the development of the Church. Besides from this explanation it would seem as though Ebionite and Arian errours were necessary in the beginning of the Christian life, and could only be overcome by degrees; a notion which assuredly cannot be shewn to be scriptural.—The only right explanation of this very difficult passage seems to me to be, if we suppose that ἡ ἑνότης τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως does not mean a twofold unity, the unity of faith, and the unity of knowledge (in which sense the passage would be irreconcilable with what Scripture elsewhere teaches us concerning the beginning of the life of faith, and the mode of its development), but that these words refer to a single unity, the unity between faith and knowledge. The progress of the development which St Paul here speaks of, consists in this, that faith and knowledge are to become one; that is, that the faith, with which the Christian life begins, is to be elevated into real knowledge. It is true indeed, that faith even at the first beginning of the new life is not without knowledge: but that knowledge which comes along with faith, is implicit knowledge, which is eternal life itself (John xvii. 3). Explicit knowledge on the other hand, which appropriates the manifold objects of faith, can only be the fruit of a complete inward development. This interpretation of our passage brings out its similarity to that in 1 John ii. 13, 14: for here too the knowledge of *Him who was from the beginning*, that is, Christ, is represented as the characteristic of the fathers, that is, of manhood in Christ. In this passage Luecke erroneously takes the words, *fathers*, *young men*, and *children*, in their natural sense: they evidently designate stages in the development of our inward life. The stages of our natural life have no influence on our relation to the Gospel: an old man may be a child in Christ; a youth may be a man in the Lord. In Col. iii. 10 also ἐπίγνωσις is represented as the end of our renewal after the image of the Creator. This involves the idea, that like can only be known by like: the godly soul alone can know God. In this place however

the knowledge is especially that *of the Son of God*, because in Christ *all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hid* (Col. II. 3), so that he who knows Him knows all things (1 John II. 27). In what relation this comprehensive knowledge stands to ἐκ μέρους γινώσκειν, and how the completest knowledge here below never supersedes that πίστις, which is the foundation of the Christian life, has been considered in the commentary on 1 Cor. XIII. 9 : which passage fully establishes the truth that throughout the history of the Church there is a constant striving to attain to the ἑνότης of πίστις and ἐπίγνωσις. The concluding words of v. 13 give a summary expression of the unity of the faith and knowledge of Christ. The phrase εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον denotes manhood, when the idea of personality and self-consciousness is fully brought out. — This expression is quite different from εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον in II. 15, which does not designate any particular stage of growth, but the combination of what had hitherto been separate in mankind into a new spiritual unity in Christ. The words εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον presuppose this unity, and declare that it is to be carried to the highest development of the principle of its life. Therefore St Paul could not say εἰς ἄνθρωπον τέλειον here, because ἀνὴρ is the word which conveys the conception of human life raised to its perfect self-consciousness. This conception is more fully delineated in the next words, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, that is, to the measure of that age in which fulness dwells in us. Ἡλικία here of course is not bodily stature, but the age of full spiritual development, and thus is equivalent to ἀνὴρ τέλειος. It is defined however by the addition, τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, which Harless and others rightly understand as it has just been explained. There is a great discrepancy indeed here, as in I. 23, and III. 19, about the meaning of πλήρωμα. To refer the word to the Church is here at least quite inadmissible. Rather might one regard πλήρωμα Χριστοῦ as a periphrase for Christ; so that the ἡλικία of Christ should be that perfect development which Christ Himself attained, the perfection of self-consciousness. But the other passages in which πλήρωμα occurs do not support this periphrastic usage:

hence it will be best to keep to the explanation given above, which is thoroughly suited to the context. If εἰς ἡλικίαν stood alone, there would be no doubt about its meaning: the addition of εἰς μέτρον misleads us into fancying there must be a comparison. But μέτρον here is *the full measure*, as in the Homeric μέτρον ἤβης."

I will add what Harless says on the last words. "The uncertainty about the meaning of πλήρωμα could not but lead here again to a great variety of explanations. It also exercised its influence on the interpretation of ἡλικία, which may either mean *stature*, or *the age of manhood*. It being supposed that πλήρωμα might be resolved into πληρωθείς, most of the commentators in the age of the Reformation took ἡλικία in the sense of *stature*, and translated the words, *statura pleni, adulti Christi;* which they explained thus: *spectatur hic Christus non in sese, sed quatenus in nobis adolescit;* an image which has little to recommend it. Or they connected πληρωθείς with ἡλικία, in the sense of *age*, no less arbitrarily than the others. Ecumenius, whom Grotius follows, makes πλήρωμα *a state of full knowledge:* later interpreters have mostly taken it as an expression for *the Church.* —It is the appropriate expression for the full presence of Christ's grace; and the genitive defines its meaning, as in εὐαγγέλιον σωτηρίας. We do not hesitate to take μέτρον ἡλικίας, with the majority of modern commentators, in the sense of *manhood.*— Thus the Apostle means that the measure of manhood consists in the full presence of Christ's grace. Holzhausen renders the expression well, *the age when Christians bear the fulness of Christ in them, when Jesus Christ dwells entirely in their hearts.*"

NOTE A F a: p. 322: l. 32.

Most truly did Baader say, writing in 1808, "Nations, like individuals, may get free and rid of certain prejudices, beliefs, customs, abuses, &c. in two ways. They may really have risen above them; or they may have fallen below them, and become too bad for them: and this difference between *above* and *below*, our age, that has got rid of so many things, ought seriously

to take to heart. Assuredly it is only from this cause, our having become too bad for many a belief and superstition, that our age has found it so easy to grow enlightened."

NOTE A G: p. 372.

The meaning of our text is well explained by Harless. "The words, *αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν ποίημα*, which in themselves would only express the thought, that we are among the things created by God, have this general signification limited by the particle *γάρ*, which connects them with what goes before: but a more precise explanation of them is furnisht by what follows, *κτισθέντες κ. τ. λ.* Hence we see the erroneousness of the view taken by Tertullian, by Gregory Nazianzen, and Basil,—who interpreted *ποίημα*, of the original creation. The true meaning was seen by Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact.—The expression *ποίημα* significantly brings out the analogy between the first creation of man and his renewal through the power of divine Grace.—The words, *κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς*, should be compared with those in Tit. II. 14, where it is said that Christ gave Himself *to purify a people for Himself* *ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων*.—It is arbitrary and repugnant to the whole train of the Apostle's thoughts to interpret *κτίζειν* in this passage by *efficere* in its general sense. A *καινὸς ἄνθρωπος* is born (v. 15); and this the Apostle expressly terms a *παλιγγενεσία* in Tit. III. 5.—*Ἐπί* with the dative designates the purpose for which a thing is done. Hence our protestant evangelical theology says: *Bona opera non praecedunt justificandum, sed sequuntur justificatum.*—These works alone, which are regarded by the Apostle as the sound fruit of the tree restored to health, does he call *καλὰ ἔργα*. On the other hand all works of the law, all setting forth of our own righteousness, lie, he says, under a curse: Gal. III. 10."

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